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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

VOLUME III.

(CONTAINING PARTS VIII. AND IX.)

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SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING ON

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 91, line 18, *add*:—In another communication he adds, "My friend had been dead some days before I heard the voice. I had no previous intimation that he was ill. He died of dropsy, and rather suddenly; for the day, or second day, before his death he was engaged in writing."

Page 100, line 20, *add*:—This occurrence took place in 1847.

Page 101, line 8, *for* "sèem" *read* "seems."

Page 150, line 17, *for* "Mr. W." *read* "Mr. Z."

Page 156, line 17, and page 165, line 32, *for* "Delbœuf" *read* "Fechner."

Page 159, line 8, *omit* "as Brewster first observed."

certain so-called Spiritualistic Phenomena" in *Proceedings* VII. But as that title was cumbrous, I have now called these papers by the name of the phenomenon with which they mainly deal.

† To the anagrams cited in the "Clelia" case in my previous paper, two others should be added, which Mr. A. obtained at about the same time. These were *icb iov ogf wlc* (I go, vow belief), and *ncb* 16 *vbliy ev* 86 *e earf ee* (Believe by fear even! 1866). This last was *an answer* to the question, "How shall I believe?" and seems quite to negative the hypothesis that the anagrams were mere chance combinations of letters, which happened to be susceptible of arrangement in sentences. It should be mentioned, however, that there was an i too much in one of the anagrams previously cited.

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SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING ON

January 30, 1885.

The twelfth General Meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall Mall, on Friday, January 30.

PROFESSOR HENRY SIDGWICK, PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The first half of a paper by Mrs. Sidgwick, on "The Evidence, collected by the Society, for Phantasms of the Dead," was read. The paper, in its complete form, is printed further on.

I.

AUTOMATIC WRITING.—II.*

BY F. W. H. MYERS.

PART II.

In a previous paper I discussed certain forms of automatic writing which seem referable to the operation of unconscious cerebral action. I endeavoured to show that in cases where the message written fails to convey any facts which demonstrably are not known to the writer, and never have been known to him, there is no need to assume that any intelligence but his own has been concerned in the message. I maintained that this was the case even where the message took the form of an anagram, which the writer had some trouble in deciphering.†

* This paper is a continuation of my paper "On a Telepathic Explanation of certain so-called Spiritualistic Phenomena" in *Proceedings* VII. But as that title was cumbrous, I have now called these papers by the name of the phenomenon with which they mainly deal.

† To the anagrams cited in the "Clelia" case in my previous paper, two others should be added, which Mr. A. obtained at about the same time. These were *ieb iov ogf wle* (I go, vow belief), and *neb* 16 *vbliy ev* 86 *e earf ee* (Believe by fear even! 1866). This last was *an answer* to the question, "How shall I believe?" and seems quite to negative the hypothesis that the anagrams were mere chance combinations of letters, which happened to be susceptible of arrangement in sentences. It should be mentioned, however, that there was an i too much in one of the anagrams previously cited.

The mentation* involved in such a case must of course be of a very unusual kind, and I shall return to its discussion later in this paper. For the present it is enough to point out that there is really no line which can be consistently laid down beforehand as demarcating self-inspired from extraneously-inspired messages, except the presence in such messages of definite pieces of information, such as in a court of justice it would be considered possible to prove that the writer or speaker could never have possessed.

But I went on to point out that there are, in fact, some trustworthy cases where the automatic message does include facts unknown to the writer. I cited a few of these, and showed that our hypothesis of Thought-transference,—of communication from one living mind to another,—would explain the cases given, although in one at least of those cases the persons concerned had felt convinced that the spirit of a dead man had intervened. I shall proceed now to give some more cases of this kind, and shall lead up to a palmary instance (the Rev. P. H. Newnham's) by some briefer cases, so arranged as to illustrate some important points.

A. In the first case there is an apparent element of *prophecy;* and I quote it in order to show how fallacious this appearance is, and how easily an ordinary mental anticipation of the future, if it in any way becomes *externalised*, may look like a revelation. Miss Summerbell's name is by this time familiar to our readers.

PLANCHETTE.—MISS SUMMERBELL'S CASE.

I have used Planchette a great deal, but the result has generally been nonsense ; but I remembered two occasions when it correctly interpreted the thought of someone in the room, whose hands were *not* upon it. About a year ago, we were amusing ourselves by asking it what Christmas presents we should have. My hands were upon Planchette, and I *believe* Miss Lay's, but in any case it is quite certain that neither of the persons who were touching it could possibly know the answer to the question I asked. I said, "What will Miss T. have at Christmas ?" Miss T. was in the room, but not near the table. Planchette immediately wrote down a rather large sum of money. I asked, "Who is to give it?" It wrote "B. and one other." Some weeks afterwards I met Miss T., who asked me if I remembered what Planchette had written. I remembered it perfectly. She said, "I have received more than that sum, but I knew about it at the time, though not the exact sum, and I believe that must have been thought-reading, for I am certain that nobody in the room knew of it, but myself." The money was given by a relative whose surname begins with B., and another person.

* This word is due, I believe, to Dr. Metcalfe-Johnson, and has been adopted by Dr. Hughlings-Jackson. It is more convenient than "mental action" both as being one word instead of two, and as avoiding the term "action", which sounds inappropriate in some cases, where a relative *passivity* is the fact to be brought out. Moreover, "mentation" seems an obvious correlative to "cerebration."

On another occasion, we asked a friend to dictate a question, the answer to which we did not know. She said, "Who is coming to breakfast to-morrow?" Miss Lay and I placed our hands upon Planchette and asked the question. It wrote "Lucas." Our friend said that was the name of the gentleman who was coming to breakfast. Neither Miss Lay nor I had ever heard of him before. Our friend said, "Ask his Christian name." We asked; it wrote "William." "Is that right?" we asked our friend. "I don't know," she answered; "I never heard his Christian name." Then somebody else, who was *not* touching Planchette, remembered that there was a song by him somewhere among the music. We looked, and at length found the song by "William Lucas"—of whom we had never heard before, nor have we heard of him since.

L. D. Summerbell.

I can thoroughly endorse these statements, and could multiply instances equally curious.—J. M. Lay.

From the point of view at which we have now arrived, it will surely seem probable that the prophecy of the Christmas gift was a mere reflection of Miss T.'s anticipation—transferred telepathically to the writer's unconscious mind. With regard to predictions, as with regard to statements of existing fact, we must surely assume that any anticipation which *could* have existed in the mind either of the writer or of any other person present did in fact come from that mind, in preference to supposing a disembodied intelligence to account for it. Yet I have seen one or two promising experiments spoilt by the foolish superstition that what "Planchette says" about the future is necessarily true. Sentimental or sporting questions are asked; the secret apprehensions of the questioner externalise themselves before his (or her) astonished eyes, and the pencil is thrown aside in disgust or indignation. Or sometimes people solemnly inquire "whether it is wicked to hold communion with Planchette?" Their own brain inspires, and their own fingers write, some alarming monitory reply, and they then seriously inform one that "*Planchette itself*," (or "*Planchette herself*," as some people phrase it), has pronounced the inquiry impious. One smiles at finding Philip sober thus appealing to Philip drunk,—the waking man guiding his judgment by the capricious utterance of his own unconscious brain. But the true lesson of such an incident is the rashness of ignoring or contemning phenomena just because they look as if they made for some foolish faith, the unwisdom of leaving strange facts to become the nucleus of a superstition instead of the groundwork of a science.

As regards the Christian name "William," which Planchette gave in Miss Summerbell's narrative, we may perhaps assume that (as in the case of the word *Wem* in a previous narrative) the name printed on the song although no one consciously remembered it, had been vaguely

noticed by Mr. Lucas' friend at some previous time, and now reappeared from the stores of unconscious memory.

B. In the next case which I shall give, Mr. Allbright, of Mariemont, Birmingham, a chemical manufacturer (whose letter to me I abbreviate), asked a young lady, of whose complete ignorance of the facts of his business he feels quite sure, for the name of a waste product occurring on a large scale in his manufactory. He *meant* the answer to be "gypsum," but "chloride of calcium" was written, and this was also true; although, had he thought of this substance, he would have thought of it by its trade name of "muriate of lime." Again, he asked what was his firm's port of importation. He meant the answer to be "Gloucester," but "Wales" was written; and this again was true at the time, as he was just then importing through Cardiff. These answers startled him so disagreeably that he refused to make further experiments. But I cite the case here for the express purpose of pointing out that no insuperable difficulty is presented by the fact that the answers, while substantially known to the inquirer, were not those on which his mind was consciously fixed. The whole tendency of our argument has been to show that ideas latent in the mind may react telepathically in preference to ideas which the conscious attention is keeping uppermost. Our consciousness gives us very little clue to the real massing and proportion of the mental pictures within us. Somewhat similarly (a cynic might say), our own vivid perception of our admirable qualities gives us little clue to the aggregate impression which our character makes on our friends. But a closer parallel is to be found in the phenomena of *muscle-reading*,—another avenue into the unconscious mind. The Rev. C. H. Sugden, the successful amateur whose Note on Muscle-reading is to be found in *Proceedings* IV., says (p. 29):—

"I noticed very often that when an article had been hidden in one place and then transferred to another, my patient almost invariably took me first to the first place, and then after a short search suddenly went off to the right place. . . . . Once in writing a banknote I could get nothing but two's; they were declared to be wrong,—'but,' said the patient, 'there were two's on another part of the note which I particularly noticed.' This is of interest as bearing on the well-known fact that in so-called spiritualistic revelations the things told are things which the questioner has possibly even forgotten, but which have once been in his mind."

We have yet much to learn as to what has been called the phosphorescence—or, by an exacter analogy, the fluorescence—of the brain;—the way in which excitations continue to thrill through us long after they have sunk below the threshold of consciousness, and the swell of the old wave intersects or embraces the more conspicuous agitation of the new. Or we may vary the metaphor, and say that our clearest mental

outlook is but a superposition of dissolving views, in which no scene, however vivid, is devoid of some element of its predecessor.

C. In my next case an answer is given which is in fact true, although the questioner believed it at the time to be false.

From Mr. W. Riddell, Dunster, Somerset.

July, 1884.

The way I became acquainted with "Planchette" was as follows :—A friend of my wife's is staying with us, and one day she was talking about "Planchette," and saying that she had one at her home, in London, and had seen some remarkable answers given by it when a certain young lady had her hands on it. Both my wife and I laughed at the idea, saying nothing would make us believe in it. Miss B. (my wife's friend), to prove herself right, sent for her "Planchette." In the course of a day or two it arrived, and having put it together Miss B. and I tried it, but without any result beyond a few lines up and down the paper. Then my wife put her hands on it with Miss B., and in a very short time it began to move, and on being asked answered questions very freely, some rightly and some quite wrongly. Amongst those answered rightly were the following. (I may here observe that not only did my wife and myself not believe in it, but we were antagonistic to it in feeling.) Our first question was asked by myself, my wife and Miss B. having their hands on it. I said, How many shillings has Miss B. in her purse? Ans.—"Four"; right. I then asked how many coins I had in mine. Ans.—"Five"; right. I thought I had many more. I then took a playing card from a pack in a box, looked at it, put it face down on a table, and asked for its colour. Ans.—"Red"; right. Number—"Seven"; right. Name—"Hearts"; right. This, I must confess, seemed to me very wonderful, as neither my wife nor Miss B. could possibly have known anything about the card. I then took a visiting card from the bottom of the basket, and having looked at it, placed it face downwards on the table, and asked "Planchette" for the name on it. This it seemed quite unable to give, but after a long time it wrote "clergyman," which was a wonderful answer, as the card was that of a Rev. —— who was here two winters ago, helping our rector. After this we did not get anything more satisfactory.

Now, here, as no complete list of the answers has been preserved, we cannot feel sure that the answer "five," as to the number of coins in Mr. Riddell's pocket may not have been right by mere accident. But my point is that, even excluding the idea of mere chance coincidence, there is still nothing in the answer which obliges us to go beyond Mr. Riddell's own mind. For on a trivial point of fact like this, it is possible for two contradictory beliefs to exist in the mind with nearly equal intensity. A man looks, perhaps, carefully into his purse when it contains much small change, and forms a vivid mental picture of the mass of coins. He then pays away several coins without specially looking into his purse in doing so. He is asked shortly afterwards for some small change, and the mental picture of the coins in his

purse is still vivid enough to make him at once pull out his purse to get at them, although even simultaneously and in the act of doing so he remembers to have paid them away. The fact that they are actually gone seems to need verification by ocular inspection before the old picture of them can be wholly displaced. It is less trouble to look afresh into the purse than to convince oneself by reflection that there really is no silver left there. Trivial as such considerations are, they may be useful in reminding us that our mental action is a much less homogeneous thing than we are wont to imagine it; and that any picture thereof, reflected to us from other minds, will probably surprise us by its jumbled confusion.

Observe that the *seven of hearts* is told correctly at once; while in the case of the *visiting card* there is an approximation only, as if the idea had been only partially caught.

We possess a few more of these minor cases of the transmission of thought as manifested in automatic writing. And we are anxious to receive further instances of the kind, believing it to be probable that the telepathic influence may show itself thus transitorily, though genuinely, in the experience of many persons. But if our theory is to be established, we shall need something beyond these fleeting instances; we shall need a series of experiments of a more solid and prolonged order. Such a series has been communicated to us by the Rev. P. H. Newnham, Vicar of Maker, Devonport. This gentleman has for many years paid careful attention to psychical phenomena, and especially has been conscious of a frequent involuntary transmission of thought from himself to Mrs. Newnham. A striking instance of this, which occurred some 30 years ago, before their marriage, may be given here.

From Rev. P. H. Newnham, Member S.P.R.

In March, 1854, I was up at Oxford, keeping my last term, in lodgings. I was subject to violent neuralgic headaches, which always culminated in sleep. One evening, about 8 p.m., I had an unusually violent one; when it became unendurable, about 9 p.m., I went into my bedroom, and flung myself, without undressing, on the bed, and soon fell asleep.

I then had a singularly clear and vivid dream, all the incidents of which are still as clear to my memory as ever. I dreamed that I was stopping with the family of the lady who subsequently became my wife. All the younger ones had gone to bed, and I stopped chatting to the father and mother, standing up by the fireplace. Presently I bade them good-night, took my candle, and went off to bed. On arriving in the hall, I perceived that my *fiancée* had been detained downstairs, and was only then near the top of the staircase. I rushed upstairs, overtook her on the top step, and passed my two arms round her waist, under her arms, from behind. Although I was carrying my candle in my left hand, when I started to run upstairs, this did not, in my dream, interfere with this gesture.

On this I woke, and a clock in the house struck 10 almost immediately afterwards.

So strong was the impression of the dream that I wrote a detailed account of it next morning to my *fiancée.*

Crossing my letter, not in answer to it, I received a letter from the lady in question: "Were you thinking about me, very specially, last night, just about 10 o'clock? For, as I was going upstairs to bed, I distinctly heard your footsteps on the stairs, and felt you put your arms around my waist."

The letters in question are now destroyed, but we verified the statement made therein some years later, when we read over our old letters, previous to their destruction, and we found that our personal recollections had not varied in the least degree therefrom. The above narrative may, therefore, be accepted as absolutely accurate.

P. H. Newnham.

From Mrs. Newnham.

I remember distinctly the circumstance which my husband has described as corresponding with his dream, I was on my way up to bed, as usual, about 10 o'clock, and on reaching the first landing I heard distinctly the footsteps of the gentleman [to whom I was engaged, quickly mounting the stairs after me, and then I as plainly felt him put his arms around my waist. So strong an impression did this make upon me that I wrote the very next morning to the gentleman, asking if he had been particularly thinking of me at 10 o'clock the night before, and to my astonishment I received (at the same time that my letter would reach him) a letter from him describing his dream in almost the same words that I had used in describing my impression of his presence.

9th June, 1884. M. Newnham.

Mr. Newnham has made many subsequent attempts to transmit thought voluntarily to his wife, but succeeded only in the year 1871, during a period of about eight months.

During that period he made notes from day to day in a private diary, which diary he has been good enough to place in my hands. There are 40 pages of MS. notes, containing 385 automatically-written replies to questions. Mr. Newnham made the experiments purely for his own satisfaction, and without any idea of submitting them to public inspection, and consequently the questions include many references to his domestic affairs at the time, to family jokes, and other matters which, while illustrating the intimate and spontaneous character of the diary, are not suited for publication. Mr. Newnham, however, has kindly made long extracts, which I shall print below. I have carefully compared the extracts with the original diary, and consider that they give a quite fair impression of it; although the diary contains several *further* points of interest, to illustrate which I shall (with Mr. Newnham's permission) myself make a few additional extracts. I have

received a letter from Mrs. Newnham, independently corroborating her husband's account.*

It must be distinctly understood that Mrs. Newnham did not see or hear the questions which Mr. Newnham wrote down. The fact, therefore, that her answers bore any relation to the questions shows that the sense of the questions was telepathically conveyed to her. This is the leading and important fact. The *substance* of the replies written is also interesting, and Mr. Newnham has some good comments thereon. But even had the replies contained no facts which Mrs. Newnham could not have known, this would not detract from the main value of the evidence, which consists in the fact that Mrs. Newnham's hand wrote replies clearly and repeatedly answering questions which Mrs. Newnham neither heard nor saw.

Extracts from Mr. Newnham's Diary.

It was in January, 1871, that I was first led to think of making an attempt to investigate the alleged phenomena of Planchette-writing. Having procured an instrument, I consulted carefully with my wife, as to forming a code of conditions which we would agree to bind ourselves rigidly to observe, in case she was found capable of writing.

I copy from my note-book the following preliminary statement and conditions agreed upon, which were put down in writing before any experiment had been made :—

"Being desirous of investigating accurately the phenomena of Planchette, myself and my wife have agreed to carry out a series of systematic experi-

* Mr. Newnham has procured for me two autograph letters from eye-witnesses of some of the experiments who do not, however, wish their names to be published, on account of prejudices still existing in certain quarters against the experiments as involving questionable agency. One writer says : "You wrote the question on a slip of paper and put it under one of the ornaments of the chimney-piece—no one seeing what you had written. Mrs. Newnham sat apart at a small table. I recollect you kept a book of the questions asked and answers given, as you thought some new power might be discovered, and you read me from it some of the results. I remember particularly questions and answers relating to the selection of a curate for B. My wife and her sister saw experiments conducted in this manner. Mrs. Newnham and you were sitting at different tables." Another eye-witness writes : "I and my sister were staying at ——, and were present at many of the Planchette experiments of Mr. and Mrs. Newnham. Mr. and Mrs. Newnham sat at different tables some distance apart and in such a position that it was quite impossible Mrs. Newnham could see what question was written down. The subject of the questions was never mentioned even in a whisper. Mr. Newnham wrote them down in pencil and sometimes passed them to me and my sister to see, but not often. Mrs. Newnham immediately answered the questions. Though not always correct, they (the answers) always referred to the questions. Mr. Newnham copied out the pencil questions and answers verbatim each day into a diary."

ments, in order to ascertain the conditions under which the instrument is able to work. To this end the following rules are strictly observed :—

1. The question to be asked is written down before the Planchette is set in motion. This question, as a rule, is never known to the operator.
2. Whenever an evasive, or other answer is returned, necessitating one or more new questions to be put, before a clear answer can be obtained, the operator is *not* to be made aware of *any* of these questions, or even of the general subject to which they allude, until the final answer has been obtained.
3. In all cases where the operator has asked the question, or is aware of its terms, or general tenor, the question will be distinguished by prefixing an asterisk, and leaving a space between it and the marginal line. [None of these questions, except No. 313, are quoted here.]
4. Where no operator is mentioned, my wife is always meant.
5. Where no questioner is mentioned, myself is always meant."

Although not provided for in writing, (as our mutual *bona fides* was, of course, taken for granted), I may add that my wife always sat at a small low table, in a low chair, leaning backwards. I sat about eight feet distant, at a rather high table, and with my back towards her while writing down the questions. It was absolutely impossible that any gesture, or play of features, on my part, could have been visible or intel igible to her. As a rule, she kept her eyes shut ; but never became in the slightest degree hypnotic, or even naturally drowsy.

Under these conditions we carried on experiments for about eight months, and I have 309 questions and answers recorded in my note-book, spread over this time.* But the experiments were found very exhaustive of nerve-power, and as my wife's health was delicate, and the fact of thought-transmission had been abundantly proved, we thought it best to abandon the pursuit.

I now proceed to give a sample of some of these questions and answers. The numbers prefixed are those in my note-book.

I may mention that the Planchette began to move instantly, with my wife. The answer was often half written before I had completed the question.

On first finding that it would write easily, I asked three simple questions which were known to the operator ; then three others, unknown to her, relating to my own private concerns. All six having been instantly answered in a manner to show complete intelligence, I proceeded to ask,

7. Write down the lowest temperature here this winter.
A. 8.

Now, this reply at once arrested my interest. The actual lowest temperature had been 7.6° so that 8 was the nearest whole degree ; but my

* The remainder of the 385 questions and answers in this book belong to a different series, where the question was *known* to the operator.

wife said at once that, if she had been asked the question, she would have written 7, and not 8 ; as she had forgotten the decimal, but remembered my having said that the temperature had been down to 7 *something*.

I simply quote this, as a good instance, at the very outset, of perfect transmission of thought, coupled with a perfectly independent reply ; the answer being correct, in itself, but different from the impression on the *conscious intelligence* of *both* parties.

Naturally our first desire was to see if we could obtain any information concerning the nature of the intelligence which was operating through the Planchette, and of the method by which it produced the written results. We repeated questions on this subject again and again ; and I will copy down the principal questions and answers in the connection.

January 29th.

13. Is it the operator's brain, or some external force, that moves the Planchette ? Answer "brain" or "force."
    A. Will.
14. Is it the will of a living person, or of an immaterial spirit, distinct from that person ? Answer "person" or "spirit."
    A. Wife.
15. Give first the wife's Christian name ; then, my favourite name for her. (This was accurately done.)
27. What is your own name ?
    A. Only you.
28. We are not quite sure of the meaning of the answer. Explain.
    A. Wife.

Failing to get more than this, at the outset, we returned to the same thought after question 114 ; when, having been closely pressed on another subject, we received the curt reply—"Told all I know."

February 18th.

117. Who are you that writes, and has told all you know ?
    A. Wife.
118. But does no one tell wife what to write ? If so, who ?
    A. Spirit.
119. Whose spirit ?
    A. Wife's brain.
120. But how does wife's brain know (certain) secrets ?
    A. Wife's spirit unconsciously guides.
121. But how does wife's spirit know things it has never been told ?
    A. No external influence.
122. But by what *internal* influence does it know (these) secrets ?
    A. You cannot know.

March 15th.

132. Who, then, makes the impressions upon her ?
    A. Many strange things.

133. What sort of strange things?
A. Things beyond your knowledge.
134. Do, then, things beyond our knowledge make impressions upon wife?
A. Influences which no man understands or knows.
136. Are these influences which we cannot understand external to wife?
A. External—invisible.
137. Does a spirit, or do spirits, exercise those influences?
A. No, never (written very large and emphatically).
138. Then from whom, or from whence, do the external influences come?
A. Yes; you will never know.
139. What do you mean by writing "yes" in the last answer?
A. That I really meant never.

March 19th.

142. By what means are (unknown) secrets conveyed to wife's brain?
A. What you call mesmeric influence.
144. What do you mean by "what you call"? What do *you* call it?
A. Electro-biology.
145. By whom, or by what, is the electro-biologic force set in motion?
A. I told you you could not know more than you did.
146. Can wife answer a question the reply to which I do not know?
A. Why do you try to make me say what I won't?
147. Simply because I desire knowledge. *Why* will not you tell?
A. Wife could tell if someone else, with a very strong will, in the room knew.

March 26th.

179. Can you foresee the future?
A. No.

April 10th.

190. Why are not you always . . . . influenced by what I think?
A. Wife knows sometimes what you think.
191. How does wife know it?
A. When her brain is excited and has not been much tried before.
192. But by what means are my thoughts conveyed to her brain?
A. Electro-biology.
193. What is electro-biology?
A. No one knows.
194. But do not you know?
A. No. Wife does not know.
195. What makes you always call her "wife"?
A. You always think of wife.
196. But I never *call* her "wife." Why do you?
A. I am nothing without wife.
200. That is no answer. *Why* do you call her so?
A. Because she is all a wife.

My object in quoting this large number of questions and replies has not been merely to show the instantaneous and unfailing transmission of thought from questioner to operator; but, more especially, to call attention to a remarkable characteristic of the answers given. These answers, consistent and invariable in their tenor from first to last, *did not correspond with the opinions or expectations of either myself or my wife.* Something which takes the appearance of a source of intelligence *distinct from the conscious intelligence of either of us*, was clearly perceptible from the very first. Assuming, at the outset, that if her source of percipience could grasp my questions, it would be equally willing to reply in accordance with my request, in the first two questions I suggested the form of answer; but of this not the slightest notice was taken! Neither myself nor my wife had ever taken part in any form of (so-called) "spiritual" manifestations before this time; nor had we any decided opinion as to the agency by which phenomena of this kind were brought about. But for such answers as those numbered 14, 27, 137, 144, 192, and 194, we were both of us totally unprepared; and I may add that, so far as we were prepossessed by any opinions whatever, these replies were distinctly opposed to such opinions. In a word, it is simply impossible that these replies should have been either suggested or composed by the *conscious* intelligence of either of us.

One isolated but very interesting experiment deserves to be recorded here.

I had a young man reading with me as a private pupil at this time. On February 12th he returned from his vacation; and, on being told of our experiments, expressed his incredulity very strongly. I offered any proof that he liked to insist upon, only stipulating that I should see the question asked. Accordingly, Mrs. Newnham took her accustomed chair in my study, while we went out into the hall, *and shut the door behind us.* He then wrote down on a piece of paper:—

87. What is the Christian name of my eldest sister?

We at once returned to the study, and found the answer already waiting for us:—

A. Mina.

(This name was the family abbreviation of Wilhelmina: and I should add that it was unknown to myself.)

I need make no comments upon such a case as this.

I must now go on to speak of a series of other experiments, of a very remarkable kind.

We soon found that my wife was perfectly unable to follow the motions of the Planchette. Often she only touched it with a single finger; but even with all her fingers resting on the board she never had the slightest idea of what words were being traced out. This is important to remember, in view of the fact that five or six questions were often asked consecutively without her being told of the subject that was being pursued. (Rule 2.)

It struck me that it would be a good thing to take advantage of this peculiarity on her part, to ask questions upon subjects that it was impossible for her to know anything about. It will be noticed that in some of the

questions quoted above (142, 120, 122), a word is inserted between brackets. I must now explain that in the original note-book, the words between brackets are always replaced by the word "Masonic." I had taken a deep interest in Masonic archæology. and I now questioned Planchette on some subjects connected therewith.

February 14th.

92. What is the English of the Great Word of the R.A.?
After an interruption, of which I shall speak hereafter, one great word of the Degree, but not the one I meant, was written, very slowly and clearly.
97. Is the word truly genuine, or is it a made-up one?
A. Tried to tell: can't.
98. By whom was the word first used?
A. Too hard work for wife.

February 18th.

112. What is the translation of the Great Triple Word?
A. (The first syllable of the word in question was written correctly, and then it proceeded.) The end unknown. Three languages. Greece. Egypt. Syriac.
113. What part of the word is Greek?
A. Meaning unknown.
114. When was the word first invented?
A. Told all I know.
115. Who are you that know?
(Answer scrawled and illegible.)
116. Please repeat same answer legibly?
Manifestation triune person.

(Here follow questions 117—122, as above.)

March 15th.

125, 126. What are the three languages of which the Great R.A. Word is composed?
A. Answered all I could before.
127. You said one part of the word was Greek. Which is it?
A. Greek, I think.
128. Which syllable do you think is Greek?
A. The last.
129. What is the English translation of it?
A. Can't explain it.
130. If the last syllable be Greek, which is Egyptian, as you said?
A. I cannot tell you more than you know.
131. But why, then, do you say that that syllable is Greek which *I* think Egyptian?
A. Wife can't always receive impressions.

(Here follow 132—139, as above.)

March 26th.

166. Of what language is the first syllable of the Great Triple R.A.Word?
A. Don't know.
167. Yes, you do. What are the three languages of which the word is composed?
A. Greek, Egypt, Syriac first syllable *(correctly given)*, rest unknown.
168. Write the syllable which is Syriac.
A. (First syllable correctly written.)
169. Write the syllable which is Egyptian.
A. Second.
170. Can you not write the syllable itself?
A. Third Greek.
174. Write down the word itself.
A. First three and last two letters were written correctly, but four incorrect letters, *partly borrowed from another word of the same degree*, came in the middle.
176. Why do you write a word of which I know nothing?
A. Wife tried hard to tell the word, but could not quite catch it.
177. Catch it from whom?
A. Not quite sure.
178. Not quite sure of what?
A. I know nothing. Wife doesn't quite know.

In the above series of answers we have, it seems to me, a very remarkable combination of knowledge and ignorance. There is a perfect appreciation of my thoughts, in the queries; but a strange, persistent, almost dogged, incapability of seeing my thoughts, in the replies. Especially in the answer to 116, and in some other answers (which are not given), there is a reference to an opinion which was published by Dr. Oliver, whose works I had been carefully reading about four months before, but with whose theory, in this case, I most strongly disagreed. So that here was an opinion intimated which it was impossible that the operator could have been aware of, and which the questioner had absolutely rejected as untenable!

How can we account for such a case as this? If it were merely the questioner's brain which transmitted the thoughts, or which (so to speak) could be read like an open book by some clairvoyance on the part of the operator—why should not the expected reply impress itself upon the operator as rapidly and as lucidly as did the questions?

Still more forcibly are such perplexities as these brought before us by the following experiment:—

182. Write out the prayer used at the advancement of a Mark Master Mason.
A. Almighty Ruler of the Universe and Architect of all worlds, we beseech Thee to accept this, our brother, whom we have this day received into our most honourable Company of Mark Master Masons. Grant him to be a worthy member of our brotherhood; and may he be in his own person a perfect mirror of all Masonic virtues. Grant that all our doings may be to Thy honour and glory, and to the welfare of all mankind.

This prayer was written off instantaneously and very rapidly. It is a very remarkable production indeed. For the benefit of those who are not members of the craft, I may say that no prayer in the slightest degree resembling it is made use of in the Ritual of any Masonic degree; and yet it contains more than one strictly accurate technicality connected with the degree of Mark Mason. My wife has never seen any Masonic prayers, whether in "Carlile," or any other real or spurious Ritual of the Masonic Order.

Here, then, assuredly, was a formula composed by some intelligence totally distinct from the conscious intelligence of either of the persons engaged in the experiment.

I proceeded to inquire as follows :—

183. I do not know this prayer. Where is it to be found ?
A. Old American Ritual.
184. Where can I get one ?
A. Most likely none in England.
185. Can you not write the prayer that I make use of in my own Lodge ?
A. No, I don't know it.

In these last answers we see a new moral element introduced. There is evasion, or subterfuge, of a more or less ingenious kind ; and totally foreign to the whole character and natural disposition of the operator. A similar attempt at deliberate invention, rather than plead guilty to total ignorance, is contained in the following answers :—

May 7th.

255. In what Masonic degree was the Triple Word first used ?
A. Wife does not know.
256. Cannot you tell her ?
A. How can wife know what no one else does ?
257. Does *no* one, then, know the answer to this ?
A. No one knows now.
258. What do you mean by "now" ? Did anyone once know ?
A. The last one who knew died at least 20 years ago.
259. What was his name ?
A. In America ; don't know name.

And again, *May 21st.*

280. Can you write the Triple R.A. Word to-night ?
A. Abracadabra.
281. Wrong word. Try again.
A. Wife can't write secret words.
282. Then why did you profess to write it, the other day ?
A. I only wrote what wife knew.
283. But if she knows it why do you not write it to-night ?
A. You told her.
284. What did I tell her ?
A. One day when your influence over her was very strong.

(N.B. The answer to 284 is a case of "arrested" reply ; *i.e.*, it is a continuation of the reply to 283, without reference to question 284 at all.)

285. Then why does she not write it now?
A. Wife can't understand.
286. Is it my question, or the answer to it, that she can't understand?
A. Don't know.
287. What is the matter with you to-night?
A. You are tired and so is wife.

I have spoken of the introduction of an apparently "new *moral* element" into some of the foregoing replies. I am inclined to emphasise this point. The existence of a reciprocal intelligence is clear enough; and so long as this intelligence only varies in depth or rapidity of perception, we have only to note occasional differences of degree or quantity, so to speak. But the question becomes greatly complicated by the appearance of a low tone of moral feeling, and a total indifference to truth for its own sake, coupled with what looks like a morbid dread of seeming to be ignorant of the reply to the question. The differences now become matters of *quality* rather than of *quantity*. I wish to invite very careful consideration of this phenomenon, of which I will now adduce a few more instances.

It was during the time of the Franco-German war; and two young Frenchmen, former pupils of mine, had been called out for service. In order to test the intelligence, I asked as follows:—

January 29th.

29. Where is A. H. now?
A. Safe.
(This reply was afterwards found to be correct, although my friend was wounded subsequently.)
30. And L. D.?
A. From home.
31. Is he in the war?
A. No.
32. Has he been engaged in the war?
A. Yes.
33. In what country is he living?
A. Prisoner.

The curious evasion of the answer here is all the more to be noticed, as the ultimate reply was correct.

Subsequently, March 19th, I asked:—

156. Who told you that L. D. was prisoner?
A. He will only get a slight punishment.
157. Please answer my last question.
A. They liked his sermon very much.

Here is a deliberate evasion of a question which there was no wish to answer. Being pressed the subject is closed.

158. How did you find out that L. D. was a prisoner?
A. Wife's brain getting bewildered.

Later on in the year (in October) I asked—*the operator being aware of the question :—*

313. Whence did wife's brain gather the answers to 29 and 30 ?
A. Wife's brain knew it, for she knew their characters.

In order to test the possibility of prescience in this intelligence, I had frequently pressed it rather hard as to the probable date of an event which I expected to happen to myself, sooner or later, but had no notion of how long it would be first. In reply to questions 4, 5, 6, the date of Christmas, 1871, had been fixed for this event to happen. In 152 I recurred to the same subject ; and after two answers, referring back to previous questions on other matters, I again got the answer "Very likely Christmas." I represented that circumstances rendered this simply impossible, and the reply came :—

152. A. Christmas is your free time.

And on my urging that the event expected *never* took place at Christmas, it simply said :—

153. A. There will be this year.

On May 7th, I asked :—

267. What will . . . . do to-morrow night ?
A. I don't know.
268. Can you never foresee what is going to happen ?
A. No, I can't.
269. Then, how do you know what I am going to do next Christmas ?
A. That is settled now : it is not to be settled in the future.
270. Who has settled it, and when was it settled ?
A. Why do you want to know ?
271. That I may verify your statment when the time comes.
A. —— settled it about three months ago.
272. Who proposed it ?
A. M. and P. (names written at full of two persons who were the most probable ones to have been concerned in the matter.)

Now the whole of these replies evince an attempt to keep up consistency, and every one of them was pure and absolute fiction, and the readiness with which every query was met was fully equalled by the audacious unscrupulousness of the inventive art which persisted in defending an absolutely impossible position to which the first answers stood committed, some months before.

Of ingenious evasion pure and simple the following are good examples :—

18. What is the matter with old J. ? (an aged parishioner of mine, who was ill at the time.)
An "arrested" answer was given ; being the last half of the answer to 17.
19. Please answer my question as to Mr. J. ?
A. No.

20. Can you not, or will you not?
    A. Don (the pencil then slipped off the paper).
21. Question repeated.
    A. Don't know.
22. Will he get better? Do you know?
    A. Yes.
23. Is it "Yes" to the first question, or to the second? Answer one or two.
    A. Two.
24. Is it wrong in me to ask?
    A. No.
25. Then will Mr. J. die in this illness, or no?
    A. Soon. (This was not the case: he lived several years.)
26. In how many weeks? Answer in figures.
    A. I won't tell.

In the autumn a friend who was staying with me had made a big find of some (apparently) "chipped flints," on the Dorsetshire downs. I was doubtful myself of their true character, and my friend proposed to ask Planchette. Accordingly I inquired:—

September 3rd.

305. What are the flints which William found to-day?
    A. You do not expect me to know things so far back.

I have referred above to "arrested" or "retarded" answers. I use these terms to denote two modes in which a curious dogged pertinacity was manifested. Sometimes the pencil would come to its usual dead stop, and, the sense being apparently complete, a new question would be asked; but Planchette at once went on with an expansion of its previous reply. This is the "arrested" answer. The "retarded" answer is when the intelligence at work seems as though it were obliged to relieve itself of some previous impression, before it could turn its attention to a new line of thought.

The following are interesting cases of the "retarded" answer:—

January 30th.

A friend and his wife were present and asked to put questions. The gentleman was not merely incredulous, but rather unpleasantly so. His question was one the answer to which I did not know, namely:—

40. What were the names given to Mrs. E.'s baby?
    The answer was quite unintelligible.
41. The answer is illegible. Please repeat it.
    A. Ellen Theresa.

This reply is very curious. It was quite wrong, neither of these names having been given; but both of them are family names of the near relations of the querist's wife, who was sitting by.

42. Please give the names of Mrs. E.'s baby.
    A. I can't tell.

43. Can you give the name of Mrs. P.'s last baby but one?
A. Too many people.

It was plain that some disturbing influence was at work; and the experiment was abandoned.

Two days later—February 1st—we commenced again :—

47. Give the names of Mrs. P.'s baby, who is my godson.

Although myself and wife were alone as usual, the instrument absolutely refused to move. After waiting a long time, I thought it best to break into a new line, and asked :—

48. What name shall we give to our new dog?

The reply came at once.

A. Yesterday was not a fair trial.

This is the more noticeable as it was not "yesterday," but the day before, that the failure had taken place, which was evidently weighing on Planchette's intelligence.

I asked :—

49. Why was not yesterday a fair trial?
A. Dog.

(Here is an endeavour to catch up the idea of question 48.)

50. Why was not yesterday a fair trial?
A. Want strength.
51. Who wants strength?
A. Yes.
52. Who is it that wants strength? You, or wife?
A. Wife.

A similar case occurred again on February 14th. A friend and his sister were present, and were inclined to ridicule the whole matter. My friend asked, "Of whom am I thinking?" Planchette made two very probable, but mistaken, guesses. He then asked to be told the population of his parish, and the answer was 310; whereas the correct figures were 510; and, as my wife showed signs of exhaustion, the questions were abandoned.

In the evening I recommenced my Masonic test questions; and asked (92) "What is the English of the Great Word of the R.A.?" and was much amused when the reply began: "Miss B." (my friend's sister) and there was arrested. I proceeded.

93. Please explain your answer.
A. Fidgets wife.

The completion of the "*arrested*" answer perfects the "*retarded*" answer. Planchette was evidently still full of the last strong impression of the afternoon's failure, and was obliged to offer an explanation before it would proceed to other business.

An excellent case of totally independent answering, coupled with a sense of humour, was manifested on the following occasion.

April 16th.

We had all been a good deal worried about several matters, and on asking the first question of the evening, the Planchette refused to write words, but after some lines of unintelligible scribble, drew the profile of a hideous face. I went on :—

201. Answer unintelligible.
A. Can't see the question. (Then it drew a facsimile of the previous face.)
202. Why do you draw that face at the end ?
A. A little amusement.
203. Is the face a portrait of any one ?
A. Wife would like to amuse you.
204. Is the face intended to be a portrait ?
A. Of course.
205. Of whom, then, is it a portrait ?
A. When people are sad they should be amused.
206. Of whom is the face a portrait ?
A. You know quite well.
207. I don't. Please answer.
A. Possibly I know better.
208. I daresay, but please answer.
(Only unintelligible flourishes made.)
209. Question repeated.
A. What you need. (This, I imagine, is the arrested conclusion of 207.)

Later on, after much evasion to other questions, I said :—

221. Answer my question, and don't talk rubbish.
A. Don't be cross.

A few minutes later, in reply to question 230, Planchette drew a wavy line, and then wrote "pretty little man."

231. Please explain, and don't chaff.
(It drew the same profile as in reply to 201.)
232. Please reply.
(It drew something like a wall and battlemented tower.)
233. Don't be ridiculous, and answer.
A. D.'s likeness (my wife's sister).
234. Either answer my question, or say you will not.
A. You don't understand fun.
235. Yes, I do ; but I don't want fun now. Please answer.
A. It is much better to be silly sometimes than wise always.
236. I quite agree with you. Nevertheless, answer my question.
A. Too much work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.
237. Will you answer, or no ?
A. You are sleepy.
238. Answer my question.
(Reply too faint to be read.)
239. Please repeat, distinctly.
A. It is time to go to sleep—go to bed.

May 10th.

Planchette again gave us an example of its sense of the humorous.

I had been obliged at short notice to provide a substitute for my curate at a small lonely parish in the Dorset hills, several miles away from my own house. I had to engage a clergyman who was not a favourable specimen of his profession, as I could procure no one else in time to get the Sunday's work done. He was much amused with Planchette, and desired to ask :—

277. How should a bachelor live in this neighbourhood ?

(The answer was illegible.)

278. Please repeat answer.

A. Three months.

(Planchette evidently did not catch the exact query.)

279. I did not ask *how long*, but *how ?*

A. Eating and drinking and sleeping and smoking.

That clergyman never consulted Planchette again.

I will conclude with a very pretty instance of a mistake instantly corrected. It was on the same evening, May 10th ; I had to preach on the following Whit-Monday, on the occasion of laying a foundation stone with Masonic ceremonial, so I asked :—

275. Give me a text for Whit-Monday's sermon ?

A. If I go not away, the Comforter will not come to you.

The selection of a subject suitable for *Whitsuntide* is plainly the first idea caught by the intelligence ; so I proceeded :—

276. That will not do for my subject. I want a text for the *Monday's* sermon.

A. Let brotherly love continue.

I have had a twofold object in quoting the foregoing large number of questions and answers, which, *in themselves*, are often trivial and worthless.

I. My first aim has been to prove incontestably the possibility of absolutely perfect and instantaneous transmission of thought from one brain to another, although the recipient brain was in a normal state, and entirely apart from any so-called "magnetic," mesmeric, or other hypnotic influences. I am not aware of any exactly parallel experiments having as yet been carefully registered and recorded.

II. But it is impossible for me to close this paper without again very urgently calling attention to what I have termed the low "*moral*" character of the re-acting intelligence.

We are all familiar with this phenomenon in the average experience of so-called "*spiritual controls*," but in these cases the "*controlled*" medium is more or less hypnotic and unconscious. And I think that the recurrence of the same phenomenon in the case of a person in perfect health, and in the enjoyment of full consciousness, is worthy of very serious consideration.

"*Hypotheses non fingo*" is an absolutely necessary rule for psychical inquirers at the present time. Our work is to amass facts for some mastermind of a future generation to piece together. Most assuredly I shall offer no theory to explain this curious appearance of what looks like the presence of a "third centre of intelligence," distinct from the *conscious* intelligence

and character of either of the two parties engaged in the experiments. But I should like to suggest two questions, which appear to me to be well worth the careful consideration of biologists and psychologists.

1. Is this "third intelligence" analogous to the "dual state," the existence of which, in a few extreme and most interesting cases, is now well established? Is there a latent potentiality of a "dual state" existing in *every* brain, and are the few very striking phenomena which have as yet been noticed and published only the exceptional developments of a state which is inherent in most, or even in all, brains?

2. Is it possible that this "dual state" arises from the fact that we habitually use only one of the cerebral hemispheres for the transaction of our ordinary brain-work; leaving the other, so to speak, untrained and undisciplined? and so, if the untrained side of the brain be suddenly stimulated to action, its behaviour is apt to resemble that of a child, whose education has not been properly attended to. The percipient powers of such a child may be astonishingly acute, and the depth of its intuitive remarks and replies will often astonish everybody that associates with it. Neither will it be habitually deceptive, or otherwise immoral; but its morality is simply a matter of convenience. It cannot bear to be put in the wrong, and will never acknowledge itself to have been wrong. It will lie persistently; not for the sake of deceiving, but in order to prove itself to have been in the right, and to claim the position of a martyr, if punished. We are all familiar with such characters; especially in young girls at a critical period of life; when it has been said that for a year or two many girls have "no conscience whatever." In such cases no doubt physical causes are sufficient to hold the moral training of childhood in abeyance, for a time, and to produce the appearance of a morality far below what the same person evinced a few years before, or will evince a few years later. May not the "untrained half" of the organ of mind, even in the most pure and truthful characters, be capable of manifesting similar tendencies, and of producing, at all events, the *appearance* of moral deficiencies which are totally foreign to the well-trained and disciplined portion of the brain which is ordinarily made use of?

P. H. Newnham.

Before proceeding to further comment, I will make one or two additional citations from the diary before me.

We have had a case where a thermometrical reading was given with substantial correctness, but not as either Mr. or Mrs. N. would have given it. Here is a case where a barometrical reading is given *incorrectly*, but as either Mr. or Mrs. N. might have *guessed* it to be.

85. Write in figures the lowest barometrical reading here last month.

A. 21 (last figure doubtful; then stopped).

86. Answer incomplete. Please repeat.

A. 29. 35. Tired.

"The addition of tired, of its own accord," says Mr. Newnham, "seems to plead for pardon, if wrong." That is to say that towards the end of a sitting the answers generally become vaguer, and fatigue is alleged as an excuse.

In fact, the transmission of thought, as already observed, was not always effective. Sometimes the Planchette persisted in expressing some idea of its own; sometimes it only gradually came to the knowledge of the subject of the question.

48. What name shall we give to our new dog?
A. Yesterday was not a fair trial.
49. Why was not yesterday a fair trial?
A. Dog.

And again:—

108. What do I mean by chaffing C. about a lilac tree?
A. Temper and imagination.
109. You are thinking of somebody else. Please reply to my question.
A. Lilacs.

Mr. Newnham, in his notes, is careful to state that in the case of question 108 Mrs. Newnham "knew that there was some chaff in the question, but did not know against whom the chaff was." The vague answer, "temper and imagination," was, therefore, just such as her conscious mind alone might have produced.* But the answer to 109 shows that her unconscious mind was beginning to get hold of the question, in just the fragmentary manner in which "dog" was given before.

It will have been observed that the replies throughout show very little *originality* from the side of the *writer's* brain. They are for the most part reflections of the questioner's thoughts, helped out by poor jokes and evasions. I will conclude these quotations with one answer which seems to show an independent originative effort on the writer's side.

59. What name shall we give to our new dog? *Nipen.*

"The name of Nipen," adds Mr. Newnham, "from *Feats on the Fiord*, shot into the operator's brain just as the question was asked."

Now Mr. Newnham had been thinking of another name, and the choice of the name of the tricksy Norwegian sprite came, as far as we can tell, wholly from the operator's mind. Possibly some unusual vivacity in the suggestion carried it over the threshold,—from the writer's unconscious into her conscious mind,—as she was in the act of writing it down. It will be remembered, of course, that she had no conscious knowledge as to what was the question asked.

But what, it may fairly be asked at this point, do I mean by "the unconscious mind"? Is this a mere synonym for the "complex unconscious cerebration" of which I spoke in my first paper? or am I postulating some distinct focus of psychical action,—co-ordinate, in some sense, with the *conscious* mind?

* "I should add," says Mr. Newnham, in a letter to me, "that these two words formed part of habitual family 'chaff' among ourselves."

At the risk of tediousness, I must endeavour to answer this question as fully as possible. For in no subject is it more necessary than in psychical research to define the meaning of new terms, or terms used in a new sense, as soon as they are introduced. In no subject is there a greater danger of the illicit extension of established scientific phraseology. A metaphor, used at first avowedly as a metaphor, and then insensibly sliding into an assertion of fact, may give a spurious look of orthodoxy to what is really no more than an unverified hypothesis. The name, for instance, of "animal magnetism," suggested at first by some real, though probably superficial analogies, has been the source of many a page of wild theory and prepossessed observation. It is better to give the new thing a new name,—descriptive like "hypnotism," historical like "mesmerism," or even purely arbitrary like "odic force," and then to leave its reality to be established by independent observation and argument.

To apply this principle to the present case. In the discussion on "Clelia," in my last paper, I certainly pushed the phrase, "unconscious cerebration," as far as it can, with any fairness, be made to go. The accepted writers on unconscious cerebration (of whom Dr. Carpenter may be taken as the principal English representative) treat this unconscious action of the brain as a process which, though distinct from, is *subsidiary* to, consciousness, as a subaqueous agitation which stirs the conscious surface, not as a stream which meets the stream of consciousness, still less as an earthquake-wave, which is capable of effacing and overwhelming it. But in "Clelia" we saw produced, for the first time, perhaps, in psycho-physical discussions, an instance of a sane and waking man holding a colloquy, so to speak, with his own dream; an instance, that is to say, where the unconscious cerebral action was not subordinated to the conscious,—did not depend for its manifestation on the direction of the conscious attention elsewhere, but presented itself as co-ordinate with the conscious action, and as able to force itself upon the attention of the waking mind. How different this is from the stock examples will be seen at a glance. When Gauss answers the servant-maid who announces that his wife is dying, with, "Tell her to wait till I come," it is because the absorption of his conscious attention—his highest centres*—in a train of abstract reasoning, leaves certain lower

* I use the term "highest centres" as the best-authorised expression for the cerebral correlative of conscious (or at least complex) mentation. See, for instance, Hughlings-Jackson ("Croonian Lectures," 1884, p. 4.) "The triple conclusion come to is that the highest centres, which are the climax of nervous evolution, and which make up the 'organ of mind' (or physical basis of consciousness), are the least organised, the most complex, and the most voluntary." The term "unconscious mentation" is used deliberately; but I must defer its defence till a future occasion, and the reader who demurs to it may substitute "cerebration" without injury to the present argument.

centres free to shape, unchecked, the *coherent*, but not altogether *appropriate*, reply. Even when the somnambulist solves in sleep the problem which baffled him when waking, the high centres which thus act automatically are enabled to do so only because the habitual conscious mentation is temporarily checked by profound sleep. If Gauss had given his full attention to what the maid-servant said, he would have made some more logical answer. And, conversely, if the somnambulist had woke up while he was writing out the problem, he would have been at a loss as to the next step. In either case the manifestation, whether more or less intelligent, of the unconscious mentation depends on the inhibition, or the diversion, of the conscious mentation. But in the "Clelia" case, the unconscious mentation flowed on intercurrently with the conscious. It asserted for itself a kind of co-ordinate position, and employed the waking hand to write anagrams which the waking brain found a difficulty in solving.

It must be confessed, therefore, that in advancing this case I am already overpassing very considerably the recognised limits of unconscious cerebration. And, moreover, I do not even advance the "Clelia" case as in my view an altogether *exceptional* one. I conceive, rather, that this kind of active duality of mentation—this kind of colloquy between a conscious and an unconscious self—is not a rare, but a fairly common phenomenon. I believe that I have personally witnessed it, in slightly different forms, in at least 12 cases during the past 12 years. Most of the cases, however, of which I speak, are not suitable for quotation here, for they would not in themselves have proved the active duality of the mind, since they did not contain —what the "Clelia" case *did* contain—internal proof of that duality inherent in the very nature of the messages written. I have preferred, therefore, to leave it to my readers to repeat the experiment for themselves, or with trusted friends, and thus to acquire that *subjective* certainty which the automatist soon feels, that his *conscious* mentation is not supplying the written answers which flow from his pen.

I must, however, interrupt my argument to add one more case, precisely parallel with "Clelia," with which Professor Sidgwick has furnished me, from his own experience with an intimate friend.

The experiences which I mentioned to you as similar to those described in your paper—so far as the mere effects of unconscious cerebration are concerned—occurred about 20 years ago. An intimate friend of mine who had interested himself somewhat in Spiritualism, and had read Kardec's book, discovered almost by accident that his hand could write, without any conscious volition on his part, words conveying an intelligible meaning—in fact, what purported to be communications of departed spirits. He asked me to come and stay with him, in order to investigate the phenomenon; he had been rather struck by some things in Kardec's book, and was quite dis-

posed to entertain the hypothesis that the writing might be due to something more than unconscious cerebration, if it should turn out that it could give accurate information on facts unknown to him. The experiments, however, that we made in order to test this always failed to show anything in the statements written down that might not have been due to the working of his own brain; and at the end of my visit we were both agreed that there was no ground for attributing the phenomenon to any other cause but unconscious cerebration. At the same time we were continually surprised by evidences of the extent to which his unconscious self was able to puzzle his conscious mind. As a rule, he knew what he was writing, though he wrote involuntarily; but from time to time he used to form words or conjunctions of letters which we were unable to make out at first, though they had a meaning which we ultimately discovered. Thus one evening, just as we were about to break up, the capital letters K H A I R E T E were written; their meaning will not be obscure to you, but it so happened that it did not at first occur to us that K H represented the Greek χ, so that we had no idea what the letters meant, and tried various solutions till the true signification ("Farewell") suddenly flashed upon my mind. On another occasion I asked a question of the supposed communicating intelligence, and requested that the answer might be given in German, a language which my friend was unable to read or write, though he had learnt to speak one or two words while travelling in the country. His hand proceeded to write what was apparently one long word, which seemed to him absolutely without meaning; but when I came to read it I could see that it was composed of a number of German words, though put together without proper grammatical terminations; and that these words *suggested*—though they could hardly be said to *convey*—what would have been a proper and significant answer to my question. The words were all common words, such as he might have heard in conversation; and when I had separated them, and told him their meaning, he seemed faintly to recognise some of them.

Sometimes, again, when we tried to get correct information as to facts unknown to either of us, the result was curious as showing an apparently elaborate attempt on the part of my friend's unconscious self to deceive his conscious self. I remember (*e.g.*) that one night we got written down what purported to be the first sentence in a leading article of the *Times* that had just been written and would appear next morning. The sentence was in the familiar style of Printing House Square; but I need not say that when we came down to breakfast next morning we did not find it in the printed columns. My friend immediately placed his hand on a piece of paper; and there came, involuntarily written in the usual way, a long rigmarole of explanation to the effect that the article originally written, containing the sentence that we had got the night before, had been cancelled at the last moment by the editor in consequence of some unexpected political exigency, and another article hastily substituted. And similarly in other cases when statements involuntarily written were ascertained to be false, explanations were written exhibiting the kind of ingenuity which a fairly inventive hoaxer might show when driven into a corner.

If I had not had absolute reliance on my friend's *bona fides*, I might have supposed that he was mystifying me; but I could not doubt that his curiosity

as to the result of the experiments was greater than mine, and that he had no conscious desire to make me believe that the phenomenon was anything more than the result of unconscious cerebration.

I am sorry that the notes I took at the time have been destroyed; but I have no doubt that what I have just written is accurately remembered.

I have said that the writer usually knew what he was writing. This was not the case in his first trials, when the writing came in an abrupt, jerky, and irregular way, and he rarely knew what he had written till he looked at it. But after the first few trials, the flow of unconscious action became even and steady, like that of ordinary conscious handwriting; and then he generally —though not always—knew just before each word was written what it would be; so that when the statements made were entirely contrary to our expectation—as was often the case—his surprise used to come just before the word was actually written.

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I repeat, then, that in my view such cases as this are not exceptional, not extreme; that they represent a degree of dual action to which perhaps one person in a hundred could by persistent effort attain.

It must be repeated, then, that this conclusion is already far enough from the accredited view as to the extent of the brain's unconscious operation. A *secondary self*—if I may coin the phrase—is thus gradually postulated,—a latent capacity, at any rate, in an appreciable fraction of mankind, of developing or manifesting a second focus of cerebral energy which is apparently neither fugitive nor incidental merely—a delirium or a dream—but may possess, for a time at least, a kind of continuous individuality, a purposive activity of its own.*

But, of course, a still further step away from physiological orthodoxy is made when Mr. Newnham's case is set before the reader. For here we have, in fact, two innovations together; blended, indeed, at first sight into one, but manifest on inspection as separate marvels which assuredly *complicate*, though they may ultimately help to *explain* one another.

For, first, in Mr. Newnham's case, we have the telepathic communication of one mind with another, the transmission of thought without the agency of the senses, on which, in other forms of experiment, we have so often insisted, but which has not yet been generally accepted by the scientific world. And, secondly, we have the prolonged

* While this paper is passing through the press I have received Hellenbach's just published "Geburt und Tod" (Vienna, 1885), in which conclusions much resembling these are advocated, with some singular, even verbal, coincidences with an article on "Automatic Writing" which I published in the *Contemporary Review* for February last, and which Herr Hellenbach cannot possibly have seen. That two persons should independently hit on so *bizarre* a metaphor as "a blue and a yellow consciousness," might seem an impossible chance; but see *Contemporary Review*, 1885, p. 234; "Geburt und Tod," p. 66. Baron du Prel's "Philosophie der Mystik" (Leipzig, 1885) moves on somewhat the same line of argument, which has, of course, been advanced, with more or less distinctness, by many previous writers.

manifestation of a *secondary or inner self*, which is, as it would seem, no mere fragment or reflection of the primary self, but an entity thus far, at least, independent that it can acquire knowledge which the primary self has no means of reaching. It is the *secondary* self, that is to say, which receives or recognises the telepathic impact, which in some way or other knows what questions Mr. Newnham is writing, and in some way or other furnishes an intelligent reply.

Now this second marvel, or problem, is easily seen to be a problem quite separate from the first. It is quite possible to imagine telepathy without assuming an unconscious self. It is quite possible, for instance, to conceive of a "brain-wave," subtler, indeed, than the air-wave which carries the voice, even than the ether-wave which carries the glance—but carrying an impression which is caught in the same way as voice or glance by the percipient's voluntary attention and conscious strain. And it is quite possible, on the other hand, to imagine an unconscious self behind the self that we know, without including telepathy among the attributes of that unconscious self at all. From the metaphysical point of view, I need hardly say, every supposition that can well be made about the self has been made again and again before telepathy was heard of. And if there be more of novelty in this psycho-physical conception of a secondary self possessing our brains, as it were, in a kind of sleeping co-partnership, and utilising our members when it pleases him, for his private ends, yet this conception, with all its *bizarrerie*, by no means involves the assumption that the sleeping partner is in the habit of receiving telegrams which his more conspicuous coadjutor is unable to open or interpret.

Yet it is to some such assumption as this that Mr. Newnham's case, if steadily looked at, is seen to have led us. And it was to some such complexity of problems as this that I looked forward when, at the beginning of these papers, I spoke of the attractiveness of automatic writing as a subject for inquiry as largely derived from its direct bearing on the relation of *consciousness* to telepathy.

For I am not without hope that this very complication of the unknown telepathic impact with the unknown secondary self, may admit of being so handled as to throw some light on the nature of the problems involved in both the one and the other.

Our object, let us say, is to possess ourselves of a message, couched in we know not what tongue and conveyed by we know not what agency. We learn only that the message will be received at a certain house where we see an indecipherable inscription over the door. We know then that this house, (which in our parable represents the unconscious self), whatever else it may be, is an office for the receipt of messages. And our next duty will be to puzzle out, by all the analogies at our command, to what family of languages the inscription over the door belongs.

If we can find this out we shall get some notion as to the tongue and probable mode of conveyance of the message which we seek.

If then we fix our gaze steadily on these two problems together—the problem of telepathic action and the problem of the unconscious self—we shall recognise in the first place that there is nothing in the reception of telepathic influence, as we know it, which connects such reception with conscious effort, or conscious adjustment. Even in our cases of the transference of numbers, names, &c., where the percipient's whole attention is given to the experiment, no conscious effort on his part is effective unless it be the effort *not* to think, *not* to guess, to leave his field of inward vision clear for the flashing upon it of images from a camera whose illumination he can invite but not control.

A parallel case will make my meaning clearer. If we wish to recollect (say) the address of a friend we may make many conscious efforts in vain. First, we appeal directly to memory by an act of concentration; then we try to get at the street by roundabout suggestions, reflecting *whereabouts* it was, how *long* the name was, &c. Ultimately we feel that our only chance is to let our brain bring up the name of itself. We walk on in as blank a frame of mind as possible, and suddenly the required name swims up from below the threshold of consciousness, and automatic cerebration has done for us what will and effort could not do.

Whatever, in short, the precise mechanism of telepathy may be, the analogies which its mode of operation suggests are less often to the sudden excitations of peripheral stimuli, sight, hearing, and the like, than to the vaguer organic impressions, such as hunger, which gradually become perceptible from within.

And this is, to a great extent, true, even with regard to another large class of telepathic incidents which we have considered at length elsewhere. Our readers know that we have explained as telepathic impressions many "phantasms of the living"—apparitions, voices, &c., purporting to represent friends undergoing some crisis at a distance, which would ordinarily, if credited at all, have been classed as real objective manifestations, perceived by the organs of sight or sound. We believe that we have shown ground for supposing that these phantasms are by no means always such sudden or external things; that they also are apt to begin as indefinite—even *systemic*—affections, specialising themselves into emotion or sensation after a latency more or less prolonged;* rising, perhaps, into the percipient's consciousness in

* We have observed something like this period of latency even in the direct experiments on thought-transference;—the percipient sometimes guessing the *last* card or word after we had proceeded to think of another,—of course without indicating the previous one. Compare the *deferred* imitations of the operator's movements sometimes noticed in the hypnotic trance.

moments of drowsiness, or waking him with an accumulated energy which has developed itself in sleep.

These considerations will perhaps prepare us for the enunciation of three propositions, which are offered—not, assuredly, as established scientific conclusions, but as hypotheses more or less novel and disputable, yet sufficiently justified by observed facts to afford a convenient basis for further reasoning.

I. Coincidently with our normal or primary self there is within us a potential secondary self, or second focus of cerebration and mentation, which is not a mere metaphysical abstraction, but manifests itself occasionally by certain supernormal physiological or psychical activities.*

II. Telepathy is among the supernormal activities in which we have reason to suspect the operation of the unconscious or secondary self.

III. It may be expected that supernormal vital phenomena will manifest themselves as far as possible through the same channels as abnormal or morbid vital phenomena.

To illustrate the meaning of this third theorem, I may refer to a remark already made by Mr. Gurney and myself in dealing with "Phantasms of the Living," or veridical hallucinations, generated (as we have maintained), not by a morbid state of the percipient's brain, but by a telepathic impact from an agent at a distance. We have observed that if a hallucination—a subjective image—is to be excited by this distant energy, it will probably be most readily excited in somewhat the same manner as the morbid hallucination which follows on a cerebral injury. We have urged that this is *likely* to be the case—we have shown ground for supposing that it *is* the case—both as regards the mode of evolution of the phantasm in the percipient's brain, and the mode in which it seems to present itself to his senses.

And here I should wish to give a much wider generality to this principle, and to argue that if there be within us a secondary self aiming at manifestation by physiological means, it seems probable that its readiest *path of externalisation*—its readiest outlet of visible action, —may often lie along some track which has already been shown to be a line of low resistance by the disintegrating processes of disease. Or,

* I have ventured to coin the word "supernormal" to be applied to phenomena which are *beyond what usually happens—beyond*, that is, in the sense of suggesting unknown psychical laws. It is thus formed on the analogy of *abnormal*. When we speak of an abnormal phenomenon we do not mean one which *contravenes* natural laws, but one which exhibits them in an unusual or inexplicable form. Similarly by a supernormal phenomenon I mean, not one which *overrides* natural laws, for I believe no such phenomenon to exist, but one which exhibits the action of laws higher, in a psychical aspect, than are discerned in action in everyday life. By *higher* (either in a psychical or a physiological sense) I mean "apparently belonging to a more advanced stage of evolution."

varying the metaphor, we may anticipate that the partition of the primary and the secondary self will lie along some plane of cleavage which the *morbid* dissociations of our psychical synergies have already shown themselves disposed to follow. If epilepsy, madness, &c., tend to *split up* our faculties in certain ways, automatism is likely to split them up in ways somewhat resembling these.

This argument might be illustrated by various physical analogies. Let us choose as a simple one a musical instrument of limited range. The consummate musician can get effects out of this instrument which the ordinary player cannot rival. But he does this at the risk of evoking occasional sounds such as only the most blundering of beginners is wont to produce.

Savages take epilepsy for inspiration. They are thus far right, that epilepsy is (so to speak) the temporary destruction of the personality in consequence of its own instability, whereas inspiration was assumed to be the temporary subjugation of the personality by invasion from without. The one case, (if I may use the metaphor,) was a spontaneous combustion; the other an enkindlement by heavenly fire. In less metaphorical language, explosion and exhaustion of the highest nervous centres must have somewhat the same look, whatever may have been the nature of the stimulus which overcame their stability.

But in what way then, it will be asked, do you distinguish the supernormal from the merely abnormal? Why assume that in these aberrant states there is anything besides hysteria, besides epilepsy, besides insanity?

The answer to this question would need to be a long one. Perhaps it may be best for present purposes if I ask the reader to anticipate a thesis which I shall hope to develop on some future occasion, and to regard all psychical, as well as all physiological activities as necessarily either developmental or degenerative, tending to evolution or to dissolution. And further, whilst altogether waiving any teleological speculation, I will ask him hypothetically to suppose that an evolutionary *nisus*, something which we may represent as an effort towards self-development, self-adaptation, self-renewal, is discernible especially on the psychical side of at any rate the higher forms of life. Our question, Supernormal or abnormal?—may then be phrased, Evolutive or dissolutive? And in studying each psychical phenomenon in turn we shall have to inquire whether it indicates a mere degeneration of powers already acquired, or, on the other hand, the "promise and potency," if not the actual possession, of powers as yet unrecognised or unknown.

Thus, for instance, Telepathy is surely a step in *evolution*.* To

* To avoid misconception, I may point out that this view in no way negatives the possibility that telepathy (or its correlative telergy) may be in some of its aspects commoner, or more powerful, among savages than among ourselves.

learn the thoughts of other minds without the mediation of the special senses manifestly indicates the possibility of a vast extension of psychical powers. And any knowledge which we can amass as to the conditions under which telepathic action takes place, will form a valuable starting point for an inquiry as to the evolutive or dissolutive character of unfamiliar psychical states.*

Thus, for instance, we may learn from our knowledge of telepathy that the superficial aspect of certain stages of psychical evolution, like the superficial aspect of certain stages of physiological evolution, may resemble mere *inhibition*, or mere *perturbation*. The hypnotised subject may pass through a lethargic stage before he wakes into a state in which he has gained *community of sensation* with the operator; somewhat as the silkworm (to use the oldest and the most suggestive of all illustrations) passes through the apparent torpor of the cocoon-stage before evolving into the moth. Again, the automatist's hand, (as we have seen, for instance, in Professor Sidgwick's narrative,) is apt to pass through a stage of ineo-ordinated movements, which might almost be taken for choreic, before it acquires the power of ready and intelligent writing. Similarly the development, for instance, of a tooth may be preceded by a stage of indefinite aching, which might be ascribed to the formation of an abscess, did not the new tooth ultimately show itself. And still more striking cases of a *perturbation which masks evolution* might be drawn from the history of the human organism as it develops into its own maturity, or prepares for the appearance of the fresh human organism which is to succeed it.

Analogy, therefore, both physiological and psychical, warns us not to conclude that any given psychosis is merely degenerative until we have examined its results closely enough to satisfy ourselves whether they tend to bring about any enlargement of human powers, to open

Evolutionary processes are not necessarily *continuous*. The acquirement by our lowly-organised ancestors of the sense of *smell* (for instance) was a step in evolution. But the sense of smell probably reached its highest energy in races earlier than man; and it has perceptibly declined even in the short space which separates civilised man from existing savages. Yet if, with some change in our environment, the sense of smell again became useful, and we re-acquired it, this would be none the less an evolutionary process because the evolution had been interrupted.

* I do not wish to assert that *all* unfamiliar psychical states are necessarily evolutive or dissolutive in any assignable manner. I should prefer to suppose that there are states which may better be styled *allotropic*;—modifications of the arrangements of nervous elements on which our conscious identity depends, but with no more conspicuous *superiority* of the one state over the other than (for instance,) charcoal possesses over graphite or graphite over charcoal. But there may also be states in which the (metaphorical) carbon becomes *diamond*;—with so much at least of *advance* on previous states as is involved in the substitution of the crystalline for the amorphous structure.

any new inlet to the reception of objective truth. If such there prove to be, then, with whatever morbid activities the psychosis may have been intertwined, it contains indications of an evolutionary *nisus* as well.

I must not pursue this subject here. But I must guard myself in passing against the possible supposition that I am in some way justifying morbid states, or recommending their induction, on the plea that they may contain what I term evolutionary elements, and may be the avenue to new knowledge. The fact is quite the contrary. With regard to our right of inflicting pain either on our fellow-creatures or on animals for the sake of obtaining knowledge, my views are, perhaps, narrower than the dominant school of physiologists would be willing to endorse. And if the injury to be inflicted be *psychical* injury, it seems to me obvious that our standard of admissibility should be stricter still.

But for my own part, although knowledge *per se* is no doubt a primary aim, I am aiming also, with no less directness of intention, at explicitly sanative, explicitly ethical ends. I know enough of the mischief which is being done to the minds of men and women, in America especially, by the unquestioning reception of these spurious self-generated revelations through pencil and planchette, to feel that, though it may be but a small element in the mass of human error, it is, nevertheless, worth a considerable effort to set right. And, while I sympathise with the moral purpose of various physiologists who have attempted this task, I feel that they have gone to work in not the most effective manner. In such a case it is useless to scoff or to sermonise, you must understand and explain. If a man tells you that the spirit of Shelley writes through him, and recommends free-love, it is of no use to answer that it is all nonsense and very wrong. The man simply thinks that you know nothing about it, and sticks to his Shelley and his free-love more triumphantly than ever.

To prevent graphic automatism from being a source of mental danger, it is necessary, not that it should be repressed and sneered at, but that it should be openly practised and understood. When thus treated, there is, so far as I know, no cause for grave anxiety of any kind in connection with any of that group of phenomena which we are now discussing.* Here indeed, as in all psychical inquiries, there is need for prudence and caution; and it will have been observed that in

* Those who are disposed to take an anxious view as to experiments on the nervous system should read Dr. Bernheim's book, "De la Suggestion dans l'Etat Hypnotique et dans l'Etat de Veille." (Paris, 1884.) Practices at which the hair of the Faculty would have stood on end a very few years ago, are now matters of course in the hospital of Nancy; while, nevertheless, (like the monks of Rheims after a celebrated anathema), "nobody seems one penny the worse."

Mrs. Newnham's case there was enough of fatigue to render advisable the gradual discontinuance of the experiments. Fatigue like this frequently follows on automatic writing. It seems in no way persistent or dangerous, but rather resembles the fatigue felt after writing an exercise in some new language, or making some other effort to which the brain is unaccustomed.

And having thus returned from a more general argument to the phenomenon of automatic writing, which was our point of departure, it seems fitting here to inquire, from the new point of view which we have meantime reached, what are the analogies between this *supernormal* phenomenon and such *abnormal* phenomena already observed as may seem most closely akin to it? This inquiry lies in the main track of our argument; for in discussing the spiritual or telepathic or merely subjective origin of automatic messages, it is important to know all that we can, not only as to their contents, but as to their mode of communication.

On the present occasion, however, I must, for the sake of brevity and clearness, confine myself to one branch only of the widely-ramifying analogies which gradually suggest themselves to the student of graphic automatism. I will take the analogy which may or may not be the most *direct*, but which at any rate is in one sense the most *conspicuous*, —the analogy, namely, between this automatic writing,—emanating, as has been maintained, from some second, habitually latent, focus of cerebral energy,—and the writing performed by patients who have, as most pathologists tell us, only the partially untrained half of the brain to rely on,—those centres which habitually initiate the graphic energy having been destroyed or rendered temporarily useless by accident or disease.* I allude, of course, to the subjects of *agraphy*,†—one of the most significant results of those delicate processes of dissection which disease performs for us among the complex capacities of the brain.

Agraphy, strictly so termed, forms one of four affections of

* I must guard myself from being supposed to assert that the connection between sinistro-cerebral lesions and asemic troubles in right-handed men is an *invariable* one. Many pathologists hold that it is *not* so; but it is quite enough for my purpose that the connection should be recognised as *generally* subsisting. As will be seen later, I expressly hold that in my "supernormal" cases there will be *more* exceptions to all such rules than in cases of ordinary asemia.

† The word "agraphia," re-invented by Dr. William Ogle (in his admirable monograph, "On Aphasia and Agraphia," St. George's Hospital Reports, 1867, Vol. II.), seems to have existed in old Greek, (Stephani Thesaurus), though, to judge from the analogy of ἄγραφα μέταλλα, ἀγραφίου γραφή, it probably meant not "inability to write," but "defect of registration." The point is worth mentioning, as raising the question, which frequently recurs in any new scientific inquiry, whether words may be adapted from the Greek in a sense other than that which they can be shown to have borne. I am decidedly in favour of such adaptation, which I do not regard as a debasement of the Greek language, but rather as a prolongation of its vitality under altered conditions.

As the word "agraphia" has as yet been comparatively little used, I have

speech (Störungen der Sprache) which are logically distinguishable *à priori*, and which have quite recently been all of them definitely distinguished and (with one possible exception) found to exist sometimes independently.* These four affections are massed together under the title *aphasia*,† which was at first given to the most conspicuous of these phenomena—that of speechlessness—but (from sheer lack of a more comprehensive term) has been stretched to include them all.‡

In order to make full use of any given word we have to perform four separate operations. We have to recognise it when we hear it

ventured to anglicise its termination. I think that this should be done wherever some already accredited English word with similar termination exists,(as in this case *telegraphy*), so that the new word has not too singular an appearance. Thus, had not *aphasia* become rooted in our tongue, I could have wished to say *aphasy*, on the analogy of *euphrasy;* while, on the other hand, I would not venture to anglicise *aphemia* into *aphemy*, on account of the lack of similar English word-endings. We have, indeed, *blasphemy* and *euphemy*, but usage has shortened their penultimate syllables, so that they form an added difficulty in the way of introducing *aphemy*,—whose penultimate we could scarcely shorten (so to speak) in cold blood, and with no usage to help us over the false quantity.

* It will not, of course, be expected that I should attempt to indicate the precise part taken by each observer in establishing the facts to which I shall have occasion briefly to refer. One main source of recent progress in the knowledge of aphasia consists of Dr. Charcot's lectures of 1883. These lectures have not as yet been published in full, except in an Italian translation of Dr. Rummo's, ("Differenti Forme d'Afasia," &c., Milano, 1884.) But they have inspired many articles and treatises, among which I acknowledge special obligations to "Considérations sur l'Agraphie," by Dr. A. Pitres, (*Revue de Médecine*, November 10th, 1884); and to a treatise, "De l'Aphasie et deses Diverses Formes," by Dr. Bernard, (Paris, 1885). This last work is at present, perhaps, the most complete treatise on the subject, (more complete on some points even than Kussmaul's), and I have drawn my references mainly from its large collection. Bérillon's "Hypnotisme Expérimental—La Dualité Cérébrale" (Paris, 1884) belongs to the same school, and contains much pertinent matter. In English I have already referred to Dr. William Ogle's paper. Many articles of merit have been published since that early monograph. But my own obligations are mainly due to Dr. Hughlings-Jackson, whose scattered papers on this and kindred subjects, especially the articles on "Affections of Speech" in Vols. I., II., III. of *Brain*, and the Croonian Lectures (1884), on "The Evolution and Dissolution of the Nervous System," are indispensable to any student of these subjects.

† It is an odd thing that "the Greek Chrysaphis" (Bernard, p. 172) should have fancied that he was *inventing* the common Greek word ἀφασία, which in its poetical form is as old as Homer, where δὴν δέ μιν ἀμφασίη ἐπέων λάβε occurs twice, (Il. xvii. 695; Od. iv. 704.) Nor can I understand Broca's and Bernard's view that the word had a *different meaning* in old Greek. The temporary speechlessness of Antilochus on hearing of the death of Patroclus, of Penelope on hearing of the journey of Telemachus, though, of course, not dependent on cerebral disease, seems to me to approach the modern cases as closely as a poetical can be expected to approach a clinical phenomenon.

‡ Hughlings-Jackson and Bernard despair of establishing any other word

and to utter it ourselves; to recognise it when we see it written, and to write it ourselves.

Inability to do the *first* of these things is called word-deafness; inability to do the *second*, for which, properly speaking, the name aphasia should have been reserved, is called motor aphasia, or aphemia.*

Inability to perform the *third* operation is called word-blindness; inability to perform the *fourth*, agraphy. These various inabilities may be, and generally are, found in conjunction with each other, in a great variety of ways. But all of them alike appear generally to depend (in right-handed persons) on certain definite lesions of the *left* hemisphere of the brain,—the hemisphere which mainly controls the *right* side of the body.

With these possible sources of analogy in our minds, let us now consider what are the earliest stages of our own special phenomenon, graphic automatism.

In my first paper I adduced as "the first incipient stage of automatism," cases where words were written "by mere attention, without any voluntary muscular action whatever." These cases (to which at some future time we shall have to make further reference) are assuredly transitional between voluntary and automatic writing. But they are not what we want now; they are transitional, so to speak, by a different transit; they show us the median line between voluntary and involuntary action, whereas what we now desire is to trace the process by which the involuntary action, when once initiated in the brain, externalises itself into increasing definiteness. To discover this process I would recommend my reader to try for himself; to sit quietly many times for 10 or 20 minutes, with a pencil in his right hand and attention concentrated on a wish to write. His experience is likely to resemble,

than aphasia as the title for the whole group of affections of speech. Pitres refuses even yet to concede to the word so awkward an extension of meaning. Dr. McLane Hamilton has proposed *ascmasia*, "defect in the power of giving signs." I shall venture to suggest *ascmia* (with the adjective *asemic*,) as shorter and not more unauthorised. A term is wanted which shall include all kinds of defect in the usage of signs—as in piano-playing, drawing, &c., faculties which may or may not be affected along with speech. "Sign-troubles" would have an un-English sound; but we shall need to use greater freedom in combining old terms, as well as in introducing new ones, if our vocabulary is to represent the exactness and the range of modern science.

* Strictly speaking, *aphemia* should be *aphemismus*, just as telegram should be telegrapheme. But (though thus far siding with Trousseau against Broca) I do not think it important to preserve the correct terminations any more than the original meanings, in adapting words from the Greek. So many Greek words are wanted that practical convenience must dictate the conditions on which they are to be received.

not that of Mr. A., a remarkably sensitive subject, but that of an ordinary insensitive person, myself for example.

By extreme persistency, in the year 1875, I attained for a few weeks to the lowest degree of graphic automatism. The first symptom was that my fist would thump itself violently on the paper. Spasms were entirely new to my experience, but this seemed like a spasm of the arm, induced by expectant attention. Soon, however, it was plain that there was more than this. There was an unmistakable attempt to go through the act of writing. I scrawled rapidly many meaningless interlacing strokes, which sometimes bore a vague resemblance to letters of the alphabet, but never shaped themselves into a legible word. I never got beyond this point, and after some neglect of practice, even this faculty (if such it can be called) deserted me.

Now, trivial though this piece of unconscious cerebration may be, it is not altogether easy to explain. What I expected and wished was not to scrawl, but to write. I persistently imagined my hand as *writing*, and had I actually written words, though without knowing what I wrote, the automatic externalisation of my inward picture would have been natural enough, as when the sitters, in Faraday's experiment, pushed the table round when they expected it to move round of itself. But what I actually *did* was something quite different from what I wished or expected to do. It was as if Faraday's sitters, instead of pushing the table round, had taken to scratching the varnish off with their fingers. Moreover, I was of course fully aware of what I was doing, and I could stop doing it at any moment; but while I continued to let my hand go I could not direct or modify its movements. However explained, the experience was enough to persuade me that other friends who began in much the same way, but gradually attained to the writing of actual words, deserved at any rate the credit of being thorough-going automatists. And I will select as an example of this next stage the case of Mrs. Brietzcke, an Honorary Associate of the Society for Psychical Research, who was quite unfamiliar with this subject, but tried experiments at my request.

"I have tried the Planchette," she writes, "and I get writing, certainly not done by my hand consciously; but it is nonsense, such as *Mebew*. I tried holding a pencil, and all I got was *mm* or *rererere*; then for hours together I got this: *Celen, Celen*. Whether the first letter was C or L I could never make out. Then I got *I Celen*. I was disgusted, and took a book and read while I held the pencil. Then I got *Helen*. Now, note this fact: I never make H like that (like I and C juxtaposed); I make it thus: (like a printed H). I then saw that the thing I read as I Celen was Helen, my name. For days I had only Celen, and never for one moment expected it meant what it did."

Mrs. Brietzcke has since lost even this degree of power, and can now produce nothing more than a slight scrawl automatically.

And now let us quote a passage from Dr. Bernard (p. 226), describing, with references which I need not give, some of the familiar forms of agraphy.

"Tel malade, la plume ou le crayon en main, ne tracera que des traits irréguliers entrelacés, ou même rien absolument; tel autre, qu'une même lettre, la lettre r, par exemple, ou la même syllabe. Celui-là ne pourra écrire que son nom, ou le même mot, celui-ci qu'un même fragment de phrase ou la même phrase. Les lettres tracées par l'un ne constitueront qu'un assemblage indéchiffrable de caractères ou de syllabes sans signification. Au milieu des essais d'écriture, au milieu des lettres bizarrement assemblées, à la fin des mots, tracés du reste correctement par un autre, la même lettre, la même réunion de lettres réapparaitront. C'est là ce que Gairdner a d'abord nommé *l'intoxication du cerveau par une lettre.*"

How close is the correspondence here! We find the agraphic patient unable to write at all, or scrawling meaningless marks on the paper, or writing some one letter, as rrrr, or some one syllable, over and over again. We find him writing senseless words, or able to write nothing but his own name, or interspersing his sentences with some perpetually recurring letter or syllable which has, so to speak, intoxicated his brain.

And all these stages are being repeated daily in the graphic automatism of scores of persons who, like myself when I tried the experiment in 1875, have never so much as heard of agraphy in their lives.

And these, so far as I know, are the only two conditions in which a waking, sane, and sober man, with a trained and healthy hand, persistently *scrawls* when he attempts to write.* In writer's cramp, for instance, the hand itself is unhealthy; its local centres are overworked, and the attempt to write is followed by local spasm. But the imperfect writing in graphic automatism, and in agraphy, is not the fault of the hand, but of the orders which are sent down to it from the brain. The agraphic patient can sometimes draw, though he cannot write.† The automatist can cease his scrawling when he chooses, and write voluntarily in his usual style.

In short, the physician who should simply see the graphic automatist, in his early stages, at work, without opportunity of learning the history of his affection, would be bound, according to recognised rules of diagnosis, to class him as an agraphic patient.

And I believe that the analogy is not merely accidental, but that the inco-ordination of agraphy and the inco-ordination of rudimentary graphic automatism,—inco-ordinations so limited in range, but so unique

* I do not forget the confused writing of post-epileptic states, "epileptiform migraine," &c., which I shall hope to discuss later, but which are transient, not persistent, states.

† See Dr. Pitres' Obs. III., *Rev. de Médecine*, November 10th, 1884.

and striking within those limits,—arise from the same cause; from the employment in the act of writing of untrained centres in the right hemisphere of the brain. That these dextro-cerebral centres initiate the imperfect writing of the agraphic patient it is not my part to prove. I may be content to refer the reader to Dr. Hughlings-Jackson, whose authority is at least not inferior to that of any other writer on these processes of nervous dissolution. My own task is rather to show that the analogies presented by graphic automatism are so numerous and exact that the same form of cerebral action must almost necessarily be assumed as operative in either case.

And here I may introduce a curious analogy which graphic automatism presents, not specially to agraphy, but to other cases of writing almost undoubtedly initiated by the right hemisphere.

Anyone who has watched much automatic writing is likely to have noticed two phenomena, apparently cognate, but each of them exceedingly perplexing.

Sometimes the word or "message" which is being written will suddenly become unintelligible. It is, perhaps, abandoned at the time as mere nonsense; but subsequent scrutiny shows that there is a method in the apparent confusion. The word is simply spelt *backwards*, thgin for night, &c.* Now this may, of course, remind the reader of "Clelia's" anagrams; but the impression actually given when the phenomenon occurs is a rather different one. In the case of the anagrams there was *an intention to puzzle;* the communicating intelligence (which was still, of course, in my view, a part of Mr. A.'s own intelligence) was obviously acting in a purposive way. But when the reversed words are given there seems often to be no purpose on the part of the communicating intelligence (still assumed to be an emanation of the writer's own brain) to diverge in any way from ordinary script.

Can we find any parallel to this phenomenon? Is any other case known where words are written or spelt *backwards*, without apparent knowledge that anything unusual is being done?

I have ascertained, by inquiry in elementary schools, that this is actually sometimes the case with left-handed children, when they first begin to write and spell. They will *transpose* the letters of small words in a way in which right-handed children do not.

And "Dr. Wilbur, of Syracuse, N.Y., mentions the case† of a left-

* This phenomenon is also frequently observed when messages are spelt out by the tilting of tables; another method of obtaining answers, due, in most cases, as we may at least provisionally assume, to unconscious muscular action prompted by unconscious mental action.

† In a communication to Dr. Ireland, *Brain*, Vol. IV., p. 366. I quote from Dr. Ireland's article, "On Mirror-writing and its Relation to Left-handedness and Cerebral Disease."

handed child who, when beginning to read, asked his father what 'efiw' was. Such inversions not unfrequently occur in teaching imbecile children to read."

I would, suggest, therefore, that here is a mode of perception to which the right hemisphere is prone, and which appears in three cases: (1) In left-handed children, in whom the right hemisphere is undoubtedly predominant; (2) in certain imbeciles in whom the right hemisphere may very possibly be predominant, though we have not as yet details of the autopsy of a backward-writing imbecile; and (3) in my cases of graphic automatism, in which, as I am trying to show by cumulative observations, the right hemisphere is taking a leading part.

But this is not all. Besides the simple backward-writing already described, the automatist will sometimes produce a form of script reversed in a more complex manner, *i.e.*, so written that in order to read it one has to look through the paper at the light, or to hold it before a mirror.

And this kind of writing, too, occurs sometimes without notice, or apparent reason, and in a way which entirely baffles the writer. In one case which I know, a lady made rude automatic drawings of Egyptian figures (interesting from another point of view, but foreign to our immediate subject). Amongst these figures was a cartouche, with what looked like a hieroglyphic inscribed. The lady and her friends, who took the matter seriously, tried hard to decipher this description on Egyptian analogies. They entirely failed; and it was not till some months afterwards that an acquaintance to whom the automatic drawing was shown held it up to the window, and easily read the inscription, which was an English name in mirror-writing.

I cite another case, sent by a gentleman well-known to me, in which the *first* automatic writing achieved was of this type.

One of my sisters, a clergyman's wife, once tried to persuade me that all so-called automatic writing was in some unconscious way really the act of the "medium" through whose hand it came, and to prove it, said, "If I were to hold a pencil to the end of time my hand would never write anything unless I willed it to do so." She took pencil and paper; her hand soon began to move, in spite of all her efforts to keep it still, and after scrawling a quantity of unmeaning circles and zigzags, produced something that looked like writing, but which neither of us could decipher. She laid down the pencil and took up some other occupation. Suddenly, after some time had elapsed, it occurred to one of us, I forget which, that she might have been writing backwards. On holding the paper up to the looking-glass she found that she had written, quite legibly, "Unkind. My name is Norman." Before this was written she had asked the supposed spirit for its name, and had jeered at it for its

apparent inability to reply. (We neither of us could remember having ever known any spirit, in or out of the flesh, of the name of Norman.)*

ALGERNON JOY.

20, Wilton Place, London.
February 4th, 1885.

Now the Spiritualist will say that the spirits resort to backward-writing or mirror-writing, either in order to show that a mind other than the medium's is at work, or in order to communicate some secret which some of the persons present are not intended to know. But (apart from the other objections to this explanation) the way in which mirror-writing is interspersed among ordinary script does not look like premeditation. I have seen an automatist writing page after page in ordinary handwriting, and then a page in mirror-writing, at the same rapid pace, and in mere continuation of some general topic—perhaps of the *sermonising* type, which these communications so often assume.

Let us consider whether mirror-writing has been observed in past times, or may now be observed, among the manuscripts of ordinary men.

Mirror-writers, it would appear,† if they did not "live before Agamemnon," lived not very long after him; for the first seven letters of that chieftain's name are so written in an inscription in the Louvre (Hall of Phidias, 69). The last two letters return βουστροφηδὸν from right to left. It would, however, be foreign to our purport to dwell on the varieties of writing among early peoples; which would probably be found to indicate a less specialised instinct of graphic *direction*, (centrifugal or centripetal, horizontal or vertical), than is now organised in our civilised brains. But in the well-known case of Lionardo da Vinci's mirror-writing, Erlenmeyer (whom Ireland follows) is surely in error in ascribing it to paralysis of the right hand; for the mirror-writing accompanies elaborate drawings, which must have been executed before this affection supervened. It is possible that Lionardo may have been ambi-dextrous and have written his *Spiegel-Schrift* with his left hand, for purposes of concealment.

What, then, do we find to be the position of ordinary right-handed persons with respect to mirror-writing? Of course, anyone can *learn* to write and to read it, but is it ever written without deliberate effort, or accepted by the eye as normal writing?

Most people, I fancy, are, like myself, unable to write *Spiegel-Schrift*, either with right or left hand. If I try to write with my left hand, I scrawl roughly, but in the same direction, &c., as usual. There are,

* I imagine this answer to have been an imperfect reproduction of the once familiar quotation, "My name is Norval," which was sometimes jocosely used by persons affecting to conceal their identity. I take it, therefore, as a sally of the "secondary self's,"—about on the usual level of planchette's humour.

† Bernard. "De l'Aphasie," p. 235.

however, some *right-handers*, (if this useful abbreviative term may be allowed), who, if they try to write with their left hands, instinctively produce *Spiegel-Schrift*, though if they look at what they are writing they are puzzled and cease to be able to do it.

Beyond these, again, comes a small class of persons, (one is known to me, and one is mentioned by Dr. Wilbur), who can write simultaneously with both hands,—with the right in ordinary, the left in mirror-writing. I am inclined to class these persons, even if not in all respects ambi-dextrous,—as *ambi-cerebral*,*—capable of using both hemispheres concurrently in certain ways which are impossible to ordinary men.

But without insisting on this, let us pass on to the case of *left-handers*. It has been observed by Dr. Ireland (and inquiries of my own confirm this) that left-handed children when learning to write are apt to write *Spiegel-Schrift*, without perceiving that it differs from the copy set to them. And Buchwald has a striking case, which Dr. Ireland cites, of an aphasic patient with hemiplegia of the right side, in whom the tendency to mirror-writing, even with the right hand, persisted after the aphasia had disappeared. To this may be added a very curious case of Dr. Bernard's,† where an ataxic patient, with right hand partially paralysed, wrote *Spiegel-Schrift* with her left without perceiving that it differed from ordinary writing. She wondered that she received no replies to her letters, the addresses of which, of course, no one could read.

"It may be asked," says Dr. Ireland, "is the image or impression, or change in the brain-tissue from which the image is formed in the mind of the mirror-writer, reversed like the negative of a photograph; or if a double image be formed in the visual centre, one in the right hemisphere of the brain

* I venture to suggest the following terms as likely to be useful in discussions as to the respective operation of the right and left hemispheres of the brain.

Ambi-cerebral.	Originating in,	or operating with,	both hemispheres.	
Dextro-cerebral	,,	,,	,,	the right hemisphere.
Sinistro-cerebral	,,	,,	,,	,, left ,,
Hemi-cerebral	,,	,,	,,	,, one hemisphere only.

Two objections may be taken to these terms:—

(1) That *ambi-cerebral* is formed as though "cerebrum" meant one hemisphere only; whereas in *hemi-cerebral*, &c., "cerebrum" means both hemispheres. To this I reply that such slight anomalies in compound words are very common, and less confusing here than the introduction of a term like *ambi-hemispherical* would be.

(2) That *hemi-cerebral* is a barbarous word, being half Greek and half Latin. I reply that the best way of using Greek and Latin prefixes is the way in which the French have used them in the metric system; where, for instance, *milli* and *kilo* are prefixed to the Greek basic word *mètre*, with clearly-defined differing significations. Similarly I take *hemi* to mean that half of a thing is spoken of, as *hemisphere*, and *semi* to mean that the object is half one thing and half another, as *semi-fluid*.

† "De l'Aphasie," p. 237.

and the other in the left, do the images lie to each other in opposite directions; *e.g.*, C on the right side and ɔ on the left side? We can thus conceive that the image on the left side of the brain being effaced through disease, the inverse image would remain in the right hemisphere, which would render the patient apt to trace the letters from right to left, the execution of which would be rendered all the more natural from the greater facility of the left hand to work in a centrifugal direction. Moreover, when one used the left hand to write there would probably be a tendency to copy the inverse impression or image on the right side of the brain."

The subject needs further investigation, but in the meantime it is noticeable how closely this hypothesis accords with the explanation which must be given on my theory to the mirror-writing of the automatist. I hold that in graphic automatism the action of the right hemisphere is predominant, because the secondary self can appropriate its energies more readily than those of the left hemisphere, which is more immediately at the service of the waking mind.* Nevertheless, I hold that it uses the *right* hand habitually, being unable to overcome the incompetence of the *left*. But in its right-handed writing I should expect traces of dextro-cerebral influence occasionally to occur; and this I maintain that I have shown to be the case, first in the *reversed words* and secondly in the *mirror-writing*, which graphic automatism so frequently shows.†

And I must here remind the reader that *occasional* indications are all that we can expect to find in tracing the "seat of election" of supernormal cerebral automatism. The lines will not be as sharply drawn as they sometimes are in cases of traumatic injury, or of congenital defect. For besides the alternated action of specialised centres, which I am here suggesting, other and profounder departures from normality are likely to be involved, and *their* results may be such as to leave no more than a mere hint discernible of such a comparatively minor change as the replacement of some sinistro-cerebral by some dextro-cerebral centre of sight or speech.

Such a hint, I may add, in what seems an appropriate parenthesis, I believe that we have got in experimental thought-transference, as well as in graphic automatism. The reader may remember that in

* In speaking thus of the two hemispheres, I refer only to their functions in connection with the various stages of the graphic synergy. I do not mean to assume any doctrine with regard to them of a more general character than my argument absolutely requires.

† Following the hints of Gley, &c. (see Bérillon, p. 63), as to the influence on the carotid pulse of cerebral activity, it would be desirable to obtain tracings of the pulses of *both* carotid arteries during ordinary and during automatic writing. And the "cerebral thermometry" of Amidon, Bert, &c.—if better established—might be used to record a possible difference of local cephalic temperature during ordinary and during automatic speech or writing.

Proceedings, Vol. I., pp. 80-166, &c., we detailed some experiments in which the image of an arrow, and other figures, were telepathically seen by Mr. Smith sometimes in an *inverted*, but more often in a laterally-inverted or *perverted* position. The results were not uniform, and we were at the time unable to explain them.*

Some time afterwards, in 1884, I asked a young lady, whom I will call Miss K., of highly sensitive temperament, to try some experiments in thought-transference with her sister. She soon told me that the experiments had succeeded, but with this strange peculiarity, that, when the sister fixed her eyes on some word, Miss K. saw its letters appear in her field of mental vision *in reverse order*. Miss K. was, unfortunately, very liable to headache, which these experiments quickly induced, and I was only allowed one short series of trials. I placed the word NET behind her, and looked fixedly at the letters. She said that she saw successively the letters T, E, N. I next chose SEA, and she saw A, E, S. I chose a third word, but she saw no mental image, and headache stopped the experiments.

But I would suggest that we have here a case parallel to the backward writing of the left-handed child, and of the graphic automatist; and I trace in these reversed telepathic images a further indication of the action, through the right hemisphere, of the secondary self.†

From this digression I return to my more immediate subject. There is another peculiarity of the early stages of automatic writing which it has somewhat embarrassed Spiritualists to explain. "Planchette," automatists often testify, "is sadly given to *swear*." Especially when the hand is exhausted by a long and somewhat barren effort, the word *devil* will sometimes be written over and over again with an energy which shocks the unsuspecting writer. If, however, I have been obliged, on the one hand, to request the Shakespeares and Byrons of "spirit messages" to retire, if I may so say, into the recesses

* See also *Proceedings*, Part V., p. 37. Some experiments in the telepathic transference of *double numbers* seem, perhaps, to point the same way :—as when 38 is guessed as 83, &c.

† In Miss K.'s experiments with her sister contact was not found needful. In my own brief trials I did hold her hand, in deference to a fancy on her part that in trials with a comparative stranger some contact would be necessary. I need not say that had she undertaken to *write* the word which I saw, contact would have vitiated the experiment, as my unconscious muscular indications might have guided her movements. And even when (as in this case) the word is to be *spoken*, contact is still objectionable, as the agent may unconsciously *trace* the required letters by slight motions of his hand on the percipient's. To avoid this risk, I grasped Miss K.'s fingers with so firm and rigid a clasp that neither could any unconscious movement of mine have borne any appreciable relation to the general force of compression exercised, nor were my muscles capable, without a relaxation of tension which I must have perceived, of the delicate movements required to trace a letter on another hand.

of some humbler intelligence, I am glad, on the other hand, to be able to suggest a reassuring analogy to those whose peace of mind is compromised by association with this ill-omened sign-manual.

For I believe that in most cases, at any rate—for even here I will not attempt to close all loophole to a more realistic interpretation—the swearing of Planchette is just the same thing as the swearing of the aphasic patient. The aphasic patient who has only one or two utterances left him has mostly an oath among the number. * So oddly does he rap it out, as an expression indifferently of disgust and gratitude, discomfort and satisfaction, that his ward-neighbour is apt to refuse to keep a record of his expressions, on the ground that, though the fellow says but little, what he *does* say is such as no one ought to be bound to listen to. The physician, however, has another explanation of this monotonous crudity. He recognises (it is to Dr. Hughlings-Jackson that the explanation is due) that in the dissolution of speech the highest speech—propositional utterances—first disappear; and that on the lower level of evolution which remains, no speech is left except what has become highly automatic, so automatic that its special machinery has become organised in the right hemisphere. Now interjections are the most instinctive parts of speech, and oaths with the uneducated are the most emotional of interjections. They represent the point where speech is least of an intellectual effort, and most of an organic cry. And with all deference to the refined automatist, it must be said that with him, too, the gradual enfeeblement of the secondary self's directive control, the gradual exhaustion of the centres available for the message, are bringing him down to those highly-organised † dextro-cerebral verbal processes which represent words, which, however little a man may use them himself, are unavoidably familiar to him as the habitual expression of impatience and discontent.

I do not positively assert that this explanation meets all the cases. There are, perhaps, some rare instances where violent expressions with which the writer is almost demonstrably unacquainted run from his automatic pen. We may compare these to the cases of delirium where the patient utters expressions which would have been supposed to be entirely unknown to him.

* M. Beaudelaire, for instance, the poet of "Les Fleurs du Mal," was compelled by the sad irony of disease to summarise his revolt against the moral order of the universe into the two reiterated syllables, "Cré nom!" Bernard, p. 182, on the authority of M. Alphonse Daudet.

† See Hughlings-Jackson, in *Brain*, Vol. II., p. 331. By "highly-organised verbal processes" are here meant the processes which subserve, *not* new and elaborate speech, but old, automatic speech. The process for uttering the interjection is "lower and earlier than true speech;" it is "ready made-up" (in Dr. H.-J.'s view) in the right hemisphere, in consequence of frequent past reproduction.

While we are speaking of the "recurring speech" of the aphemic patient we must remember that these interjections are by no means confined to oaths alone. Any kind of gibberish, such as monomomentif, nazi bouzi, macassa,* may form the one reiterated utterance which can still issue from the injured brain.

Here again we have a parallel to Mrs. Brietzcke's "Celen," and to similar cases known to me, where some one word or sentence has been automatically written perhaps hundreds of times in succession. I have observed, moreover, that the word or sentence thus repeated is often one which has been more or less appropriate on the first occasion on which it was used, and has got rooted, as it were, in the unconscious mind, so that it returns again and again when wholly meaningless. This is paralleled by the utterances of many aphasics,—utterances once propositional but now senseless,—like the "Come on to me" of a well-known case of Dr. Hughlings-Jackson's, where the signalman who repeated this parrot-like cry had probably been uttering it with meaning and intention at the moment when he was attacked.

Did the scope of this paper permit me to dwell at length on *vocal automatism*,—on "trance-utterances," "speaking with tongues," and the like, I could greatly develop these suggested analogies. At present it must be enough merely to refer to automatic speech, and to point out that we have here two pairs of psycho-physical conditions,—agraphy and aphemia on the one side, automatic writing and automatic speech on the other side, which all of them share certain marked characteristics, not found (or, at least, not found so definitely or so generally) in any other states of the human organism.

The first pair of abnormal states—agraphy and aphemia—are undoubtedly closely connected together. Their common characteristics are due to a common cause, and that cause is presumably connected with the replacement of some of the activities of the diseased left hemisphere by activities of the partially-trained, or automatically-acting, right hemisphere.

The second pair of states—*supernormal*, as I term them—are also found frequently in conjunction, and are presumably closely connected together. Their common characteristics are likely to be due to a common cause; and it seems, therefore, no unreasonable hypothesis that that cause may, in some degree, be identical with the cause which produces similar effects in asemic troubles; viz., some predominance of the activity of the more automatic hemisphere.

I have not yet, however, exhausted my parallel. I have thus far been dwelling mainly on cases where the synergy of graphic automatism is doubly imperfect,—cases, that is to say, where there was neither a

* Cited by Bernard, p. 182, from Trousseau and Durand-Fardel.

distinct internal image of the words which were to be written, nor a facile transmission of those words to the paper. And consequently our asemic parallels have been from cases where the synergy of speech or writing was similarly imperfect in a double manner, that is to say—when there was agraphy, and word-blindness along with agraphy, or aphemia, and word-deafness along with aphemia.

But I must now consider cases of a more advanced kind—cases on the automatic side, in which, in my view, *evolution* has proceeded further; which will, therefore, be parallel to cases on the asemic side where *dissolution* has *not* proceeded so far.

And first, let us consider the cases where automatic writing is performed rapidly and easily, but without any internal knowledge of what is being written, or is about to be written. These cases will be paralleled on the asemic side by cases of word-blindness, without actual agraphy. The ordinary graphic automatist is by no means necessarily very acute in reading what he has himself written. I have often been able to furnish such an one with a "lectio emendata" of his own composition. But it is curious to watch the process by which the puzzled automatist enlightens himself as to what he means. He usually appeals verbally: "What is the word which I cannot read?" And thereupon his hand retraces the word, slowly and with exaggerated motions for each letter. Or if this process is too tedious, he makes a guess, and says: "Is the word so-and-so?" If it *is*, his hand or pencil gives three taps on the table; and one tap if it is *not* the right word—this being the conventional code which on such occasions indicates assent or dissent by a mere muscular movement. I have often witnessed this, and have been struck by the delicate control maintained by the unconscious agency over the muscles of the automatist, while at the same time it is plainly unable to affect his word-seeing centres, to evoke in him any internal picture of the intended word.

When this process is seen going on, it certainly has a strange look of *possession*;—the sight of a man appealing to his hand to help out his brain is a curious reversal of ordinary operations.

The asemic parallel to this particular condition will plainly be some case of pure *word-blindness*; where the patient can write from dictation or write a letter of his own composition, but is totally unable to read what is written. The reason of the inability is, of course, different in the two cases. In the one case it is "verbal cecity," a specific inability to recognise written or printed words at all, owing to a specific lesion of the left hemisphere. In the other case it is the ordinary difficulty of reading bad handwriting;—with this special oddity, that the manuscript which the automatist cannot read has just that moment proceeded from his own pen. The *analogy* lies in the fact that in these two cases, and in these perhaps alone, we have the graphic synergy function-

ing with ease, but in complete detachment from that directive inward visualisation of the words to be written, which habitually guides our hand, whether we actually *look* at what we are writing or not. The plane of cleavage between writing and reading is thus the same in the abnormal and in the supernormal case, though the forces which effected that cleavage are altogether different.

On a close examination of recent cases of word-blindness, another point comes out which is not without interest for us. M. de Capdeville* noted the curious fact that word-blind persons are sometimes able to read manuscript but not print. The reason of this was first guessed by M. Charcot from observation of a Mr. H. P.'s case. I extract a passage from M. Charcot's account,† of which the reader will perceive the significance.

"Il écrit sans hésitation son nom et son adresse, une longue phrase, et même une longue lettre, sans fautes notables d'orthographie, sans passer de mots. 'J'écris,' dit-il, 'comme si j'avais les yeux fermés ; je ne lis pas ce que j'écris.' . . . Il vient d'écrire le nom de l'hospice ; je l'écris à mon tour sur une autre feuille de papier, et je le lui donne à lire ; il ne peut pas d'abord ; il s'efforce de le faire, et pendant qu'il se livre à ce travail nous remarquons qu'avec le bout de son index de la main droite il retrace une à une les lettres qui constituent le mot, et arrive après beaucoup de peine à dire : 'La Salpêtrière.' On écrit 'rue d' Aboukir,' l'adresse de son ami ; il trace avec le doigt dans l' espace les lettres qui composent le mot, et après quelques instants dit : 'C'est la rue d'Aboukir, l'adresse de mon ami.'

"Ainsi l'alexie n'est pas absolue pour l'écriture. La lecture est seulement extrêmement difficile, et elle n'est possible que sous le contrôle des notions fournies par les mouvements exécutés par la main dans l'acte d'écrire. C'est évidemment là le sens musculaire qui est en jeu, et ce sont les notions qu'il fournit qui permettent seules au malade de vérifier les notions vagues qu'il recueille par la vision."

It will be observed that this last sentence would have been equally applicable had M. Charcot been describing the slow demonstrative word-tracing, or the conventionally significant pencil-tapping, with which, as I have already described, the graphic automatist supplements and expounds his own indecipherable scrawl.

Between the two states, then, asemic and automatic, abnormal and supernormal, we have once more detected a resemblance which, however caused, is hardly shared by any third psychical condition. In order to find another case of a writer assisting his perceptions of what he has written by movements imitative of the act of writing, we should have to go back to the young child's first efforts, when the instinct of writing

* In the *Marseille Médical*, 1880, cited by Bernard. See also some of Mdlle. Nadine Skwortzoff's cases ("De la Cécité et de la Surdité des Mots dans l'Aphasie," 1881), cited by Bernard and Pitres.

† Bernard, op. cit. p. 84.

was not as yet sufficiently specialised to be able to dispense with a sympathetic contortion of the whole body. And at that period, may we say? the child's *left* hemisphere was very much in the condition as to lack of training for the graphic synergy in which his *right* hemisphere permanently remains.

There is yet one more phase of asemic troubles on which I ought, for the sake of symmetry, to touch. It is the case—a rare one—where there is inability to write, but ability to read—agraphy without word-blindness. But the parallel to this on the automatic side will plainly be a case where automatic *writing* is, at any rate, not the prominent feature. For if the secondary self has command enough over word-picturing centres to make its message known interiorly, it need hardly resort to the pen. And, therefore, although no branch of automatic action is more interesting than that which writes its burning message as with "a hand upon the wall," or inscribes it inwardly as "upon the tablets of the heart," I must, for the present, pass this topic by, as scarcely germane to our discussion.

And finally;—since we have been tracing upwards the various stages of asemic trouble, from complete inco-ordination to co-ordination defective only in part, and have been endeavouring to trace their parallel in automatic performance, finally, we may ask ourselves what is the automatic parallel to the normal writing of conscious men?

Are there cases where the secondary self has a control over the graphic synergy as undisputed as that which the primary self ordinarily possesses? Are there cases where mental picture and manual act are alike dominated by the same supernormal will?

Such cases there assuredly are, and although their discussion will not fall within our present limits, yet it may be hoped that the mere attempt to co-ordinate them with other forms of automatic writing may not be without instruction. For it is plain that this last class must include all cases where writing is produced in a supernormal state in which there is no intercurrence of consciousness of the ordinary kind. Such writing may be produced during what seems normal sleep, by somnambulists, or in the hypnotic trance, by hynotic sleep-wakers, or in spontaneous trance, to which condition, indeed, the mere act of graphic automatism seems sometimes to lead or predispose.

I must not here discuss these difficult phenomena. To do so would prolong beyond all bounds a paper which is already inconveniently crowded with detail. But nevertheless a discussion of automatic writing would be very imperfect which did not mention these, its highest phases, with some attempt to indicate the relation in which the lower manifestations stand towards this ultimate victory of the secondary self (so to say) along the whole line.

And I shall here endeavour to present a synoptic view of the various

automatic conditions which I have been discussing, with the asemic conditions which, in my view, are parallel to them, arranged for ready comparison.

Any such synopsis, even if it came from an expositor far better qualified than I, must of necessity be very crude and imperfect. My own attempt is rude in the extreme; it is not intended to resist attack, but to give such preliminary clearness as I can to conceptions which others may form more correctly than I. Following the Baconian hint, when absolute truth is beyond our reach, we should at least endeavour that our more fortunate successors may need rather to distinguish it from our *error* than to disentangle it from our *confusion.*

I shall not, however, speak altogether without authority, for I shall begin by reproducing M. Charcot's scheme of the processes of speech and writing, given by Dr. Bernard, but not, so far as I know, as yet published in England.*

The *letters* by which I designate the various centres are selected by myself, and will be explained later.

In the first place, Dr. Charcot's diagram may be briefly explained as follows:—

First as regards the auditory and vocal aspect of verbalisation.†

A bell rings near a child.

The child's auditory nerves convey the sound to the common auditory centre, where it "forms a deposit,"—becomes gradually an "organised image" by repetition.

A man calls Bell! and points to the bell which has rung.

The child's auditory nerves convey this sound also to the common auditory centre, where it forms an organised image in close connection with the preceding one, but in the *word-hearing* centre, the centre specially organised for the intelligent perception of articulate speech.

* I must not omit to notice Dr. Broadbent's diagram (*Brain*, Vol. I., pp. 493-4) which, though less suited to my present purpose, may remind us in how many ways cerebral operations of this complex character may be instructively represented. In the diagram and explanation in *S.P.R. Proc.*, Vol. II., pp. 168, 169, C corresponds to what is here called the ideational centre, B to the visual centres. M. Dejerine's schemata ("Etude sur l'Aphasie dans les Lésions de l'Insula de Reil," *Revue de Médecine*, March 10th, 1885) practically include the "common auditory" and "common visual" centres of M. Charcot's figure in the "ideational centre." It must be remembered that this is here a mere matter of diagrammatic clearness, and that no definite assertion as to the extent or nature of the centres classed as "ideational" is necessary to my argument.

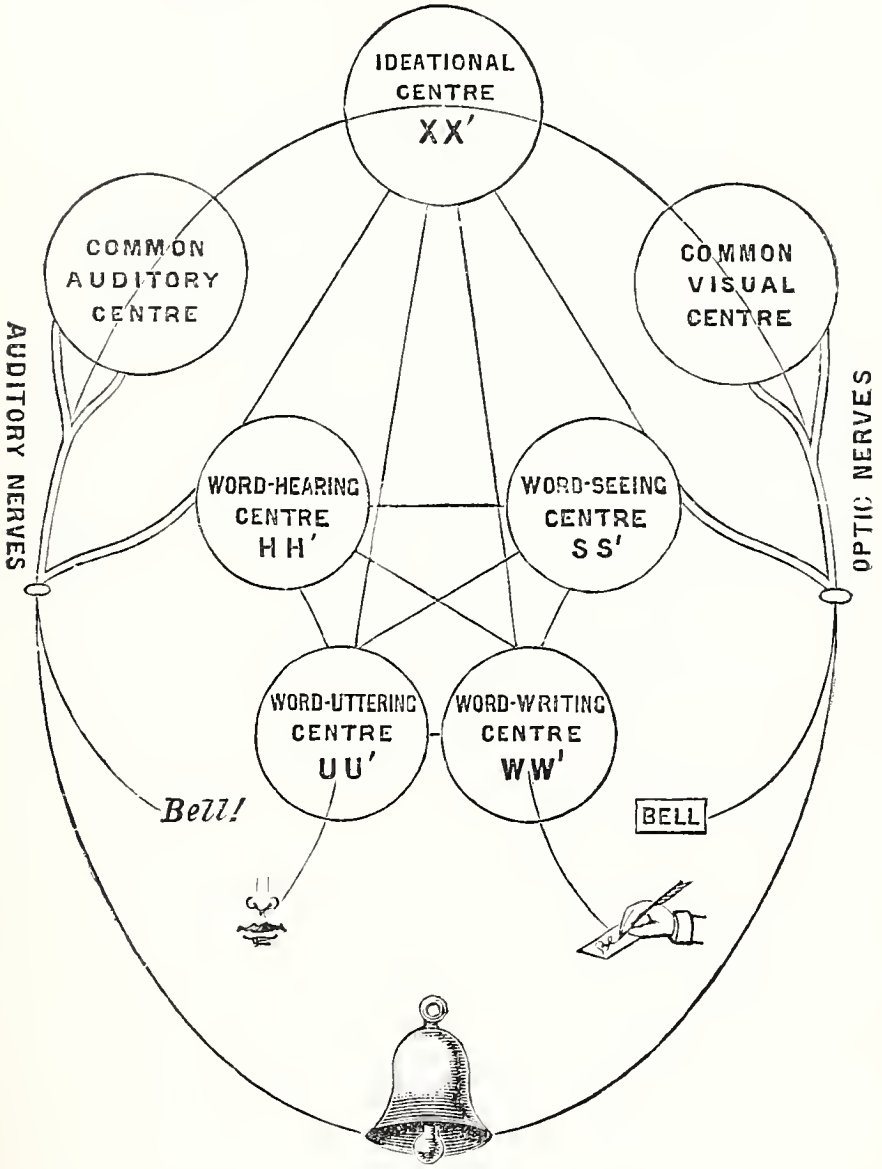
Professor Lichtheim's schemata (*Brain*, January, 1885) would necessitate a far more elaborate system of notation than I have here employed. Professor Lichtheim's views, though apparently quite independent of M. Charcot's, do not, I think, differ therefrom in any point essential to my argument.

† Verbalisation is a useful word of Dr. Hughlings-Jackson's to sum up the cerebral processes concerned in hearing and uttering, reading and writing, *words.*

The child's ideational centres register these images, and he is fully aware that the word "bell" corresponds to the special sound.

The child now wishes to pronounce the word "bell." His word-

Dr. Charcot's Diagram of Spoken and Written Speech.
(Symbols modified as explained below.)
From Dr. Bernard's "De l'Aphasie."



hearing centre supplies him with an internal image of the sound required. He transfers this to his *word-uttering* centre, which, after some practice, articulates the sound "bell."

Similarly with regard to the visual and graphic aspect of verbalisation

A bell is placed before the child's eyes.

The optic nerve transmits the bell's image to the common visual centre, where it "forms a deposit,"—effects some slight permanent change.

A man shows the child this written word "bell" and points to a bell (if the child is deaf), or says "bell," and thus appeals to the already organised connection between the object "bell" and the sound "bell."

The optic nerve conveys the written sign to the *word-seeing* centre, in close connection with the preceding deposit.

The ideational centres register these images, in connection with the auditory bell-images already registered.

The child now wishes to write the word "bell." His word-seeing centre supplies him with an inward image of the required word, and his word-writing centre, after much practice, is able to reproduce the written word "bell."

Now I do not suppose that Dr. Charcot means to imply that this diagram is at all a *complete* representation of the facts of the case. All that can be said is that it conveys as much truth (and as little error) as so simple a diagram of so complex a process can convey.

I have now to explain the *symbols* which I have affixed to Dr. Charcot's centres. By XX′ I mean the ideational centres (waiving the question as to whether, in ultimate analysis, these are themselves to be considered as sensori-motor) of the left and right hemisphere conjointly: activities of the *right* hemisphere being in each case indicated by the *dash* above the letter.

By HH′ I mean the word-hearing centres of the two hemispheres conjointly. Following Hughlings-Jackson I assume that H′ is a real quantity—that there is a certain potential educability of the dextro-cerebral word-centres, although the sinistro-cerebral word-centres habitually do all, or almost all, the work.

By SS′ I mean the word-seeing centres of the two hemispheres conjointly. Here again S in a right-handed man is entirely dominant, and the existence of S′ rests on inference mainly.

By UU′ I mean the word-uttering centres of the two hemispheres conjointly. Here again U′ must be conceived as habitually taking part only in the utterance of automatic or highly-organised speech. (Hughlings-Jackson.)

By WW′ I mean the word-writing centres of the two hemispheres conjointly. It is on the existence and specific tendencies of W′ that our further arguments will mainly turn.

I shall now attempt to give a conspectus of normal verbalisation,

and also of cerebrally-defective verbalisation, or asemia, in the shape of a series of formulæ. The several quantities in each formula represent factors in a physiological co-ordination, elements of the vocal or graphic synergy. I am not acquainted with any other attempt at formulæ of this kind,* and I have hesitated by what sign to connect these collaborating nervous energies. But the sign of *addition* seems perhaps the fittest ; as in the case of chemical formulæ, where + sign denotes, not a mere mechanical juxtaposition, but a mechanical juxtaposition leading to action and reaction between the substances thus juxtaposed.

We begin, then, with the series of formulæ for the speech of a right-handed man, in health or asemic disease.

$XX'+HH'+UU'$... Normal speech, involving ideational centres of both hemispheres, word-hearing centre of left, and subordinately of right, hemisphere, and word-uttering centre of left, and subordinately of right, hemisphere.

$XX'+HH'$ ... ... Imagined or inward speech. The ideational centres conceive the speech, (perhaps as an articulatory movement,) and the word-hearing centre represents it inwardly, but no attempt at utterance is made. This formula will also represent some of the cases under the next heading.

$XX'+HH'+U'$ ... Pure aphemia. The patient hears and understands what is said to him, and can imagine the desired replies ; but he cannot utter these replies ; he can only utter words whose vocalisation has become automatic ;—words whose corresponding articulatory movements have become organised in the right hemisphere,—words which, in Dr. Hughlings-Jackson's phrase, are "kept ready made-up."

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} XX'+H'+UU' \\ XX' \quad\;\; +UU' \end{array}\right.$ ... Pure word-deafness. The patient can still speak fluently, but cannot understand questions asked, or his own talk when he hears it. It is doubtful how far a dextro-cerebral word-hearing centre is active here,—in default of

* While this is passing through the press, my attention has been called to the fact that Dr. Hughlings-Jackson has himself employed somewhat similar formulæ, (to represent muscular movements,) in an article in the *Medical Press and Circular*, November 15th, 1882. Dr. Hughlings-Jackson's contributions are scattered through so many periodicals that it is, unfortunately, very hard to be sure that one has seen them all.

the paralysed or disintegrated sinistro-cerebral word-hearing centre. If no word-hearing centre is functioning, the speech will be parallel to the congenital deaf-mute's, which would be represented by the same formula XX′+UU′, having been learnt by imitation of the articulatory movements of others, with no inward word-hearing faculty.

XX′+H′+U′ ...	Aphemia combined with word-deafness. The patient can neither understand questions nor answer intelligibly. Fragments of word-hearing and word-uttering faculty generally subsist, probably of dextro-cerebral origin.
XX′+H′	
XX′ +U′ ...	

Passing, for the sake of added clearness, to the case of a *left-hander*, we may represent his ideational centres by X′X,—indicating a presumable pre-eminence of the *right* hemisphere,—and similarly for his word-hearing and word-uttering centres. The series for the verbal audition and vocalisation of the left-hander will, therefore, be as briefly indicated below.

X′X+H′H+U′U ...	Normal speech.
X′X+H′H	Inward speech.
X′X+H′H+U ...	Pure aphemia.
X′X+H+U′U ...	Pure word-deafness.
X′X +U′U	
X′X+H+U	Aphemia combined with word-deafness.
X′X+H	
X′X +U	

Next as to *writing*. In the normal writing of a right-handed man both hemispheres will co-operate in forming the *idea* of writing—(perhaps as a specialised manual movement, reading being conceived as a specialised ocular adjustment)—in the internal *picture* of the writing, and in the *act* of writing. Repeating, then, the formulæ corresponding to those already obtained for *speech*, we have, for a right-handed man, the following series.

XX′+SS′+WW′ ...	Normal writing.
XX′+SS′	Reading, or internal imagination of writing. This formula will also represent some of the cases under the next heading.
XX′+SS′+W′ ...	Pure agraphy. The patient can read but cannot write intelligibly.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} XX'+S'+WW' \\ XX' \quad\;\; +WW' \end{array}\right.$ ... Pure word-blindness. The patient can write fluently, but cannot read what he or others have written. Here again it is doubtful how far a dextro-cerebral word-seeing centre is active. If none such is functioning, the writing resembles that of a congenitally-blind man, which might be represented by the same formula $XX'+WW'$, having been acquired by means of tactile impressions, without the aid of an inward visual representation of the words written.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} XX'+S'+W' \\ XX'+S' \\ XX' \quad\;\; +W' \end{array}\right.$ ... Agraphy combined with word-blindness. The patient can neither read nor write intelligibly. Sometimes, though having some conception of writing, he can make no graphic movement whatever. Sometimes his hand scrawls vaguely, with apparently no conception of any definite word to be written.

The same series, with transposition of the signs of the hemispheres, will serve for the (normal and asemic) visual and graphic verbalisation of the left-handed man.

Thus far I have mainly been endeavouring to explain the views of M. Charcot, modified by those of Dr. Hughlings-Jackson and others.

I now proceed to the more original part of my task.

I have spoken of a secondary self—a second focus of mentation—which I assume to be active in graphic automatism.

I propose to call this second focus of mentation xx', and to repeat the above formulæ with this symbol,* instead of the XX', which represents the normal co-operation of the two hemispheres in the mentation of the primary self.

I shall thus in some measure test the reality of this second focus. If this is a merely exaggerated and misleading title which I have given to some scattered hysterical phenomena, I am likely to find it impossible to assign a rational meaning to my new series of formulæ.

If, on the other hand, I can show that each one of my series of formulæ involving xx' is explicable—on the same principles on which the formulæ involving XX' were explained—as representing a well-

* I mean the symbol xx' to imply that there is mentation of a supernormal kind presumably acting through both hemispheres. But as we have no means of knowing whether the seat of this secondary mentation is in any way dependent on *congenital* right- or left-handedness, I do not *transpose* the factors xx' in any of the formulæ. If preferred, the symbol X'' might be used for the secondary self, and the question of the predominance of sinistro- or dextro-cerebral *ideational* centres in supernormal mentation altogether avoided.

defined phenomenon of automatic or partially automatic verbalisation which has actually been observed, I shall have some *primâ facie* case for assuming that xx′ represents in some way a real psycho-physical fact.

Or, to avoid the risk of over-statement, let me repeat this in somewhat different language.

On one side we have the well-known series of asemic troubles, more or less definite defects of the verbalising faculty, which stand to each other in relations referable to certain more or less definite and circumscribed cerebral lesions.

On the other side we have the vague and hitherto unexplored congeries of phenomena included under the term of automatic writing.

Now suppose that automatic writing were purely what, to use the vaguest word which can claim a place in scientific nomenclature, is called a *hysterical* phenomenon. Or, disentangling the central meaning which this word is often used to cover, let us suppose that graphic automatism is the product of a kind of *half-insane cunning.* Surely the characteristic of its different forms will then be *caprice.* No scientific classification of them will be possible; the more we look into them the more random and baffling will they appear. They will not even have the orderliness which is discernible among asemic troubles; for that orderliness depends on the original orderliness of the cerebral arrangements on which the disease operates (so that even the disorderliness of the disease is referable to a certain law), whereas if graphic automatism be dependent on the caprices of a half-insane cunning, there is no known law of aberration by help of which such caprice can be either predicted or described.

I have used the term "half-insane cunning," because that seems most nearly to convey the view intimated rather than expressed as to phenomena of this kind in ordinary physiological treatises. Something of half-conscious deception, something of moral distortion, seems always to be presupposed. If that be so, the argument of my last paragraph seems to apply. But we might, of course, make another supposition, and say that graphic automatism is a symptom of some real and definite cerebral malady, not, indeed, involving organic lesion, but showing itself in a functional disorder which follows somewhat the same course in different individuals. Now this view, could it be established, would not be necessarily inconsistent with the suggestions of this paper. "Perturbation that masks evolution" is my phrase for the mode of manifestation of the secondary self. That in *some* graphic automatism, at least, there actually is something *evolutionary*, I hold that my telepathic cases (Mrs. Newnham's, &c.) suffice to show. That there is *perturbation* also I have throughout asserted; and to what degree the phenomena of that perturbation are to be considered as in themselves evolutive or dissolutive, is a question as hard to answer here as in certain parallel

cases, already alluded to, which concern the development or the reproduction of the physical frame of man. When we come to consider *vocal* automatism (the phenomena of "revivals," "possession," &c.), such questions will be strongly forced on our attention. But in graphic automatism (apart from the hypothesis, already discussed, of hysterical or capricious deception or self-deception), there is very little, as it seems to me, to suggest definite cerebral disorder.

On the contrary, my cases of graphic automatism have (as has been seen) for the most part been developed by sane and healthy persons for experimental purposes,—are not accompanied with any history of intercurrent brain-troubles,—and resemble in their general character the acquirement of an accomplishment rather than the invasion of a disease. I hold, then, that I am justified in provisionally extending to these cases in general the designation of "supernormal," with its implication of an evolutionary element, which is, no doubt, more demonstrably applicable to the *telepathic* cases alone.

And in order to test this view, I urge that if automatic writing be the product, not of an undefined *dissolution* of faculty, but of an obscure *evolutionary nisus*;—if it be originated, not by the half-insane cunning of the self familiar to us, but by the rudimentary efforts of a secondary self to emerge into objective activity;—then it is likely that there will be some order discernible among the manifestations;—some "seat of election" among cerebral faculties, in which this secondary self will be found to establish itself most perceptibly,—some "path of least resistance" by which its externalisation will be most commonly effected.

And what I am at present maintaining is that in cases where automatic writing occurs during the waking consciousness of the primary self, then the right hemisphere is, to a certain extent, the "seat of election" of the secondary self, and the word-seeing and word-writing centres of that hemisphere form, to a certain extent, the readiest path of externalisation for its inward activity.

And I urge that this view becomes *pro tanto* more probable if I can show (as I have tried to show by the concrete examples which I am now about to summarise in formulæ) that the observed phenomena of graphic automatism do in fact fall naturally into an arrangement which is roughly parallel to the arrangement into which asemic troubles fall, when arranged according to the seat which *disease* has elected, and the path of externalisation which is then left still open for the mutilated primary self.

First, then, let us give the formulæ, involving xx′, which are parallel to the formulæ representing (normal and asemic) auditive and vocal verbalisation of the primary self of a right-handed man.

xx′+HH′+UU′ ... Speech of somnambule, entranced hypnotic subject, &c. Both hemispheres (so far as active) are at the service of the secondary self. All the observable mentation is supernormal.

xx′+HH′ ... ... Internal audition; the demon of Socrates, and "messages of revelation" in general, where not referable to disease of the brain.

xx′+HH′+U′ ... "Speaking with tongues." Automatic speech when there is an inward conception of the message to be given, but difficulty in its delivery, resulting perhaps in mere vague reiterated cries. The sinistro-cerebral word-uttering centre has not passed under the control of the secondary self.

{ xx′+H′+UU′ ... "Trance-utterance in the normal state." Words
{ xx′ +UU′ are poured forth fluently by a waking and conscious person, who, however, has no internal perception of his own words, to which he listens like one of the bystanders. The word-hearing centres of one or both hemispheres are still unappropriated by the secondary self.

{ xx′+H′+U ... ... Rudimentary automatic speech. Non-proposi-
{ xx′+H′ tional words, or mere cries, are uttered,
{ xx′ +U′ sometimes with, and sometimes without, internal knowledge that some kind of speech is intended. In xx′+H′ we have the lowest form of vocal automatism, where no sound is uttered, but there is mere gasping and sighing, with an indistinct impulse to speak.

Finally, we must give the series, involving xx′, which is parallel to that which represents the (normal and asemic) visual and graphic verbalisation of the primary self. The following formulæ will represent the graphic automatism of a right-handed man.

xx′+ SS′ + WW′ Writing of the somnambule, hypnotic subject, &c. The word-seeing and word-writing centres, so far as active, are entirely at the service of the secondary self.* All the observable mentation is supernormal.

* It would not surprise me to find a right-handed hypnotic subject becoming slightly more left-handed (or ambi-dextrous) in the sleep-waking state. I have myself a hypnotic subject who, from temporary disablement of her right arm,

xx′ + SS′ ... ... Inwardly-realised message in writing, which may be either imagined as internal (written on the heart, &c.), or externalised as a hallucination (seen written on the wall, &c.) This complex phenomenon (belonging both to insanity and to ecstacy) does not fall strictly within our present limits and cannot now be fully described.

xx′+SS′+W′ ... Graphic automatism with inward word-picture. Case where words are flashed on the brain with impulse to write, or in the act of writing them (as in case sent by Professor Sidgwick), but with more or less difficulty in writing. The secondary self, while momentarily possessing itself of the waking man's sinistro-cerebral word-seeing centre, does not altogether subjugate his corresponding word-writing centre.

{ xx′+S′+WW′
{ xx′ +WW′ ... Graphic automatism without inward word-picture. Case where words are written with ease, but without knowledge of what is being written. The word-seeing supervision (if any) which guides this script is probably exercised by the dextro-cerebral centres; for the sinistro-cerebral remain at the service of the automatist's conscious will; and he reads a book voluntarily while he writes automatically.

{ xx′+S′+W′
{ xx′+S′
{ xx′ +W′ ... Rudimentary graphic automatism. The group of phenomena with which we have specially had to deal. The sinistro-cerebral word-seeing and word-hearing centres continue mainly at the service of the primary self; and

has been accustomed to write with her left hand in ordinary *rightward* script, —just as with the right hand. But when I asked her, in the trance, to write her name with her left hand she wrote it in *Spiegel-Schrift*, and this tendency persisted for about a minute after I woke her. But the phenomenon may have been due to suggestion merely; for although no hint was given during the trance, nor had that special experiment ever been suggested in the subject's presence, yet I found that she had heard mirror-writing discussed some fortnight before, and I believe (as Bernheim, for instance, found in experiments with magnets, (*Rev. Phil.*, March, 1885) that the hypnotised subject's unconscious mind catches up and works out hints of a very slight kind. The faint persistence of the idea after awakening would, of course, be quite in accordance with analogy.

consequently the writing produced resembles that of the word-blind and agraphic patient, —or sometimes is mirror-writing, like the untrained left-handed child's.

Thus far I have dealt only with the automatist's secondary self, introducing neither telepathic impact from another living human mind, nor spiritual influence from a disembodied intelligence. Let us denote telepathic influence by Y, spiritual by Z. We will leave Z alone for the present, and merely indicate our formula for Mrs. Newnham's writing. Where another human mind was involved this will be :—

$$xx'Y + S' + W'$$

That is to say,

Mrs. Newnham's unconscious self wrote.

It wrote with the assistance of Mr. Newnham's mind.

It employed only her dextro-cerebral word-seeing centres. She did not know what was being written till she consciously read it. It employed *probably* mainly her dextro-cerebral word-writing centres, as the handwriting was unlike her own, and frequently degenerated into a scrawl.

On the occasion when she *foresaw* the word "Nipen" before writing it, the sinistro-cerebral word-seeing centre was for the moment implicated, and the formula would be :—

$$xx'Y + SS' + W'$$

We have thus come back once more to Mr. Newnham's case, and the reader who remembers the suggestion with which he concludes his communication,—viz., that the low moral tone of some of the automatic messages may be traceable to an untrained moral sense in the right hemisphere—may perhaps suppose that I am in agreement with that hypothesis.

This, however, is hardly the case. For although I hold that the right hemisphere had much to do with Mrs. Newnham's replies, as with other automatic writing, I nevertheless cannot find any well-recognised doctrine of cerebral localisation which authorises us to draw any conclusion as to the way in which a temporary predominance of dextro-cerebral centres might affect the manifestation of moral character ;—that is to say of the highest, or nearly the highest, co-ordinating processes of the mind. And I should of course be unwilling in such a matter to go a step beyond the consensus of the best scientific opinion. So far as the questions at issue are purely physiological I can aim at nothing more than attentive study of the labours of others. The region where, for sheer lack of previous work on the sub-

ject,* something original must be attempted, comprises only the application of accredited physiological conceptions to such new evidence or experiment as our Society has been able to adduce;—or such old, but neglected evidence as we are endeavouring to bring within the field of scientific vision.

But although we may not see ground for referring this slight alteration of moral temper to any difference in the relative functions of the two hemispheres, we nevertheless may fairly expect to find some elucidatory parallel to it among other supernormal or abnormal phenomena. This inquiry, however, we cannot now pursue, and I suggest it merely in order to remind the reader that the phenomena of asemia are by no means the only ones which may instructively be compared with those with which we have to deal. Somnambulism, double-consciousness, epilepsy, insanity itself, are all of them natural *psychoscopes* which, rightly handled, may give an insight—beyond their own special province—into the mechanism of our most inward being.

For the present, however, our investigation must pause here. The promise of the original title of these papers has been, I think, in some part fulfilled. An explanation, partly dependent on telepathic influence, partly on unconscious cerebration alone, (though unconscious cerebration raised, if I may so say, to a higher power than had previously been suspected), has been offered for certain widespread phenomena, which, while ignored or neglected by the main body of men of science, have been, for the most part, ascribed by those who have witnessed them to the operation of some external and invading power.

* It is rather surprising to find how little serious attention has hitherto been paid to these automatic phenomena. The authors of handbooks to the "Pathology of Mind"—as Maudsley or Carpenter—stop their discussions, intentionally and avowedly, upon the threshold of our present subject. The more recent school of psycho-physicists approach our topic more closely. Their work, or that of *psycho-physical philosophers*, such as M. Ribot, (if I may so term him), was indeed an indispensable pre-requisite to fruitful inquiry on our present lines. But before M. Richet's article on Mental Suggestion in the *Revue Philosophique* of November last, I am not aware of any specific discussion of the phenomena of automatism, considered as anything more than a mere aberration. I have found only a few scattered passages where automatism is suggested in explanation of the speech or writing which Spiritualists ascribe to *possession*. Littré in the "Philosophie Positive," 1878, cited with adhesion by Dagonet (Ann. Méd. Psych., 1881, Vol. VI. p. 20), explains in this way the "prophetic" speech of the "Convulsionnaires de Saint Médard." And Taine in the preface to the later editions of his treatise "De l'Intelligence," cites an ordinary case of automatic writing, and adds: "Certainement on constate ici un dédoublement du moi; la présence simultanée de deux séries d'idées paralleles et indépendantes, de deux centres d'action, ou si l'on veut, de deux personnes morales juxtaposées dans le même cerveau." But he does not follow up this suggestion. From the Spiritualistic point of view, automatic writing has been carefully and candidly discussed by "M.A. (Oxon.)," in "Spirit Identity" and other works.

If the view taken in these papers be accepted, a very large proportion of the phenomena to which Spiritualists are wont to appeal will be no longer available as evidence for any spiritual influence other than that of the spirits of living and breathing men.

The phenomena, however, which I have described by no means exhaust those which are alleged to occur in the course of graphic automatism. It is said that the handwriting of dead persons is sometimes reproduced; that sentences are written in languages of which the writer knows nothing; that facts unknown to anyone present are contained in the replies, and that these facts are sometimes such as to point to some special person, departed this life, as their only conceivable source. If these things be so, they are obviously facts of the very highest importance. Nor are we entitled to say that they are impossible *à priori*. The spiritualistic hypothesis, though frequently presented in an unacceptable shape, is capable, I believe, of being so formulated as to contradict none of the legitimate assumptions of science. And furthermore, I readily admit that should the agency of departed spirits be established as a *vera causa*, then the explanations here suggested will need revision in a new light.

But in order to establish any conclusion so startling in a way to satisfy the scientific world, there must assuredly be an amount of evidence, and a way of dealing with that evidence, very different from that with which Spiritualists for the most part appear to have been contented.

I am far from wishing to re-echo the common sneers at the credulity or incapacity of Spiritualists. I am not raising the question of fraud on the one side, or of imbecility on the other; I am assuming that something supernormal has in reality happened, and that the question is one of *observation* in the first place, and of *interpretation* in the second. But supernormal phenomena, whatever their explanation may be, have no tendency to occur preferentially in the presence of persons specially qualified to observe them. It is no wonder, therefore, that they have so often been loosely described and inadequately attested, while those who have witnessed them, deeply impressed with what they saw, and rushing to some hasty conclusion, have been unable even to understand the essential need in such experiments of exactness, repetition, control.

Loose assertion has been met with contemptuous neglect, and we now witness the spectacle of a small band of "believers" and an outside world which does not even take the trouble to examine the grounds of that belief. It is not thus that truth can be attained, and it need hardly be said that one special aim of the Society for Psychical Research is to establish at least a *modus vivendi* between

extremes of credence and non-credence by a dispassionate elucidation of the actual phenomena to which both parties appeal.

But as regards the special point with which we are now concerned —the question whether automatic writing ever shows unmistakeable indications of an intelligence other than that of some living man—I must make an earnest appeal to Spiritualists in England and America to furnish me* with additional cases where they believe such intelligence to have been shown—cases which they can give on first-hand testimony, and with full details. The printed cases of the kind are not numerous, and many of them are now remote; so that supplementary evidence is urgently required before the subject can be discussed on a sufficiently broad basis. An appeal which I made in the leading Spiritualistic newspaper has produced very meagre results. Those who believe themselves to be in possession of truth of this high value may surely be invited to take as much trouble to prove it as the chemist is willing to take in investigating a new compound, or the physician in identifying a new disease. As a mere matter of fact, and without imputing blame to anyone, it may safely be said that no such persistent and organised presentation of Spiritualistic evidence has yet been attempted as is habitually demanded by the scientific world in matters of far less difficulty and importance. To any correspondents who may be disposed thus to help me towards a further instalment of the present discussion, I can promise, at any rate, cordial thanks and careful attention.

F. W. H. Myers.

* Cases may be sent to me at Leckhampton House, Cambridge, or to the Secretary, 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING ON

Friday, April 24, 1885.

The thirteenth General Meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, on Friday, April 24, 1885.

PROFESSOR BALFOUR STEWART, F.R.S., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The President made the following address :—

II.

You will permit me on this occasion to allude to the great loss which our Society has sustained in the resignation by Professor Sidgwick of the office of President.

I cannot imagine one better fitted than our late President to develop into vigorous action a struggling body such as ours, and we must all feel deeply grateful to him for his successful accomplishment of this object.

He has procured the recognition by men of education of a society whose advent was at first somewhat coldly welcomed by the fraternity of knowledge.

Under these circumstances everything depended on the choice of guardians for the infant Society. Had it been injudiciously led it would certainly have proved a failure, and have thus strengthened the widespread belief that no good result is to be obtained by discussing subjects of a certain class. But things have happily turned out far otherwise, and the recognition which our Society enjoys to-day is greatly due to its guidance by a President and officers who, through a happy mixture of boldness and prudence, carried energetically into action, have succeeded in bringing it into its present position. Professor Sidgwick's benefits to the Society were not merely those of a wise and energetic guidance of its affairs. He was unsparing in every sense where he felt that the interests of the Society required support, and he is not only our first and honoured President but one of our chief benefactors.

Success of this nature cannot be equalled or even approached. But it is not, therefore, with a feeling of despair that I commence this evening the duties of the office with which I have been honoured, knowing that gratitude to my predecessor should prompt me to give

him what relief I can, and to do what I can for the benefit of a Society which has strong claims upon all who are desirous to promote knowledge.

It may not be out of place to bring before you a few statistics of our progress.

A preliminary conference was convened by Professor Barrett (whom we honour as our founder) on the 5th and 6th of January, 1882. At this meeting a Committee of sixteen were appointed, to which a few additions were afterwards made.

The Society was next formally constituted in accordance with the report of the Conference Committee at an adjourned meeting of the Conference held on 20th February, 1882, the Committee being constituted as the Council of the new Society under the presidency of Professor Henry Sidgwick.

At the first meeting of the Council, held on the 3rd March, 1882, a number of proposals for election were brought forward, and at its second meeting on the 17th March, 20 Members and 11 Associates were elected.

At the end of 1882 the total number of the Society was 150; at the end of 1883 it was 288; at the end of 1884 it was 520; while at the present moment the total number is 586.

If these results are very encouraging as regards numbers it is a source of equal gratification to think that men of the highest standing in all departments of knowledge have consented to join our ranks; and you have been already informed by Professor Barrett that a kindred Society has recently been started in America under very favourable circumstances, embracing, likewise, amongst its members men of the highest attainments and standing.

In reply to the question, what has the Society done? I may state that since its commencement it has issued seven parts of *Proceedings*, of which a total number exceeding 12,000 has been distributed to Members and others, placed in public libraries, sent for review, and sold through the ordinary channels. An eighth part will be published very shortly.

Early in 1884 a *Journal* was commenced, which has been continued monthly for private circulation amongst members.

In the autumn of last year a Report of the Committee on Theosophical Phenomena was issued for private circulation only.

A large number of slips has also been printed comprising a selection of the evidence collected in the various departments of inquiry.

All these schemes could not have been carried out by means of the ordinary income of the Society, and their successful accomplishment is due to the fact that we have Members who are willing not only to

devote their time and energy, but likewise their private means, to the advancement of our interests.

The cost of the slips of printed matter and of the Theosophical Report was borne by our late President. The printing of the slips is now suspended, it being intended to publish selections from the evidence in the *Journal* of our Society. Professor Sidgwick has meanwhile agreed to be editor of the *Journal*, nor while devoting his time in this way to the service of the Society has he discontinued his former liberality, but rather transferred it into this new channel.

The library of the Society consists of more than 800 volumes, of which about 250 are French and German works. A great many of the English books have been presented through the kind liberality of Members and friends.

I have read with much interest in the pages of our *Journal* a correspondence between our Secretary, Mr. Gurney, and Professor Newcomb, the distinguished President of the American Psychical Society.

It would appear from this correspondence that there is a perfect agreement as to the great importance of studying experimentally the subject of thought-transference.

To my mind the evidence already adduced is such as to render highly probable the occasional presence amongst us of something which we may call thought-transference or more generally telepathy ; but it is surely our duty as a Society to continue to accumulate evidence until the existence of such a power cannot be controverted. We have not been remiss in this respect, and it will be found from the pages of our *Proceedings* that the main strength of our Society has been given to prove the existence of telepathy, in the belief that such a fact well established will not only possess an independent value of its own, but will serve as an admirable basis for further operations.

But our Society has not only its staff of observers and experimenters, it has likewise its literary staff, whose duty it is to collect and scrutinise the existing evidence on the various subjects embraced in Psychical Research. Now, it would appear to me to be the one unpardonable offence if this Literary Committee were to decline to invite, to listen to, to examine, or to register the contemporaneous evidence on any branch of psychical inquiry.

It is no doubt quite conceivable that after a quantity of evidence on some subject has been collected, the result of its discussion should prove that there is nothing in it worth inquiring into, at least nothing new. But a definite settlement, even of a negative character, is not without its value, and this can only be obtained as the result of an exhaustive discussion. On the other hand it is conceivable that the result of such a discussion may be the establishment of new facts

eminently worthy of record, and the next generation of our Society would greatly blame the present if we declined to bring together, examine, and register the contemporaneous evidence, so as to fit it, if not for our own final discussion, at least for that of those who shall come after us.

But perhaps the best justification of the labours of the Literary Committee is to be found in what they have already done. As regards apparitions at the moment of death, I will quote the following statement by Mr. Gurney: "We have," he tells us, "collected more than a hundred first-hand cases of apparitions closely coinciding with the time of death of the person seen; and it is only in a small minority of such cases that our informants, according to their own account, have had any other hallucination than the apparition in question." The great importance of this statement will be manifest to all.

It has, however, been objected that the evidence brought forward by this Committee is a mixture of the strong and the weak; and some have even hinted that the effective strength of such evidence is that of the weakest portions of it. As I know from experience that this mixed character is a stumbling block to many, I will take the present opportunity of repeating what cannot be too widely known—that the Literary Committee are themselves very well aware of this difference between the various items of evidence which they have brought together. Some of these are regarded by them as peculiarly of an evidential nature adapted to force conviction into the minds of those who are sceptical. Other items again, while deficient in this respect, may yet be of importance in bringing out the laws which regulate these strange phenomena. For example, the question, Do apparitions of the dying actually occur? is to be replied to by quoting evidence of one kind while the question as to the exact meaning of these appearances, and their possible relation to telepathy, is to be replied to by evidence of another kind less important, perhaps, in its value as regards those who are unconvinced. Similar rules apply to all branches of knowledge.

The thanks of our Society are due to Mr. Myers for the pains he has taken in classifying the various items, and it is, indeed, abundantly obvious that without such a preliminary process the full value of the evidence could not possibly become known.

I have dwelt at some length on this subject because of its importance, and because the public are, perhaps, apt to attach too exclusive a value to the experimental part of our work. I have fully recognised the claims of the experimental part; we need in it far wider assistance —especially in the way of systematic trials of thought-transference in private—than we have yet received. But none the less, I think, must the codification of the current evidence be looked upon as a pressing and paramount duty.

We may be told in the kindest manner that there are regions which it is utterly hopeless to approach—groups of recurrent phenomena so wrapped about with the garments of confusion that we cannot possibly disentangle them so as to find whether there is anything new in them or not.

Our reply to such remarks should not be doubtful. It ought, I imagine, to consist in a prompt refusal to believe in the existence of any such region or of any such phenomena. Is it not at once the privilege and the duty of the human intellect to gain, as time goes on, a clearer and still clearer insight into the principles which underlie all terrestrial occurrences? The ultimate explanation of certain classes of these may, no doubt, be different from what we imagined on our setting out. This, however, is not the question.

The point is, rather, whether there exist around us groups of recurrent terrestrial phenomena which it is utterly hopeless to grapple with. Surely there is only one proper way of replying to this suggestion, and that is by making the attempt. Everything is possible to courage and prudence, coupled with perseverance. Such qualities will enable us to overcome the preliminary Dragon which guards the entrance to these interesting regions, and our united efforts will ultimately result in obtaining for us the golden apples of truth.

III.

NOTES ON THE EVIDENCE, COLLECTED BY THE SOCIETY, FOR PHANTASMS OF THE DEAD.

By Mrs. H. Sidgwick.

In the following paper I propose to consider the evidence which the Society has hitherto collected for Phantasms of the Dead, including under this term all kinds of impressions on human minds which there seems any reason to refer to the action, in some way or other, of deceased persons.*

Most of those to whom this paper is addressed probably belong to some Christian denomination, and to them the continued existence of the soul after death is, of course, no new theory invented to account for such phenomena as we are discussing, or requiring such phenomena to support it. But few will have any difficulty in agreeing with me that (1) the possibility of receiving communications from the dead, here and now, would not follow as a necessary consequence from the immortality of the soul; (2) that if communication of what I may call an objective kind—distinguishable, I mean, from our own thoughts and emotions—is possible to all those of the departed who desire it, we should naturally expect it to occur more frequently than the most sanguine can suppose that it actually does; and (3) that its possibility, while not in contradiction with any of the known facts of physical science, is certainly not supported, or in any way suggested, by any of these facts. However firmly, therefore, we may believe in the continued existence of dead human beings, we cannot regard the supposition of their action on the minds of the living as if it were merely the reference of an effect to a *vera causa* known to be adequate to produce it. We must treat it as we should treat the hypothesis, in any department of physical investigation, of an entirely new agent, for the existence of which we have no evidence outside the phenomenon which it is introduced to explain. If this be so, it will, I think, be admitted that we should be violating an established rule of scientific method if we introduced such

* This evidence does not of course include appearances at the moment of death, or a few hours afterwards, since these, as my readers will remember, have been classed with Phantasms of the Living.

a hypothesis except in the last resort, when all other modes of explanation seem clearly to fail.

Exactly at what point of improbability this failure of other explanations is to be regarded as established, cannot, I think, be defined—at any rate, I feel quite unable to define it. But I may perhaps say that, in my opinion, it is a point which can hardly be reached in the case of any narrative of a single event considered by itself: if we had only a single ghost-story to deal with, I can hardly conceive the kind or amount of evidence which would lead me to prefer the hypothesis of ghostly agency to all other possible explanations. The existence, therefore, of phantasms of the dead can only be established, if at all, by the accumulation of improbabilities in which we become involved by rejecting a large mass of apparently strong testimony to facts which, as recounted, would seem to admit of no other satisfactory explanation: and in testing the value of this testimony we are bound, I think, to strain to the utmost all possible suppositions of recognised causes, before we can regard the narrative in question as even tending to prove the operation of this novel agency.

Of course, if its operation should ever be rationally established, by the cumulative process that I have described, it will then become reasonable to reconsider our evidence from the new point of view thus reached; and to refer to this cause, when once proved to exist, many of the phenomena which, in the first instance, it was right to put aside as otherwise explicable. I have made these preliminary remarks, lest the explanations I shall endeavour to apply to some of the cases before us should seem unreasonably far-fetched to such of my readers as may already believe in phantasms of the dead, or are trembling on the verge of belief.

The Society now possesses, as the residue of a much larger number, a collection of about 370 narratives,—that seemed to deserve some consideration—of phenomena, not clearly physical, and which believers in ghosts would be apt to refer to the agency of deceased human beings. These narratives are printed on slips for consideration and criticism, and they constitute, probably, a fairly representative collection of the kind of evidence that we are likely to obtain on the subject.

I shall not, of course, attempt here to go through each case in detail and explain my reasons for the view I have formed about it, but shall merely give the general results of a careful examination of them, with some examples. The slips themselves are at 14, Dean's Yard, open to the inspection of any member of the Society; and to anyone who is sufficiently interested in the question to wish to examine into it for themselves, I could furnish, if desired, a list of the narratives classified according to my view of them, for comparison with their own results.

In the first part of this paper I shall explain and illustrate the different grounds on which I think that the greater number of the cases in the Society's collection should be set aside at the present stage of our investigation, as having no important evidential force, for the purpose of proving the existence of phantasms of the dead. In the second part I shall examine the residue, consisting of some twenty-five* narratives, in detail, with a view of ascertaining what psychical theories, if any, they seem to point to. This residue, though comparatively small and not suggestive of any satisfactory view as to the conditions of communication with the other world, nor, indeed, by any means conclusive as to the possibility of such communication, is still, in my opinion, quite sufficiently important to deserve serious consideration, and to justify the pains that have been taken in collecting and sifting it.

The possible non-ghostly explanations of what pass as ghostly phenomena may be conveniently classified with reference to the various sorts of error by which the evidence to such phenomena is liable to be affected. I should state these as (1) hoaxing, (2) exaggeration or inadequate description, (3) illusion, (4) mistaken identity, (5) hallucination.

I. To begin with hoaxing. Probably most sceptical persons, who have not examined the evidence actually collected, would suppose that this is likely to be a very fruitful source of fallacious narratives, either (1) through the narrator hoaxing the collector, or (2) from his having himself been made the victim of a practical joke. I think, however, that any one who has read the evidence will at once discard the first of these alternatives, at any rate so far as the great mass of the first-hand narratives is concerned.† In most of these cases enough is known of the narrators to make it highly improbable that they are intentionally deceiving the investigator; and even were this not so, the stories are mostly so tame and dull in comparison with the thrilling narratives which from time to time appear in the magazines, that I can hardly imagine a hoaxer feeling any pride in having got them accepted as

* I purposely give the number vaguely because there is of course no clear and unmistakable line between stories that should be placed in the first class and those that belong to the second. Different people would take different views of some of them, and I should myself probably estimate them slightly differently at different times. Moreover, it is not impossible that further evidence may expose fatal weaknesses in one or two of those I have selected, and on the other hand it is probable that some of those which I have for the present set aside as in various ways insufficiently evidenced, may by additional evidence be raised into the first-class.

†It should be observed that the collection contains a small number of anonymous stories, printed, as I understand, only in the hope of obtaining further information about them through members of the Society who may see them. It is not improbable that one or two of these may turn out to be pure inventions.

genuine. This last remark applies also, generally speaking, to the supposition that the phenomena described are the result of practical jokes perpetrated on the narrator. I think, however, that there are a few which can plausibly be explained as the result of trickery. In some of these, the ghost only does what, according to the narrative, would be clearly within the scope of human personation; and in one, though the apparition can hardly have been a living being of any sort, the immobility and persistence of the figure, and the behaviour of one of the actors in the scene seem to me to suggest a practical joke. But I do not think that the number of cases in which this explanation is applicable can be more than half-a-dozen—at least if we exclude the narratives which I am disposed to set aside on other grounds.

II. But it is obvious that without the slightest intention to deceive, the stories may contain unintentional exaggeration, or may omit important details which would give us a clue to some non-psychical explanation. We have no means of excluding this possibility in any case, and we can only form a judgment as to the probability of its having been realised in the same way as we are constantly forming judgments in ordinary life. We know roughly in common life what sort of things we may believe on the testimony of any ordinarily truthful person, and what sort of things are liable to be forgotten, imagined, misinterpreted, or badly observed; and the weight that we attach to what people tell us is in accordance with this knowledge.

We have, of course, to do the same thing with "ghost stories," taking care, moreover, to allow full weight or the witness's state of mind at the time and other attendant circumstances. This is a general remark applying to all the narratives, but some rules for dealing with special classes of cases may, I think, be laid down under this head.

All stories at second-hand (and *a fortiori* those that are more remote) in which it is fundamentally important to know accurately the details, should be regarded as of low value, so far as the evidence directly supplied by them is concerned; because it is well known that few people can repeat quite accurately in detail what they have been told, and because there is a special tendency to distortion in narratives of the kind we are dealing with (just as there is in scandalous stories), owing to the fact that certain elements of the story, in the present case the marvellous ones, are usually more striking to the imagination, and therefore more likely to remain in the memory than the qualifying circumstances. Besides, no description can reproduce to the mind's eye with certainty the actual scene—no description can include every detail: the very best may be compared to a photograph—correct as far as it goes, but incomplete. And thus when the hearer repeats the story—unless he does it with absolute verbal accuracy—he is liable to describe a mental picture of the scene differing from the original in

just the details which would have enabled us to interpret the occurrence correctly. Hence, in my opinion, a second-hand story, even when reported by a good witness, can rarely amount for us to more than this: that in B's opinion A believed, on good grounds, that he had seen a ghost. This, if we have reason to respect the veracity and judgment of A and B, is doubtless an important fact, but it is less important than it would be if we could ourselves criticise the grounds on which A's conclusion was based, and could compare his experience in detail with that of others.

On somewhat similar grounds but little definite weight can be attached to stories which are told with too little care or detail to enable us to judge what reasons there were at the time for supposing the phenomenon described to be a "psychical" one. And, again, the value of a narrative diminishes steadily as the interval between the event and the record of it increases—not only because the details fade owing to defective memory, but because they are liable to be confused and supplemented by subsequent suggestions. Hence it is much to be desired that anyone who has what he regards as a "psychical" experience should write it down at once with as much detail as possible.

I may here observe that there are certain narratives where the nature of the phenomenon described seems to preclude the possibility of obtaining evidence of a "psychical" cause. For instance, we have several accounts of horses being frightened in places supposed to be haunted, where their riders or drivers see nothing. Horses are nervous animals, and it is difficult to exhaust the possible causes of their alarm. Moreover, they are good readers of both conscious and unconscious muscular indications—otherwise what is called a good hand in a rider would not be so important as it is—and thus nervousness of the horse's master, perhaps conscious of the reputation of the haunted spot, may sometimes be imparted to the horse. Even when it is a human being who has a feeling of dread or horror, or of something being wrong, or of an unseen presence (a not unfrequent occurrence apparently in so-called haunted houses), it is very difficult to obtain sufficient evidence that this feeling was quite peculiar. One might, *perhaps*, be sure of it in one's own case if one ever experienced it, but one could not expect to convince other people.

On the whole, the evidence appears to me to be, at present, too weak, or otherwise seriously defective, on such grounds as I have been discussing, in about one-third of the printed stories, which I, therefore, set aside for the present. In those that remain we have to consider whether any known physical explanations will apply, even, as I have said, with some straining.

III. Illusion, or misinterpretation of what is perceived by the senses is an explanation, which is, perhaps, possible in a considerable

number of cases. Most of us have experienced illusions in some degree though usually if the misinterpreted phenomenon is of more than momentary duration, we almost immediately correct our impressions. It must, however, be noted that short-sighted people have to interpret much smaller indications, and are consequently more liable to visual illusions than persons whose sight is good. This makes it very important to know whether our witnesses have good sight or not. I would venture to suggest to the Committee that somewhat more information should, if possible, be obtained on this point, especially as short sight and other defects of vision are, of course, extremely common. I am told by a short-sighted friend that illusions will sometimes last with her till she is quite close to the misinterpreted object, and that, owing to the blurring of the images, she is liable to be mistaken both as to the size and shape of what she sees—taking, for instance, a man on the road in front of her for a man on a pony, or for two or three men walking close together abreast. In a bad light we are all somewhat in the position of short-sighted people, obliged to infer from small indications what it is we see, and moreover some persons with good sight in ordinary light become short-sighted in a bad light.

Of course, in most cases, whether we are short-sighted or not, the true interpretation of what we see is ultimately forced upon us, but it is easy to imagine circumstances in which this would not happen, and it is then that what is really an ordinary natural phenomenon is liable to assume the appearance of inexplicable mystery.

I do not think that our collection includes, among the narratives of apparitions seen once by a single person, any that can be fairly explained as ocular illusions; but in examining the rarer cases of those seen by two persons together, or successively in the same place, I have found some in which this explanation seems admissible. Two persons seeing something rather indistinctly from the same point of view may sometimes help each other to interpret it alike; and a figure frequently indistinctly seen in a particular spot, especially if in a particular light, may be due to some constantly recurring effect of light and shade, or arrangement of trees or other objects, sufficiently like what it is taken for to deceive. Perhaps about 16 of the narratives may, with some straining, be explained in this way. One or two specimens may be given. The ollowing (G. 10)* is one :—

In 1845, my late husband, William Man Townsend, and self, were residing in a pretty cottage half-way between Thame and Aylesbury, had

* The number in brackets appended to each story quoted, is its number among the "G." slips, and the number attached to the original documents concerning it.

gone there on account of his health, had been there two years, derived great benefit ; liked it very much ; had serious thoughts of buying it.

We had gone to bed at our usual time, say 10 ; soon after our dog, a very intelligent but untrained field spaniel, began to bark in a sharp short way, and continued to do so till 3 ; it vexed my husband and kept him awake and gave him a bad headache, as it sounded so plainly in our room, and as the dog obeyed my voice quicker than his, he asked me if I would go to the window at the back of the house and make him go to his kennel. I had done so before, but had to cross a landing, go through an empty room into the room our servant, a woman about 30 years old, was sleeping in, as we only had one window that looked over that yard. I may say, we neither of us had any fear of anything and did not believe in ghosts, or anything of that sort, and I preferred going about my own house in the dark to taking the trouble of carrying a candle at any time, as I always knew where to find what I wanted.

I called to my dear old dog, tried to soothe him, he answered with a whine, but I heard his chain rattle as he went in, did as I told him, and we heard no sound of him again.

My servant slept, did not know I had been in her room. I turned to go back to my own room and in passing the landing window just outside my own door I lifted the blind, always liking to look out into the sky ; it was, as I said, between 3 and 4, and in October, and we had been having heavy dews at night, and it seemed a grey quiet sort of morning, no moon, no stars, all very still, yet I could see distinctly. We had a night-light burning and my husband was sitting up in bed. I had stayed at the back window looking out some time and thought what a strange light it was, so I held the blind only a little on one side to get a better look at the front, but dropped it and started, made an exclamation, and my husband heard me and asked what it was ; at first I did not answer, did not, in fact, choose to believe what I saw ; he sprang to the window, did just as I had done ; we asked each other, what can it be, or rather, who can it be. Standing looking at our room window just at the point of one of my flower beds was an old man in dressing gown and nightcap ; he looked about 60.

"Is it any one you know ?" asked my husband. I did not. Did he, I asked, or had he ever seen anyone at all like it ? No. In speaking of it afterwards to each other, as you may be sure we often did, we always called it Scrooge, from Charles Dickens' Christmas Carol, so no one knew whom we meant. My husband at once began to prepare to go out to the garden. I wouldn't hear of it, a terror came over me and stiffness. I had only my nightdress on, no slippers ; he saw me change and took me up and put me in bed and returned to the window. I made him promise me he wouldn't leave me, which he never quite forgave me. He told me after a little time it was getting shorter and then that it had disappeared under ground. I seemed to lose all the use of my limbs for a time.

I was so anxious to get into the garden in the morning to see if the grass had been at all disturbed and the dew showed any foot prints, but no, not a blade of anything had been interfered with. My husband said, "Now you must not speak of this to anyone, if your maid has any idea of it she will leave at once, and we shall have all the country folk here. We will make all

the inquiries we can as to who has lived here, what sort of persons they were." We did so, and found the house had been built by a farmer who had retired there with his wife; they had no children; they had been dead some years, and there had been several tenants; no one used to stay in it long; no remark was ever made to us as to any reason, nor did we make any. I asked one of our friends to give me a description of the owner of the place as she had known him well; it was exactly like our visitor.

The last time we spoke of it, we were just as unable to account for it as when we saw it; had we not both seen it at the same time we agreed we should never have named it, nor have expected anyone to have believed us.

We did not leave for some time after, but never saw anything else, nor have I since, but I have never looked out into the night with the same pleasure, and it always crosses my mind.

July 9th, 1883. M. Townsend.

[Strange noises were heard on two occasions, which could not be accounted for. Once Mrs. Townsend was greatly startled by a tremendous crash, which Mr. Townsend did not hear at all.]

Thirty-eight years seem to have elapsed after this experience before it was written down, and in that time the definiteness of the figure, and the exactness of correspondence between it and the old farmer may have, perhaps, grown in recollection. Besides, considering what an inadequate thing a description is, exactness of correspondence such as is here meant can never come to very much. I suppose no one feels that he could at once recognise an escaped burglar from the police description of him. All he would know would be that certain persons were excluded by the description while certain others were not. But to go back to our ghost; some of its characteristics, namely, its being rooted to the spot and in a fixed attitude, and its disappearance by apparently sinking into the ground, suggest an effect of light, *e.g.*, of a rising or setting moon shining through the house on to a shrub or plant. If Mr. Townsend had but gone down to the garden as he wished, he would, doubtless, have ascertained definitely whether what is here suggested, or any other physical explanation, was or was not possible; and had the occurrence been recent, an examination of the house and garden might even yet have been worth making. But as the story stands, it can hardly be thought unreasonable to regard the above explanation as more probable than any "psychical" one.

I will here add a narrative (G. 117) of a kind quite unique in our collection, and which I am inclined to think may be explained as a case of collective illusion, though, if so, the illusion was so remarkable on account of its persistence and repetition, as almost to suggest a borderland between illusion and hallucination.

It has been received directly from the elder of the two ladies who witnessed the phenomenon; the younger sister has read it through and

appended a brief comment to the account. The maid cannot now be traced.

"I daresay it is ten or twelve years since this happened. One night in November my sister C. and myself, with the maid, had been to evening service in our village church. There was thick fog; the moon was full, but it made a sort of steam in the fog, instead of shining brightly.

"As we walked we met a man: he was whistling, and we heard his whistle and his footsteps long before we saw him; he passed us on C.'s side, whistling still. Shortly after he had gone, I was surprised to see another man at C.'s side, who had come there without making a sound; he was a much shorter man than the first. C. apparently did not see him; I was walking beside her, and I pulled her sleeve, whispering 'Let that man pass.' C. was walking on the outside of the three, next the carriage road. As I spoke, the man disappeared—it seemed, into C.'s dress; neither C. nor the maid had seen him, and he had made no sound. In another moment we were all bewildered at the sight around us; it was as if we were in a crowded street; innumerable figures were round us; men, women, children, and dogs, all were moving briskly about, some singly, others in groups, all without a sound; they appeared mist-like. There was a broad strip of grass on our right, and a narrow strip on our left; the figures were hidden directly they got on either of these dark strips, or when they passed *into* ourselves; but as we walked on they came from every quarter. Some seemed to rise out of the grass on either side of us; others seemed to pass through us, and come out on the other side. The figures all seemed short, dwarf-like, except *one*, of whom I write after. The women were dressed in bygone fashion, high bonnets, big cloaks or shawls, and large flounces on their dresses, such as I remember my mother wearing when I was a child. We three were never mistaken as to the identity of the different shapes; if one saw a man, all saw a man; if one saw a woman, all saw the woman; and so on. Overhead it was perfectly free of them; they were all walking on the ground, as we ourselves were. We saw two men (at different intervals) that had sparks all round their faces; they appeared to grin. As we saw the second of these, looking hideous, close to us, one of my companions said 'I can't pass that,' and I answered, 'Look at the sky, you don't see them then.'

"There was one man taller than all the rest (he looked *very* tall), who took great strides, though perfectly noiseless; he wore a kind of cape; he was the only one who walked beside us, and he was on the carriage road; the rest all went on in an aimless kind of way, losing themselves in the grass, and so on; but this one never changed his step or swerved.

"As we walked on, and he kept near us, we cast frightened glances at him, and kept bidding each other in a whisper to look at him, though he never turned his head to look towards us. We approached our own gate, where we should turn in, and then we had a long drive to walk up before we should reach the house. I think that by the time we reached our gate all the figures had disappeared except this one tall man. He had quite a different look to any of the others, looked more horrible altogether. His way of walking was quite different to the rest, and he was, I should think, twice as tall or more than any of the others. He looked as if he had a purpose; the rest seemed quite different. As we had to cross the road and enter our gate,

I thought I could not go if that horrible figure went too, but to our intense relief, he passed our gate, and went on with his measured stride up the middle of the road. As we turned into our gate, he was the only form in sight.—E. F., *February 7th*, 1882."

Mrs. F.'s sister adds :—

"The only thing I do not recollect in this story is where E. says the men had a *grin*. All the rest is true. I cannot say I recollect the faces. The sparks I did see ; the faces appeared to me, as did the figures, mist-like.—C. M. B., *February 11th*."

In two further letters, Mrs. F. writes :—

(1) [As to the distance actually traversed in company with the "spirits."] "After talking together and recalling the road, we think we may safely say we were among them for 200 yards, or thereabouts." [So that the probable duration of the vision would be from two to three minutes.]

(2) "As to the sparks round the two faces, I certainly think they were *on* the faces ; they were *around* the faces, as it might be, *on the edge* of the faces ; they were yellow sparks ; the two figures who had the sparks appeared to me thin and cadaverous, for the faces did not look *round*, but seemed to fall in under the cheek bones. I wish I could draw, for I can see the 'things' now just as plainly as I saw them then, and I could point out the exact spot of ground on which they stood. We were close to them. As to the number of sparks I cannot speak definitely : they were placed at regular distances round the face ; there might be about ten or twelve round each face, so I think. They appeared yellow and bright, and they made a slight *steam* in the fog. Their light was not nearly so beautiful as a star's light" [this last a suggested simile]; "it might be more like a small yellow candle's flame. There was nothing beautiful about them.

(3) "You ask whether I have any theory as to the apparition. I have none whatever, and should be extremely interested if anybody could throw light upon the matter. The style of the women's dress seemed to take me back as far as I could remember (perhaps to 1857), when I seemed to remember my mother wearing the same sort of fashion, but, as you know, fashions come and go, and repeat themselves a hundred times. I think the men chiefly wore capes or long cloaks ; but, you must remember, they all looked dark and mist-like. . . . I should be myself about 20 when I saw this appearance, and my sister 16. . . . One might imagine it to be a kind of mirage, only the whole appearance was so unlike what one would have seen in any town at the time we saw it. *No* woman in any English town was dressed in the least as were *all* the women in our vision.

(4) "We were all very much frightened. The maid and my sister were crying aloud ; I was not, for I felt I must keep my wits about me ; the tears were rolling down my cheeks in a kind of bewilderment, yet I was not crying, and my voice was strong and firm. We kept pulling each other from one and another side of the road, as the spirits came thicker towards us from different sides, for it was an uncomfortable feeling to see them disappear into ourselves.

"When we burst into the house with the history of our curious apparition

my father and mother came out with us again, to see if anything was to be seen, but the road was quite free of anything, and after walking about for half-an-hour we went indoors again."

Illusion is certainly not a very plausible explanation of this occurrence, but it is perhaps possible that the small figures were irregularities in the density of the fog interpreted into shapes of men and women, the witnesses confirming each other in their interpretation, and that the large figure was a real man walking noiselessly, as a man does, for instance, in goloshes. The fact that the small figures disappeared directly they got on either of the dark strips of grass, affords, I think, a strong reason for regarding them as illusions; for it is difficult to see why a hallucination, veridical or otherwise, should be affected so much by the background, while on the other hand, an illusion caused, as I have suggested, by irregularities in the density of the fog, would depend on the background almost entirely. If the phenomenon was really a "psychical" one it is peculiarly unlucky that the one fact of this kind, recorded in a collection of 370 narratives, should have occurred in a fog.

So far I have dealt only with visual illusions, but auditory illusions are, I think, commoner. We interpret sounds from smaller indications than sights, and more mistakes are possible about them. If we see a figure, we cannot be mistaken as to the direction in which we see it, and the relation to other objects, called in optics parallax, constantly enables us to estimate its distance, and consequently its size. Whereas in sounds we may easily be wrong about direction, and as to distance, and consequently absolute loudness, we have, I think, no guide at all, unless we know independently what the source of sound is. Any one may experimentally verify this, if he will carefully observe his first uncorrected impressions as to the source of unexpected sounds. This difficulty in the exact localisation of unknown sources of sounds is a very serious obstacle to discovering their possible physical causes, and makes it, I think, on the whole, unwarrantable to assume that mysterious sounds not showing intelligence are physically inexplicable, merely because not yet physically explained.

There are, however, three considerations, which, in a more legitimate way, suggest a "psychical" origin for such sounds, and though I do not think that as at present exemplified in the collection before us, these considerations are very weighty, it would be a mistake, in view of further investigations, to put them altogether out of court. (1) The sounds sometimes seem to show signs of intelligent agency, or of correspondence with external and physically independent circumstances. For instance, raps seem to vary in answer to questions asked, or the sounds are for the first time heard in seeming connection with a very recent death. We have not, I think, at present any very strong evidence for

such psychical signs as these, but if the origin of the sounds be really non-physical it is in this way that there is, probably, most likelihood of proving it.* (2) In houses where there seems to be good evidence for the occurrence of visual apparitions, mysterious sounds also occur, and if it can be shown that sounds and sights have in these cases some common psychical origin, this will, of course, afford a *primâ facie* ground for attributing similar sounds to a similar origin when they occur by themselves. (3) Many of the sounds in question appear to those who hear them to resemble sounds usually made by human beings, such as footsteps, rustling of dresses, moving of furniture overhead, the crash of falling china, the smack of a whip on door or furniture, raps and blows on walls and doors, cries, groans, sobs, sighs, whisperings and inarticulate voices. I think, however, that little importance can be attached to this consideration. For none of the sounds I have enumerated seem to me at all unmistakable in character. For instance, the chief characteristic of footsteps is their periodicity. Any recurring tap having about the same period might easily be mistaken for them, and if it gradually increased or diminished in loudness it would suggest a person approaching or receding.† And again, it is well known that draughts of air under certain circumstances will produce the illusion of whispering.

It is clear from our evidence that, in many cases, considerable trouble has been taken to find any physical cause for the mysterious noises without success—the inhabitants having often before them the sceptic's favourite explanation of rats quite as clearly as we have. On the other hand, obvious causes are no doubt sometimes over-looked, or their effect under-estimated. In one case, for instance, (312) we learn from the owner of a house that the partition-wall between it and the next house, is probably not so completely impervious to sounds as

* Careful observations on this point should be made by those residing in houses where mysterious noises occur. It is satisfactory to know that this is being done by General Campbell, the narrator of No. 351, and we may hope for valuable evidence from him.

† In some cases there seems good ground for thinking that sounds of this nature were correctly localised though unexplained. The following is an extract from a recent narration of experiences which occurred, unfortunately, 30 years ago. It has been shown to me by the Committee in manuscript, and has not yet been printed among the slips :—" Almost every night I used to hear these footsteps, and used sometimes to sit on the stairs holding the bannisters on each side with my hands. Nothing corporeal could have passed me ; but the footsteps distinctly passed me. Two stairs in the bottom flight were in the habit of creaking when trodden upon ; and when I heard the steps coming I used to count, and the creak came always regularly on these two stairs. It was like a heavy unshod foot." In this case, and in others, the footsteps have sometimes been followed about the house.

our informant, who had occupied the former house for some years, believed it to be.

I do not give any specimen of these narratives of houses haunted by noises only, because one has already appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Society. (Part VI., p. 144.)*

There are, I think, about 30 of the stories which come under the head of merely unexplained sounds, and about the same number where there is good evidence for unexplained sounds, and also evidence for other phenomena, but where the latter evidence does not seem to me important for our present purpose. Here I should remark that evidence for the ghostly nature of other phenomena, *e.g.*, apparitions, is not, in my view, materially strengthened by the fact that there are mysterious noises at the same time or place, because the existence of the sounds, and the consequent idea that a house is haunted, may, for aught we know, produce a state of mind conducive to hallucinations. It is noticeable that in some accounts of haunted houses, the figure seen varies with the seer, being seen at different times and places and, perhaps, only once by each person. For instance, in one narrative (168), one person is said to have seen a figure in white on the stairs; another person, when in bed, a man in a shooting jacket; and a third, also in bed, a woman and a baby. Does not this suggest a casual combination of dreams and either illusions or the merely subjective hallucinations of which I shall presently speak, to which importance was attached because the house had already acquired a reputation of being haunted? I will give here, as an illustration, a case (G. 324) where the evidence for the phenomena described seems very good, though they occurred 32 years ago, and where it is, perhaps, possible that real but unexplained sounds, resembling human footsteps, in some way caused a purely subjective hallucination.

From Mrs. Watson (written by her daughter), 42, Old Elvet, Durham,
February 24th, 1884.

I am writing at my mother's dictation, her recollection of the circumstance which occurred at Armitage during the summer of 1852. She was alone in the dining-room; her sister and sister's husband were in the kitchen about 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

She distinctly heard footsteps loudly running upstairs, and the door at the top of the stairs "banged." She thought it was her brother-in-law, but he immediately afterwards opened the dining-room door, and asked her if she had heard the sound.

He and his wife had heard exactly the same while in the kitchen, and the latter looking up the stairs had seen the figure of a man at the top of the

* I rank this narrative in this class because the evidence in it for intelligence in the agency producing the sounds seems, to me, too slight and indefinite for any stress to be laid on it.

stairs, who turned and looked down at her, and then disappeared, the door banging after him. She said it was a figure exactly resembling her father. Every possible search was immediately made, but not the slightest clue ever found to the mystery.

ANNIE M. L. WATSON.

The following independent account is from the Rev. R. L. Loughborough, Pirton Vicarage, Hitchin, brother of Mrs. Watson and of the sister (Mrs. Swann), above mentioned.

Pirton,
20*th February*, 1884.

It is nearly 30 years since the following account was given to me, in the house where it occurred, by my sister, Mrs. Swann, who then resided in a detached house in the village of Armitage, in Staffordshire. The house is surrounded by a garden having back as well as front entrance ; the back entrance led into the kitchen, from whence a back stair, enclosed, led to the upper rooms. Mrs. Swann was alone in the kitchen engaged at a table standing against the enclosure. No door opened, but she was startled by hearing the sound of footsteps as of one ascending the enclosed stair. She immediately opened the door at the foot of the stairs, and being broad daylight saw a figure ascending, which she at once recognised as that of her father, who had been dead several years. She recognised the figure by the hand placed behind, as was his custom when alive and walking ; and she recognised the face when he turned at the top and looked back. On reaching the top of the stairs the figure turned round, looked at her for a brief space, then seemed to pass along the passage. Her husband and sister (now Mrs. Watson) were in another part of the house, the dining-room ; they both heard the sound as of footsteps, and, as by an impulse, both quickly ascended the front stairs, looked through the house, but saw nothing. I may add that the occurrence took place just before Mrs. Watson's marriage, perhaps two months or so, and that I heard of it when I went to Armitage to perform the ceremony. Mrs. Swann has been dead some years ; but when she related the affair to me, was fully convinced of the reality of the vision.

R. LINDSAY LOUGHBOROUGH.

The next account is from a letter from Mr. George W. Swann, East Boldon, Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Mr. Loughborough.

February 29*th*, 1884.

A clearer and more correct description* could not be given, and I have really nothing to add but that I distinctly heard the noise, and Anne as distinctly saw what she believed to be her father, running up the back stairs. It took Maria and myself very little time to run through the whole of the house. In vain we looked for signs of any one being in ; and it was impossible for any one to have got out, for men were working outside close by, and told us they had seen and heard nothing. Maria's version is correct,—that she was alone in the dining-room, and that I went hastily to her, and we both rushed up the front stairs,

* Mr. Swann refers to the above account by Mrs. Watson, which had been sent to him by Mr. Loughborough.

expecting to meet the intruder on the landing leading from the back to the front. It was after that Anne told us who the figure was like, and to her dying day she was convinced that it was her father. At this distance of time I am quite certain of hearing a man's feet going up the *uncarpeted* back stairs.

It will be convenient to mention here that there are a few accounts of phenomena other than sounds—*e.g.*, lights dancing on the ceiling,—which undoubtedly call for investigation, as the sounds do, but which, like the sounds, cannot, I think, at present be referred to "psychical" causes on any better ground than that no physical cause has yet been found for them; while their fleeting nature and rare occurrence make the search for possible physical causes difficult.

IV.—The next explanation which I will consider is mistaken identity in its various forms—including under this head all the cases where we can suppose that what was taken for a phantasm, was a living being in the flesh, or otherwise a real earthly specimen of that which it resembled; and also cases where there has been a mistake as to the fact of death, as when a person taken for a ghost has really been alive all along. About 13 of the narratives may, perhaps, be explained in this way, though generally, it must be admitted, with some difficulty.

The following narrative (G. 300) received from Mr. William H. Stone, 1, Park Avenue, Slade Lane, Levenshulme, Manchester, is one of them:—

I think it was in 1854; at that time we were large leather factors, and hide and skin brokers in Hopstown; when I say we, my employers were in the above line of business, and I was manager of the latter department, and in which we used a large amount of stationery, such as weekly catalogues, blackleads, and memorandum books, &c., for our buyers and our own men. I was going along from our office, in rather a merry mood, to order from a stationer in P—— Street a quantity of catalogues wanted for next Friday's sale, for we sold the hides and skins by auction every Friday, at half-past 1 o'clock to the minute, or nearly so. As I said, I was going along P—— Street,—it might be some six or eight days before the great St. Leger day. I generally had a pound or two on the "Leger," and it was my intention, as soon as my little order was given for stationery, to see a friend about the horse I had backed. Crossing from left to right in P—— Street, whom should I meet (or as I thought met) but an old customer, as he had been for some years, of my father's; my father was formerly a brewer, and he had supplied the party I thought I met with ale, as I said, for some years, and I used to collect the accounts from him along with others in the same line: he was a beerhouse-keeper, or as they were then called, a jerry-shopkeeper. I went up to him, called him by his right name, shook him by the *left hand*, for he had *no right*, it having been cut off when he was a youth; he had a substitute for a hand in the shape of a hook, and he was, said he, very active with this hook when his services were required in turning anyone out of his house that was in any way refractory; he was what you might call a jolly,

good, even-tempered sort of a man, and much respected by his customers, most of whom did a little betting in the racing line. He had a very red countrified sort of a face, and dressed quite in a country style, with felt hat, something after the present style of billy-cocks, with thick blue silk handkerchief and round white dots on it, his coat, a sort of chedle-swinger, and a gold watchguard passing round his neck and over his waistcoat; his clothing was all of good material and respectably made. The moment he saw me his face shone bright, and he seemed much pleased to meet me, and I may say I felt a similar pleasure towards him. Mind, this occurred in perfect daylight, no moonlight or darkness so essential an accompaniment to ghost stories; many people were passing and repassing at the time. You may be sure I did not stand in the middle of the street for about seven minutes talking and shaking hands with myself; someone would have had a laugh at me had that been the case. I almost at once, after the stereotyped compliments of the day, launched into the state of the odds respecting the St. Leger, and into the merits and demerits of various horses. He supplied me with what information I required, and we each went our way. He was a man considered to be well posted up in such matters, had cool judgment and discrimination; in fact, he was one of those that would not be led away by what are called tips. I made a memorandum or two, shook his hand again, and passed on about my business, ordered my catalogues, &c.

I came back sauntering along towards the office, not now intending to see the party I had previously intended to see. As I got to the same part of P—— Street, on my way back, I suddenly stood still, my whole body shook, and for the moment I tried to reason with myself. The man I had been speaking to was dead some four years before! Could it be possible that he had been buried alive? This is horribly shocking to think about, but such things have taken place. Decomposition being the only certain indication of death, might he not have been prematurely buried? But, if so, what had I to do with it? I had nothing to do with his death, but I am now sorry I do not know or recollect the particulars of his death and burial. I certainly saw his funeral. [We have failed to obtain the certificate of death or burial.]

As I stood in the street I tried to give utterance to my thoughts and feelings, but no, I felt a sort of dumbness, and fairly gasped for breath. I felt a cold shiver come over me, although the day was warm; the hair of my head seemed as if it would force my hat off; my very blood seemed to object to perform its duty.

The question might be asked: Was I unwell? had I been indulging too freely in stimulants? In both cases I answer, No! for at that time I was particularly moderate in the use of stimulants, or tobacco, and was enjoying the most robust health, such as I never enjoyed before or since, and had a constitution like a horse. Was I annoyed in my mind in any way? Not in the least. Was it really a vision of the departed? Let the reader judge for himself. I give it up. Had I been deceived in having met the man? No such thing. Then was it someone very like him? Nothing of the sort, for the very words that passed between us could come from no other lips but the man himself, in substantial flesh and blood. Was it an optical delusion? for nothing is so deceptive as optical delusions. Certainly not; we sometimes believe we see what we do not see, but in this case it was

nothing of the sort, nor could it be somebody like him, it was him! As I said before, he had but one hand, and his *right hand was his left one*, in a sense. I had business transactions with him for many years. He had entirely slipped out of my memory for a length of time. That he was in or out of existence it never occurred to me for one moment till now; and the thought never presented itself throughout the interval between my going and coming, and perhaps never would have done, had I not gone the same way back, by way of P—— Street, and passed the identical spot. It may be asked, am I, or was I, superstitious? I say, No, emphatically.

To conclude, and as I have several times said before, and as I again say, I gave a start, and said, Bless me! how can this be? not an optical delusion, not it. What then? Nothing but a slight mystery, and I was confident I could easily solve it. Never was I more mistaken, for from that day to this I still remain in profound ignorance as to what was the cause or meaning of what I saw.

Mr. F. A. Whaite, writing to Mr. Gurney from Whaite's Fine Art Gallery, Bridge Street, Manchester, October 16th, 1883, says:—

"You ask Mr. Stone if he ever mentioned the circumstance mentioned in your note of the 14th inst." (*i.e.*, the above account.) "He did name it to me and my parents the same day; and I believe it was the truth, for he was so excited about it at the time."

This occurrence may, I think, be possibly accounted for by supposing that the man our informant talked to was a living man, and that he was mistaken as to which of his father's customers had died four years before. This explanation may seem far-fetched, but any other, whether "psychical" or not, is very difficult. It clearly cannot have been an illusion or a trick, and a hallucination or a ghost behaving as this one did—touched, heard, seen, and talked to for several minutes, in broad daylight, in a public street, and presumably seen by all the passers-by—would be unique among the hallucinations and ghosts of our collections.

V. I now come to the discussion of a more important and difficult part of the subject than any which has yet been before us—namely, hallucination. The difficulty which at once meets us arises from the fact that genuine phantasms of the dead such as we are discussing would themselves generally take the form of hallucinations of the senses—that is, they would not (at least in my opinion, but I shall discuss this question somewhat more fully further on) form part of the external physical world around us. It is true that ghosts are alleged sometimes to produce a physical effect on the external world; but this supposition opens up a new field of difficulty, since it really does bring us into *primâ facie* collison with the physical sciences; and on the whole it has seemed to me best to leave the small group of stories, in which physical, as distinct from psychical, phenomena are definitely alleged

to have occurred, to be treated in connection with the records of physical phenomena, reported to have been experimentally obtained at spiritualistic séances.

The phenomena with which the mass of the narratives are concerned —if we omit mere feelings and impressions to which I can attach little weight—are almost all, at best, indistinguishable from hallucinations. The question then is how are we to distinguish them from hallucinations which are not what is called *veridical.* There is nothing, so far as we at present know, either in the phenomena themselves, or in the condition of the percipient, by which they may be distinguished. For careful inquiry shows that solitary, and seemingly non-veridical, hallucinations of persons whom there is no reason to think otherwise than healthy in body and mind, do occur. Clearly, then, we should not be justified in assuming a hallucination to be veridical without some special external reason for doing so, or, in other words, some confirmatory coincidence. When the phantasm is that of a *living* person, information about that person may afford us the required reason. But in the case of phantasms of the *dead*, we are cut off from the possibility of any information about the supposed agent, and are reduced to seek for some other kind of confirmation. Several kinds of confirmation are possible, and of these five seem to me to be more or less exemplified by the part of our present collection to which I attach most importance.

Of hallucinations without any such confirmation, we have, I think, about forty, and about as many more where the confirmatory evidence required does not seem to me strong enough.

The first kind of confirmation which I will consider occurs when two people have a hallucination simultaneously. It certainly seems in the highest degree improbable that two people should independently have similar subjectively caused hallucinations ; but for those who, like myself, are disposed to regard *thought-transference* or *telepathy* as established, the fact that two persons apparently see the same apparition at the same time, does not prove that it is externally caused in both cases. We must admit the possibility that A, having a hallucination, may by thought-transference convey the impression to B, and cause B to have a hallucination too ; and even perhaps that A may cause a hallucination to B by some telepathically conveyed impression, though his own mental disturbance does not externalise itself in the same way. At any rate we know as yet too little about hallucinations and the conditions under which they occur, to say that this cannot be so. These suppositions may seem extravagant ; but according to the general principle with which I started, it seems to me that I am bound to press the hypothesis of telepathy as far as it will go, no less than the other hypotheses—exaggeration, illusion, mistaken identity, &c. And it should be observed that it is not necessary to suppose that the two hallucina-

tions, even when believed to be similar, are so in every detail. No one takes in every detail of an object seen, especially when seen for so short a time as these hallucinations usually last, and A's description may easily seem to recall to B's mind points which he did not actually observe himself, though he did not observe the contrary. The positive evidence in favour of this hypothesis is not as yet large in amount, or conclusive in quality. But there are cases among the collected narratives of phantasms of the living, which seem more easily explained on this hypothesis than on any other, and which therefore support it as far as they go. For example (L.1531) a lady tells us that her brother and his wife, both now dead, once asked her whether she had been thinking of them in any special way on a certain night some months previously. It appeared that they had both seen her standing at the foot of their bed. She could not remember anything on her part which suggested a cause for this phenomenon. Another very interesting case of a similar kind was printed in the *Proceedings*, Vol. I., p. 145. Then again there is a curious story (L. 323) in which the mother of a dying woman appears to the nurse at the bedside. There is no evidence of what our Committee call "agency" on the part of the mother, and she was quite unknown to the percipient. It seems here plausible to suppose that the sick person was in some way the agent causing the hallucination, though we do not know what was her own experience at the time.

If this hypothesis, as to the nature of collective hallucinations, be regarded as tenable, then all the stories where there is no other ground for assuming an external cause may possibly be cases of thought-transference between living persons, and cannot be regarded as affording arguments for the possibility of communication with the dead or of apparitions directly connected with them. There are, I think, about 20 such stories in the collection. The following may be given as a specimen (G. 405, printed also as 610), the impression of the little orphan's dream being supposed transferred to the warden. The story was originally printed in July, 1883, in an account of the Orphanage where it occurred, entitled "The Orphanage and Home, Aberlour, Craigellachie," &c. (pp. 44, 45), and we have since obtained confirmation of it from the Warden.

In 1875, a man died leaving a widow and six orphan children. The three eldest were admitted into the Orphanage. Three years afterwards the widow died, and friends succeeded in getting funds to send the rest here, the youngest being about four years of age. At this time the Orphanage contained nearly 30 inmates, for the smaller ones of whom the Warden did everything that was required. There was not a spare room in the house, and visitors to the Orphanage had to be lodged in the parsonage. About six months after the arrival of the younger children referred to above, two visitors unexpectedly arrived late in the evening—too late to get a bed aired

at the parsonage; it was therefore arranged that they should have the Warden's room, he agreeing to take a bed in the little ones' dormitory, which contained 10 beds, nine occupied. No other change except this was made in the usual order of things.

In the morning, at breakfast, the Warden made the following statement:—As near as I can tell I fell asleep about 11 o'clock, and slept very soundly for some time. I suddenly woke without any apparent reason, and felt an impulse to turn round, my face being towards the wall, from the children. Before turning, I looked up and saw a soft light in the room. The gas was burning low in the hall, and the dormitory door being open, I thought it probable that the light came from that source. It was soon evident, however, that such was not the case. I turned round, and then a wonderful vision met my gaze. Over the second bed from mine, and on the same side of the room, there was floating a small cloud of light, forming a halo of the brightness of the moon on an ordinary moonlight night.

I sat upright in bed, looked at this strange appearance, took up my watch and found the hands pointing to five minutes to 1. Everything was quiet, and all the children sleeping soundly. In the bed, over which the light seemed to float, slept the youngest of the six children mentioned above.

I asked myself, "Am I dreaming?" No! I was wide awake. I was seized with a strong impulse to rise and touch the substance, or whatever it might be (for it was about five feet high), and was getting up when something seemed to hold me back. I am certain I heard nothing, yet I *felt* and perfectly understood the words—"No, lie down, it won't hurt you." I *at once* did what I *felt* I was told to do. I fell asleep shortly afterwards and rose at half-past 5, that being my usual time.

At 6 o'clock I began dressing the children, beginning at the bed furthest from the one in which I slept. Presently I came to the bed over which I had seen the light hovering. I took the little boy out, placed him on my knee, and put on some of his clothes. The child had been talking with the others, suddenly he was silent. And then, looking me hard in the face with an extraordinary expression, he said, "Oh, Mr. Jupp, my mother came to me last night. Did you see her?" For a moment I could not answer the child. I then thought it better to pass it off, and said, "Come, we must make haste, or we shall be late for breakfast."

The child never afterwards referred to the matter, we are told, nor has it since ever been mentioned to him. The Warden says it is a mystery to him; he simply states the fact and there leaves the matter, being perfectly satisfied that he was mistaken in no one particular.

Letter from Miss Venning.

British Museum,
4th November.

My friend, Mr. Farrer, Rector of Bigbury, Kingsbridge, vouches for the truth of the story. A week or two ago he visited the Orphanage at Aberlour, and saw the Mr. Jupp mentioned, whom he describes as a straightforward, rather matter-of-fact Englishman, and who told him the story almost word for word as it is given in the pamphlet.

Letter from Mr. Jupp to Mr. Gurney.

The Orphanage and Convalescent Home, Aberlour, Craigellachie.

November 13*th*, 1883.

Dear Sir,—I fear anything the little boy might now say would be unreliable, or I would at once question him. Although the matter was fully discussed at the time, it was never mentioned in the hearing of the child, and yet, when at the request of friends, the account was published in our little magazine, and the child read it, his countenance changed, and looking up he said, "Mr. Jupp, that is me." I said, "Yes, that is what we saw." He said, "Yes," and then seemed to fall into deep thought, evidently with pleasant remembrances, for he smiled so sweetly to himself, and seemed to forget I was present.

I much regret now that I did not learn something from the child at the time.

(Signed) Chas. Jupp.

The following narrative, (G. 127) received from Mrs. Windridge, is perhaps another instance; the mother here, on the hypothesis under consideration, causing the child's hallucination.

24, Maitland Park Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.

9th November, 1882.

About the year 1869, I was much interested in a poor woman who was dying in my neighbourhood. I used to visit her frequently, until my friends prevented me from going any more, as the excitement rendered me ill. Eventually when she died, they concealed the fact from me for some days.

I was taking my little boy, three years old, up to bed one evening. It was dusk; and when half-way up the first flight of stairs, I distinctly felt a pressure and a rustling of a dress at my side as if a woman had brushed past me. There was no one there. On the second flight the pressure was repeated, but more unmistakably. The occurrence made me so nervous that, having put the boy to bed, I decided to remain with him until my husband came in. I accordingly lay down on the bed, facing him.

Suddenly the boy started up. "Oh, mother, there is a lady standing behind you," at the same moment I felt a pressure which I knew to be that of my friend. I dared not look round.

When my husband returned, I heard from him for the first time that my friend had died three days before.

In the above two cases the percipients had simultaneous, but not similar impressions. The following (G. 151) is an interesting specimen of impressions both simultaneous and similar, which might be explained in the same way. The narrator, who will not allow her name to be published, is known to Mr. Podmore.

February 17*th*, 1884.

Shortly after my marriage, about the year 1847, I went to stay at my father's house. I had at that time two sisters at home, unmarried. The elder of the two was nearly two years younger than myself, and would there-

fore be about 22 years of age at the time I speak of. The other sister was much younger than us both, and at this time was about 14 years old. My two sisters slept together in a room adjoining mine.

One morning, on my going down to breakfast, my elder sister said to me, "Sarah, such a strange thing happened in the night. I was sleeping outside" (the other side of the bed was against the wall), "and I was awoke by a feeling of oppression at my chest, as though there was a weight there, and I could not breathe. On opening my eyes I was startled to see a veiled figure bending over me. While I looked I felt Anna's arm come round me. After what seemed to me a few minutes the form disappeared. Then Anna whispered, 'Oh, Lizzie, I thought it was going to take you away.'"

This was my sister's account. I took an opportunity, when my younger sister and I were alone, to ask her what that was that she and Lizzie had seen.

She said she was awoke by a feeling of oppression, as though she could not breathe, and on opening her eyes, in the dim light of the room (the blind was down, but there was a gas lamp in front of the house, which gave some light to the room), she saw a veiled figure bending over Lizzie, and she put her arm round her, as she thought it had come to take her away.

My father and his family shortly after moved into another house, my sisters still occupying a room together. They assured me that once in this other house they were visited by the same appearance, but this time it was over Anna. She only lived a short time after, dying at sixteen and a-half.

On sending this account to my sister, in case I might, through lapse of time, have altered the matter, she assures me that it is substantially correct, and adds that the form was grey, darker and thicker in the middle; she also adds that the feeling of horror was intense.*

The remaining kinds of confirmation with which we have to deal are those which we have (1) When the phantasm conveys correct information previously unknown to the percipient; or (2) when there seems to be some clearly defined object aimed at in the manifestations; (3) when the apparition resembles a deceased person unknown to the percipient so much that he afterwards recognises his portrait, or when it has some well-marked characteristic of the deceased which is unknown to the percipient; (4) when two or more people see, independently of each other and at different times, apparitions which seem clearly to have been very much alike.

Of narratives with the first of these kinds of confirmation we have five or six, but none of them very recent. Sometimes simply the fact of the death is learnt from the phantasm, as in the following case, where the hallucination is auditory (G. 357). It was received by the Committee from the Rev. C. C. Wambey, 39, Canal, Salisbury.

During my residence in B.C., as curate in charge, it was my custom to walk in the summer evenings over the neighbouring downs.

* This sister has had other experiences of the kind, which the Committee hope to obtain accounts of, but there has as yet been no opportunity of communicating with her directly.

On the evening of Sunday, August 20th, 1874, I was strolling on the downs skirting Marleombe Hill, composing a congratulatory letter, which I proposed to write and post to my very dear friend W., so that he might have it on his birthday, the 22nd, when I heard a voice saying, "What, write to a dead man; write to a dead man!" I turned sharply round, fully expecting to see some one close behind me. There was no one. Treating the matter as an illusion, I went on with my composition. A second time I heard the same voice, saying, more loudly than before, "What, write to a dead man; write to a *dead* man!" Again I turned round. I was alone, at least bodily. I now fully understood the meaning of that voice; it was no illusion.

Notwithstanding this, I sent the proposed letter, and in reply received from Mrs. W. the sad, but to me not unexpected, intelligence, that her husband was dead.

"What, write to a dead man; write to a *dead* man!"

In answer to inquiries, Mr. Wambey says:—I have an impression—but only an impression—that I have heard other voices, no visible person being near.

In the following case (G. 306), the information is conveyed by an apparition of the deceased person, accompanied by symbols of death. The narrator is Mrs. George T. Haly 122, Coningham Road, Shepherd's Bush, W.

On waking in broad daylight, I saw, like a shadowed reflection, a very long coffin stretching quite across the ceiling of my room, and as I lay gazing at it, and wondering at its length and whose it could foreshadow, my eyes fell on a shadowy figure of an absent nephew, with his back towards me, searching, as it were, in my book-shelf. That morning's post brought the news of his death in Australia. He *was 6 foot 2 or 3 inches in height*, and a book had been my last present to him on his leaving England, taken from that very bookcase.

Mr. Gurney saw Mrs. Haly in November, 1884, and learnt that this, and an appearance of lights, are the only hallucinations of sight Mrs. Haly has had, and that she clearly recognised her nephew's figure. The event occurred in the winter of 1872-3, some six weeks after the nephew's death.

The case of the apparition of Canon Robinson to Mr. Tandy, an account of which was printed in the *Journal* of the Society for January, 1885, p. 246, is somewhat similar, only no impression that Canon Robinson was dead was seemingly conveyed by the phantasm. Both in this story and in the one last quoted a curious point will be noticed—namely, that the apparition occurs just before the news of the death is received. It is not easy to imagine any reason for this—any reason why the supposed agent should intentionally or unintentionally impress the percipient at that moment rather than another, or why the percipient should be at that moment peculiarly impressible. And yet, if the

coincidence be due to chance only, it is curious that we should have two cases of it among so few. It is, perhaps, possible that the immediate receipt of the news may have caused the apparition to assume in memory a definiteness which it had not in reality, though, if recognition be distinctly recollected, it would be rather a strange trick for memory to play; and Mr. Tandy tells us that in his case his recognition of Canon Robinson—an intimate friend—was very definite indeed.

Another case of an apparition of a dead person whose death was unknown to the percipient is the following (G. 477), which has not yet been printed. The writer is Colonel ———, a well-known Irish gentleman, but we are not allowed to publish his name. He writes from Arthur's on March 1st, 1885 :—

Some 16 years since Mrs. —— said to me, "We have some people staying here all next week. Do you know any person I could get to sing with the girls?" I suggested that my gunmaker, Mr. X., had a daughter with a fine voice, who was training as a public singer, and that if she, Mrs. ——, liked I would write to X. and ask if he would allow her to come down and spend a week with us. On my wife's approval I wrote, and Miss X. came down for a week, and then left. As far as I know, Mrs. —— never saw her again. Shortly after I called on X., thanked him for allowing his daughter to come to us, and said we were all much pleased with her. X. replied: "I fear you have spoilt her, for she says she never passed so happy a week in her life." Miss X. did not come out as a singer, but shortly after married Mr. Z., and none of us ever saw her again.

Six or seven years passed away, and Mrs. ——, who had been long ill, was dying, in fact she did die the following day. I was sitting at the foot of her bed talking over some business matters that she was anxious to arrange, being perfectly composed and in thorough possession of her senses; in fact she was right, and my solicitor, who advised that the step she wanted to be taken was not necessary, was wrong. She changed the subject and said: "Do you hear those voices singing?" I replied that I did not; and she said: "I have heard them several times to-day, and I am sure they are the angels welcoming me to Heaven; but," she added, "it is strange, there is one voice amongst them I am sure I know, and cannot remember whose voice it is." Suddenly she stopped and said, pointing straight over my head, "Why there she is in the corner of the room; it is Julia X.; she is coming on; she is leaning over you; she has her hands up; she is praying; do look; she is going." I turned but could see nothing. Mrs. —— then said, "She is gone." All these things I imagined to be the phantasies of a dying person.

Two days afterwards, taking up the *Times* newspaper, I saw recorded the death of Julia Z., wife of Mr. Z. I was so astounded that in a day or so after the funeral I went up to —— and asked Mr. X. if Mrs. Z., his daughter, was dead. He said, "Yes, poor thing, she died of puerperal fever. On the day she died she began singing in the morning, and sang and sang until she died."

Last year I saw mentioned that some person or persons were collecting

remarkable ghost stories, and I wrote to Mr. Z., telling him shortly what I have now written at length. Mr. Z.'s answer was, that I had described so accurately the scene of his wife's death that he should like to see me, was coming up to London the week after, and would call. Unfortunately I was obliged to leave London, and have never seen Mr. Z.

In a subsequent communication Colonel —— adds :—

Mrs. Z. died on 2nd February, at six or thereabout in the morning, 1874.
Mrs. —— died February 13th, 1874, at about four in the evening.
I saw notice of Mrs. Z.'s death on February 14th.
Mrs. —— never was subject to hallucinations of any sort.
[For corroboration in this case, see the Note at the end of the paper.]

In this case, as in Mr. Tandy's, no definite impression of the supposed agent's death is given, so that the coincidence is reduced to the simple seeing of a person who is dead, but not at the time known to be so. And it is here further weakened by the fact that dying persons do frequently hear music and see visions, and that the idea of singing might naturally have called up Mrs. Z.'s image to Mrs. ——'s mind. Still, there remains a remarkable coincidence, and the narrative has moreover great interest in connection with these visions of dying persons, whose objective origin is firmly believed in by many, but is very difficult to prove. Cases like this one, in sufficient numbers, would, of course, go a long way towards proving it, at any rate if it could be shown that dying persons do not, under similar circumstances, see apparitions of persons alive and well at the time.

The apparition described in the following narrative (G. 32), abridged from *Temple Bar* for December, 1882, conveys information of a different kind. The writer is the Rev. Gerrard Lewis, of St. Paul's Vicarage, Margate, who, in a letter to Mr. Podmore, dated December 30th, 1882, says :—

I have nothing to add to my "true ghost story" in *Temple Bar*. I should not like the young man's name to be published, but will give it you in confidence. As to dates, he died on Thursday, September 19th, 1866. I saw his appearance on Sunday, September 22nd, and officiated at his funeral on Wednesday, September 25th.

My wife's mother had in her service a coachman named P., with one son, James Henry P., who had been brought up by friends at a distance, and was apprenticed to a trade in London. His father had only twice casually mentioned him to me, and he had almost entirely slipped out of my mind, for, with a large seaside parish on my hands, of which I was curate, my time and attention were fully taken up with matters nearer home. I mention this, lest in the course of the following story my readers should chance to think that a deep impression, previously made on my own mind, had predisposed me to see what I saw, and afterwards to regard it in a supernatural light. I cannot, therefore, too emphatically repeat that I knew next to

nothing about James Henry P., my friend's son; that I had never seen him; and seldom, if ever, thought of him at all.

It was a hot and bright afternoon in summer, and, as if it were only yesterday, I remember perfectly well walking down the broad bright street in the broad bright afternoon. I had to pass the house of P. I remarked indeed that all his window blinds were drawn carefully down, as if to screen his furniture, of which his wife was inordinately proud, from the despoiling blaze of the afternoon sun. I smiled inwardly at the thought. I then left the road, stepped on to the side pavement, and looked over the area rails, into the front court below. A young man, dressed in dark clothes, and without a hat, and apparently about 20 years of age, was standing at the door beneath the front steps. On the instant, from his likeness to my friend P., I seemed to recognise his son. We both stood and looked very hard at each other. Suddenly, however, he advanced to that part of the area which was immediately below where I was standing, fixed on me a wide, dilated, winkless sort of stare, and halted. The desire to speak was evidently legible on his face, though nothing audible escaped from his lips. But his eyes spoke; every feature in his countenance spoke, spoke, as it were, a silent language, in which reproach and pain seemed equally intermingled. At first I was startled; then I began to feel angry. "Why," I said to myself, "does he look at me in that manner?" At last, annoyance prevailing over surprise, I turned away with the half-muttered thought: "He certainly knows me by sight as a friend of his father, and yet has not the civility to salute me. I will call on the first opportunity and ask his reason for such behaviour." I then pursued my way and thought no more of what had just occurred.

On Wednesday it was my turn to officiate at the local cemetery. On my asking who was to be buried, I was told that it was a young man from my quarter of the town, who had died of consumption. I cannot give the reason, but immediately I felt startled and ill at ease. It was not that I had the least suspicion that anything extraordinary was about to happen. I had quite forgotten young P. The feeling which I think was uppermost in my mind was annoyance at the fact that any one should have died of such a slow disease in my parish, but without my knowledge. I asked without delay for the registrar's certificate. My eyes fell on the words, "James Henry P., aged 21 years." I could scarcely believe my own senses.

I lost but little time before calling on P. and his wife. I found the latter at home, and what she had to say only made me more uncomfortable still. James Henry P. bore such a close resemblance to his father that all who saw him remarked on the striking likeness. In addition to this, during the last three months of his life, which he spent under his father's roof, he had often wondered that I did not come to see him. His longing for an interview with me had been most intense; and every time he saw me pass the house without going in he had both felt and expressed a keen disappointment. In fact, he died terribly in earnest, wishing in vain to the last that I would come. That thought pierced me through and through. I had not gone to him but he had come to me. And yet I would have gone, if I had but known. I blame the doctor for not telling me; I blame the parents for not sending for me; and with that awful look he gave me in my remembrance, I blame myself, though I cannot tell why.

James Henry P. had died on the Thursday before the Sunday on which I had seen him. He had died, too, in the front room, on a level with the area, into which its window opened. He had also lain there till the Wednesday following, awaiting burial. His corpse then was lying in that very room on that very Sunday, and at the very moment, too, when I had seen his living likeness, as it were, in the area outside. Nobody, I found, had passed through the area that day ; the door there had been locked and unused all the Sunday. The very milkman, the only person who called, had come by the front steps to the house ; and P. and his wife were the only inmates at the time.

The fact pretty definitely communicated in this case by the apparition, was the young man's longing, before his death, to see the percipient.

Mr. Podmore has recently seen Mr. Lewis, and also Mrs. Lewis, who heard of the experience at the time, and confirms all that Mr. Lewis says. Mr. Lewis maintains that the likeness of the apparition to the elder P. was unmistakable, but there seem to be differences of opinion as to the degree of resemblance between the young man and his father. Mr. Podmore has also seen the outside of the house, and, after talking it all over he does not think it likely that it was a real man that Mr. Lewis saw. Another explanation had occurred to me, namely, that the apparition was due, not to the agency of the dead man, but to that of old P., or his wife, whose thought of the son in connection with Mr. Lewis would be intensified by seeing him pass. Some little evidence, apart from this narrative, suggesting the possibility of such an explanation could be adduced, and as the blinds of the house are Venetian, a person inside might have seen through them without being seen. But Mr. Lewis does not think it at all likely that the P.'s did see him, as Mrs. P. expressed some surprise when he told her, after the funeral, that he had passed on that day. Mr. Lewis has had no other visual hallucination, veridical or otherwise.

In the case I shall next consider, the information is given in a dream, and as has been often said, the evidence afforded by dreams must always be very inferior to that afforded by waking experiences, because of the immense frequency of dreams, and the large proportion of them which are obviously unveridical. In the case before us, however, there is apparently some coincidence between the dream and the facts in two unlikely and independent points. Mr. D., the narrator, does not wish his name to be published, but Mr. Gurney has seen him, and talked over the subject with him. He narrates as follows (G. 406) :—

I am the owner of a very old mechanical business in Glasgow, with for 20 years past a branch in London, where I have resided for that period, and in both of which places my professional reputation is of the highest order.

Some 35 years ago I took into my employment a tender, delicate-looking boy, Robert Mackenzie, who, after some three or four years' service, suddenly left, as I found out afterwards, through the selfish advice of older hands, who practised this frightening away systematically to keep wages from being lowered, a common device, I believe, among workmen in limited trades. Passing the gate of the great workhouse (*Scottice* poorhouse) in the Parliamentary Road, a few years afterwards, my eye was caught by a youth of some 18 years of age ravenously devouring a piece of dry bread on the public street, and bearing all the appearance of being in a chronic state of starvation. Fancying I knew his features, I asked if his name were not Mackenzie. He at once became much excited, addressed me by name, and informed me that he had no employment ; that his father and mother, who formerly supported him, were now both inmates of the "poorhouse," to which he himself had no claim for admission, being young and without any bodily disqualification for work, and that he was literally homeless and starving. The matron, he informed me, gave him daily a piece of dry bread, but durst not, under the rules, give him regular maintenance. In an agony of grief he deplored his ever leaving me under evil advice, and on my unexpectedly offering to take him back he burst into a transport of thanks, such as I cannot describe. Suffice it to say that he resumed his work, and that, under the circumstances, I did everything in my power to facilitate his progress. All this was mere matter of course ; but the distinction between it and the common relations of master and servant was this, that on every occasion of my entering the workshop he never, so far as possible, took off his eyes from following my movements. Let me look towards him at any moment, there was the pale, sympathetic face with the large and wistful eyes, literally yearning towards me as Smike's did towards Nicholas Nickleby. I seemed to be "the polar star of his existence," and this intensity of gratitude never appeared to lessen in degree through lapse of time. Beyond this he never ventured to express his feelings. His manhood, as it were, his individuality and self-assertion, seemed to have been crushed out of him by privations. I was apparently his sole thought and consideration, saving the more common concerns of daily life.

In 1862 I settled in London, and have never been in Glasgow since. Robert Mackenzie, and my workmen generally, gradually lost their individuality in my recollection. About 10 to 12 years ago my *employés* had their annual soirée and ball. This was always held, year after year, on a Friday evening. Mackenzie, ever shy and distant, as usual, refused to mingle in the festivities, and begged of my foreman to be permitted to serve at the buffet. All went off well, and the Saturday was held (*more* workmen) as a succeeding day of festival. All this, however, I only learned after what I am now about to relate. On the Tuesday morning following, immediately before 8 a.m., in my house on Campden Hill, I had the following manifestation, I cannot call it a dream ; but let me use the common phraseology. I dreamt, but with no vagueness as in common dreams, no blurring of outline or rapid passages from one thing disconnectedly to another, that I was seated at a desk, engaged in a business conversation with an unknown gentleman, who stood on my right hand. Towards me, in front, advanced Robert Mackenzie, and, feeling annoyed, I addressed him with some asperity,

asking him if he did not see that I was engaged. He retired a short distance with exceeding reluctance, turned again to approach me, as if most desirous for an immediate colloquy, when I spoke to him still more sharply as to his want of manners. On this, the person with whom I was conversing took his leave, and Mackenzie once more came forward. "What is all this, Robert?" I asked, somewhat angrily. "Did you not see I was engaged?" "Yes, sir," he replied; "but I must speak with you at once." "What about?" I said; "what is it that can be so important?" "I wish to tell you, sir," he answered, "that I am accused of doing a thing I did not do, and that I want *you* to know it, and to tell you so, and that you are to forgive me for what I am blamed for, because I am innocent." Then, "I did not do the thing they say I did." I said, "What?" getting same answer. I then naturally asked, "But how can I forgive you if you do not tell me what you are accused of?" I can never forget the emphatic manner of his answer, in the Scottish dialect, "Ye'll sune ken" (you'll soon know). This question and the answer were repeated at least twice—I am certain the answer was repeated thrice, in the most fervid tone. On that I awoke, and was in that state of surprise and bewilderment which such a remarkable dream, *quâ* mere dream, might induce, and was wondering what it all meant, when my wife burst into my bedroom, much excited, and holding an open letter in her hand, exclaimed, "Oh, James, here's a terrible end to the workmen's ball, Robert Mackenzie has committed suicide!" With now a full conviction of the meaning of the vision, I at once quietly and firmly said, "No, he has not committed suicide." "How can you possibly know that?" "Because he has just been here to tell me."

I have purposely not mentioned in its proper place, so as not to break the narrative, that on looking at Mackenzie I was struck by the peculiar appearance of his countenance. It was of an indescribable bluish-pale colour, and on his forehead appeared spots which seemed like blots of sweat. For this I could not account, but by the following post my manager informed me that he was wrong in writing me of suicide. That, on Saturday night, Mackenzie, on going home, had lifted a small black bottle containing *aqua fortis* (which he used for staining the wood of birdcages, made for amusement), believing this to be whisky, and pouring out a wineglassful, had drunk it off at a gulp, dying on the Sunday in great agony. Here, then, was the solution of his being innocent of what he was accused of—suicide, seeing that he had inadvertently drunk *aqua fortis*, a deadly poison. Still pondering upon the peculiar colour of his countenance, it struck me to consult some authorities on the symptoms of poisoning by *aqua fortis*, and in Mr. J. H. Walsh's "Domestic Medicine and Surgery," p. 172, I found these words under symptoms of poisoning by sulphuric acid. . . . . "the skin covered with a cold sweat; countenance livid and expressive of dreadful suffering." . . . . . "*Aqua fortis* produces the same effect as sulphuric, the only difference being that the external stains, if any, are yellow instead of brown." This refers to indication of sulphuric acid, "generally outside of the mouth, in the shape of brown spots." Having no desire to accommodate my facts to this scientific description, I give the quotations freely, only, at the same time, stating that previously to reading the passage in Mr. Walsh's book, I had not the slightest knowledge of these symptoms,

and I consider that they agree fairly and sufficiently with what I saw, viz., a livid face covered with a remarkable sweat, and having spots (particularly on the forehead), which, in my dream, I thought great blots of perspiration. It seems not a little striking that I had no previous knowledge of these symptoms, and yet should take note of them.

I have little remark to make beyond this, that, in speaking of this matter, to me very affecting and solemn, I have been quite disgusted by sceptics treating it as a hallucination, in so far as that my dream must have been on the Wednesday morning, being that after the receipt of my manager's letter informing me of the supposed suicide. This explanation is too absurd to require a serious answer. My manager first heard of the death on the Monday—wrote me on that day as above—and on the Tuesday wrote again explaining the true facts. The dream was on the Tuesday morning, immediately before the 8 a.m. post delivery, hence the thrice emphatic "Ye'll sune ken." I attribute the whole to Mackenzie's yearning gratitude for being rescued from a deplorable state of starvation, and his earnest desire to stand well in my opinion. I have coloured nothing, and leave my readers to draw their own conclusions.

D.

The following is Mrs. D.'s corroboration :—

In regard to the remarkable dream my husband had when Robert Mackenzie's death took place through inadvertently drinking some *aqua fortis*, I beg to inform you of what took place as far as I am concerned.

On the Tuesday morning after the occurrence, I was downstairs early, and at 8 o'clock was handed a letter, just received from the postman, and addressed to Mr. D. Seeing it was from our manager in Glasgow, I opened it, and was much grieved to find that it was to tell us that Robert Mackenzie had committed suicide. I ran upstairs to Mr. D.'s bedroom with the letter in my hand, and in much excitement. I found him apparently just coming out of sleep, and hastily cried out to him, exactly as he has described to you. I need not go over the words, which have often been repeated amongst us since, and I can confirm his narrative regarding them, as given to you, in every particular. The whole affair gave us a great shock, and put an end to the workmen's balls for some four or five years. Mr. D.'s dream was a frequent subject of conversation at the time. I knew Mackenzie well. He was a pale, large-eyed, and earnest-looking young man, with a great regard for Mr. D., through circumstances. The next day's post brought us the actual facts.

J. D.

The two points of coincidence here are the fact that Mackenzie was accused of something wrongly, and a certain degree of resemblance between his appearance in the dream and his appearance as, according to Walsh's "Domestic Medicine," it should have been, after taking the poison which killed him. The coincidence is certainly curious, though it might, of course, have been stronger. It would be very interesting to know—though at this distance of time impossible, I fear, to ascertain, —whether at the time of the dream it was known to any living man that Mackenzie had not committed suicide.

These cases are all I find in the collection with this particular kind of confirmation to distinguish them from subjective hallucinations. It will be observed that, with the exception of the narrative concerning the nephew who died in Australia, where there was an interval of some six weeks between the death and the apparition, they have a common characteristic, namely, that the communication occurs within a few days of the death, but it would be absurd to try to infer a general rule from so few instances.

In dealing, however, with these phantasms manifesting themselves very shortly after death, it should be noticed that in the collection of phantasms of the living, cases have been included in which the manifestation occurs a few hours after death. For this there are two grounds, namely, that the exact moment of the cessation of life is, it must be assumed, to some extent uncertain, and that there is some reason to think that a telepathic impression may remain latent for a time and force itself into consciousness only when quiet, or solitude, or some other condition favourable to its development supervenes. If, however, the dead can communicate with us, it is possible that these supposed delayed communications from the living are really communications directly from the dead. I think we should also notice that appearances of those who have recently died, to friends aware of their death, seem to be not uncommon, and frequently these appearances have afforded great consolation to the survivors. If the dead can communicate with us, these appearances, too, may be real messages from them, though we have no means of distinguishing them from subjective hallucinations.

I have named among the kinds of confirmation we have to deal with, that afforded by apparent intention consistently carried out by the spirit. But it is a rather remarkable fact that we have exceedingly little evidence in our collection clearly tending in this direction. We have such evidence to some extent in the dream of Mackenzie, already quoted, where the spirit may naturally have desired to convince Mr. D. that he had not committed suicide. The only other case we have, I think, is our single instance of the old-fashioned ghost who threatens to haunt her husband till he does what she desires, and who carries the threat into execution. But though the threat was not made to the husband himself, so far as we know, it is yet impossible to feel sure that the apparition was not simply a morbid effect of his state of grief and worry, which ceased when the disputed question was settled and the worry consequently at an end. The narrative (G. 425) is in the words of the married daughter alluded to.

A young couple were engaged. Her father withdrew his consent, the mother on her death-bed made its renewal her last request. The father, instead of getting over his sorrow, seemed more and more bowed down with

an ever-increasing sense of "horror." One day he told his married daughter and her husband that his wife haunted him every morning at 4, the hour when she died, always talking of the young couple. They asked him what clothes the apparition wore, and he said, "The last dress I gave, and a cap of your making." On their way home, the married daughter told her husband that it was when in that dress and cap that her mother had said to her, "If I die before your father renews his consent, I shall haunt him till he does." She was then in perfect health. This was never told to the father, but he was urged to renew his consent. For some months he could only escape the visitations by having someone *awake* with him in the room. From the day he consented again to the marriage his wife's visits ceased.

Mr. Sidgwick has had an interview with the narrator of this curious occurrence, who tells him that she has no doubt that her mother had made a dying request that he would give consent to the marriage; but feels sure from the way he spoke of the matter that she had not said anything about "haunting" to him; he clearly did not know that his consent would put a stop to it, nor did he apparently ever connect its cessation with her sister's marriage, which followed immediately on his consent.

In the remaining divisions we shall only have cases of haunted houses, or what the Committee have called "fixed local ghosts," except one where the supposed ghost seems to have followed the family. In discussing these, I shall use the expression, *the supposed ghost*, or shortly, *the ghost*, without intending either to affirm or to deny the existence of a continuous entity manifesting itself in the apparitions, or even to imply that there is necessarily any cause for them external to the percipient, or, in fact, to express any view whatever as to the origin of the alleged phenomena. I shall use it merely as a convenient name for the unknown cause or causes of a series of apparitions or other phenomena of the kind, connected by similarity or locality, or otherwise; or for the phenomena themselves.

I now proceed to the third kind of confirmation of which the type is the subsequent recognition by the percipient of the portrait of the supposed ghost. We have two cases of this in the collection, but for different reasons, which I will mention in their place, they neither of them appear to me to be of a conclusive kind.

One case has already been published in the *Proceedings* of the Society (Vol. I., p. 106) in the first report of the Committee on Haunted Houses. Mr. X.Z. is there described as recognising the supposed ghost four years after he saw it, in a portrait of the man with whom, on other grounds, he had connected the apparition. These grounds were that the man in question was said to wear a costume resembling that of the apparition, and to have committed murder and suicide on the spot where he appeared, and on the same day of the year.

The narrative was written in 1882, 30 years after the appearance, but against this must be set the fact that (as I understand) a third-hand account has been obtained substantially agreeing with it, originating in the account given by Mr. X. Z., much nearer to the event, and which forms, therefore, a to some extent independent check on the accuracy of Mr. X. Z.'s recollection. A more serious weakness in the evidence lies, I think, in the interval between the apparition and the recogniton of the portrait. Four years seem a long time to keep vividly in one's mind a face seen only once, for a few moments, at a distance of 35 feet, though no doubt under exciting circumstances likely to impress it on the memory. With regard to the other evidence connecting the supposed ghost and the suicide, the dressing-gown and the site of the death were traditional only (the death occurred more than 50 years before the apparition) ; the date of the death Mr. X.Z. ascertained, he tells us, from the parish register. But in estimating the evidence afforded by the observance of an anniversary, we must take into account that this is, I think, the only instance of such observance which we have at first-hand in all our collection—except two, which on other grounds I am inclined to regard as possibly explicable by personation.

In the next case, (G. 28), the portrait was seen on the day after the apparition, but it does not seem to have been recognised without a little prompting. The percipient, who will not allow either her name or the address of the house to be published, is known to Mr. C. C. Massey and Mr. Podmore. The account here given was written out in her presence after a prolonged and careful examination of her evidence, and is certified by her to be correct.

About the year 1872 my husband and I spent one night in the house of my aunt, in one of the suburbs of London. The house being a very small one, my cousin gave me up her room, and my husband had to sleep upstairs with the son. Before she left me my cousin insisted, why, I could not understand, on leaving the gas alight—and did, in fact, leave a faint glimmer. In the middle of the night I awoke in a cold sweat, and saw, in the dim light, a man standing close to my bedside. Thinking it was my husband I called him by name, and as far as my recollection serves, I put out my hand, lying still in bed, to turn up the gas. The figure had disappeared ; and I jumped out of bed, found the door locked, and searched the room through to no purpose. I then felt a little nervous, but thinking that I must have been dreaming, I got into bed and went to sleep again. Twice more that night I was woke up by the same cause ; I found myself each time, as before, shivering and in a cold sweat, and saw the same figure standing by me. I now clearly saw the features and general appearance. It was apparently a tall, well-built, rather good-looking man, in a frock coat, and with a long reddish beard. After the third appearance I left the gas turned fully on, and then got to sleep without further disturbance.

In the morning I spoke at breakfast time of my nocturnal disturbance,

and my cousin exclaimed, "Now, mamma, you will believe my story: I told you the room was haunted."

Afterwards I went into the dining-room, into which I had never previously gone, and there saw a picture of a man which I appeared to recognise. "Who is that," I said, "one of your neighbours?" "Someone you have seen," my cousin replied; and it then flashed across me that it was the face of my vision. It was the portrait of the late owner of the house—my aunt had taken the house furnished—who had died of delirium tremens, a few months before, in the bedroom which I had occupied: as I then learnt for the first time.

November 23*rd*, 1882.

The importance of this case is greatly increased by the cousin's apparently similar experience, which had not been previously communicated to our informant; but unfortunately the cousin declines to give us any account of it.

Cases having the fourth kind of confirmation—that which obtains when two or more people see *independently* of each other and at *different* times, apparitions which seem clearly to have been very much alike,—constitute the most important part of the evidence in our collection. A very fair specimen of them was printed in full in the *Proceedings* of the Society, Part VI., p. 141. A lady sees one morning leaning over her in bed, in a certain attitude, a muffled figure of a woman, which cannot, according to her account, have been a real woman since she saw it gradually becoming transparent and vanishing. She is certain that she spoke to no one in the house about it, and to no one outside who could have communicated with her brother; but a fortnight later he tells her at breakfast that he has seen the muffled figure of a woman leaning over him in bed in the same attitude.

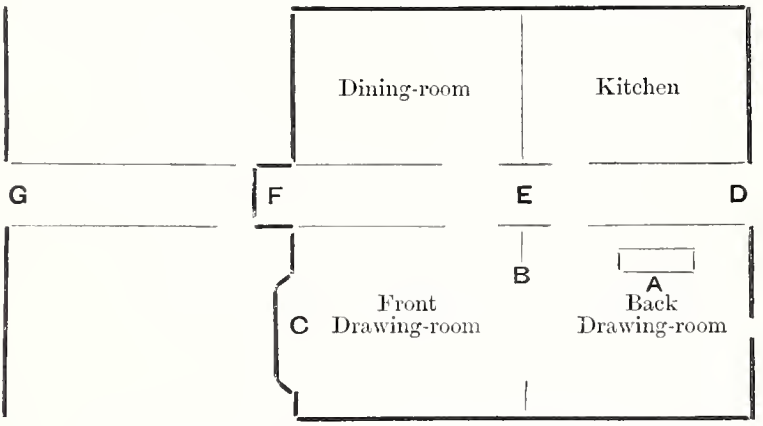
The following narrative is an account of a very interesting case of the same kind, only it is more recent, and the figure that appeared was more definite. The different accounts are signed by the percipients, whom Mr. Gurney has seen and with whom he has thoroughly discussed the evidence. They are not willing that their names, or that of the house where the phenomena occurred, should be published, but they have communicated it privately to Mr. Gurney, who hopes to obtain in time more information about its previous history and the experience of other inhabitants. The first account is from Mrs. W.

February 19*th*, 1885.

In June, 1881, we went to live in a detached villa just out of the town of C——. Our household consisted of my husband and myself, my step-daughter, and two little boys, aged 9 and 6, and two female servants. The house was between 10 and 20 years old. We had been there about three weeks, when, about 11 o'clock one morning, as I was playing the piano in the drawing-room, I had the following experience:—I was suddenly aware of a figure peeping

round the corner of the folding-doors to my left; thinking it must be a visitor, I jumped up and went into the passage, but no one was there, and the hall door, which was half glass, was shut. I only saw the upper half of the figure, which was that of a tall man, with a very pale face and dark hair and moustache. The impression lasted only a second or two, but I saw the

SKETCH PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE HOUSE.



A Piano. B First position of figure. C Second position of figure. D Garden door. E Baize door. F Front door and porch. G Front gate.

face so distinctly that to this day I should recognise it if I met it in a crowd. It had a sorrowful expression. It was impossible for anyone to come into the house without being seen or heard. I was startled, but not the least frightened. I had heard no report whatever as to the house being haunted; and am certainly not given to superstitious fancies. I did not mention my experience to anyone at the time, and formed no theory about it. In the following August, one evening about 8.30, I had occasion to go into the drawing-room to get something out of the cupboard, when, on turning round, I saw the same face in the bay-window, in front of the shutters, which were closed. I again saw only the upper part of the figure, which seemed to be in a somewhat crouching posture. The light on this occasion came from the hall and the dining-room, and did not shine directly on the window; but I was able perfectly to distinguish the face and the expression of the eyes. This time I *was* frightened, and mentioned the matter to my husband the same evening. I then also told him of my first experience. On each of these occasions I was from 8 to 10 feet distant from the figure.

Later in the same month I was playing cricket in the garden with my little boys. From my position at the wickets I could see right into the house through an open door, down a passage, and through the hall as far as the front door. The kitchen door opened into the passage. I distinctly saw the same face peeping round at me out of the kitchen door. I again only saw the upper half of the figure. I threw down the bat and ran in. No one was in the kitchen. One servant was out, and I found that the other was up in her bedroom. I mentioned this incident at once to my husband, who also examined the kitchen without any result.

A little later in the year, about 8 o'clock one evening, I was coming down stairs alone, when I heard a voice from the direction, apparently, of my little boys' bedroom, the door of which was open. It distinctly said, in a deep sorrowful tone, "I can't find it." I called out to my little boys, but they did not reply, and I have not the slightest doubt that they were asleep; they always called out if they heard me upstairs. My step-daughter, who was downstairs in the dining-room with the door open, also heard the voice, and thinking it was me calling, cried out, "What are you looking for?" We were extremely puzzled. The voice could not by any possibility have belonged to any member of the household. The servants were in the kitchen, and my husband was out.

A short time after I was again coming downstairs after dark in the evening when I felt a sharp slap on the back. It startled but did not hurt me. There was no one near me, and I ran downstairs and told my husband and my step-daughter.

I have never in my life, on any other occasion, had any hallucination of sight, hearing, or touch.

The following is Miss W.'s account:—

February 19th, 1885.

In July, 1881, I was sitting playing the piano in our house in C——, about 11.30 in the morning, when I saw the head and shoulders of a man peeping round the folding-doors, in just the same way as they had appeared to my mother, but I had not at that time heard of her experience. I jumped up, and advanced, thinking it was an acquaintance from a few yards off. This impression, however, only lasted for a second; the face disappeared, but recalling it, I perceived at once that it was certainly not that of the gentleman whom I had for a second thought of. The resemblance was only that they were both dark. The face was pale and melancholy, and the hair very dark. I at once went to Mrs. W. in the dining-room, and asked if any one had called. She said, "No"; and I then told her what I had seen. I then for the first time heard from her what *she* had seen, and our descriptions completely agreed. We had even both noticed that the hair was parted in the middle, and that a good deal of shirt-front showed.

A few weeks later, about 11 p.m., Mrs. W. and I were playing bézique in the dining-room. Mr. W. was out, and the servants had gone to bed. The door of the room was open, and I was facing it. I suddenly had an impression that someone was looking at me, and I looked up. There was the same face, and the upper half of the figure, peeping round into the room from the hall. I said, "There's the man again!" Mrs. W. rushed to the door, but there was no one in the hall or passage; the front door was locked, and the green baize door which communicated with the back part of the house was shut. The figure had been on the side of the dining-room door, nearest to the front door, and could not have got to the green baize door without passing well in our sight. We were a good deal frightened, and we mentioned the occurrence to Mr. W. on his return. He went all over the house, as usual before going to bed, and all windows were fastened, and everything in order.

A few weeks after this, about 11.30 a.m., I was upstairs playing battle-

dore and shuttlecock with my eldest brother in his bedroom. The door was open. Stepping back in the course of the game, I got out on to the landing; I looked sideways over my shoulder, in order to strike the shuttlecock, and suddenly saw the same face as before, and my brother called out at the same moment, "There's a man on the landing." I was startled myself, but to reassure the child I said there was no one—that he had made a mistake—and shut the door and went on with the game. I told my father and Mrs. W. of this as soon as I saw them.

Later in the autumn, I was sitting alone in the dining-room one evening, with the door open. Mrs. W. had been upstairs, and I heard her coming down. Suddenly I heard a deep melancholy voice say, "I can't find it." I called out, "What are you looking for?" At the same time the voice was not the least like Mrs. W.'s. She then came in and told me she had heard exactly the same thing. My father was out at the time, but we told him of the circumstance on his return.

In September of 1882, I was for a week in the house with only the two children and the servants. It was about 7.30 on Sunday evening, and nearly dark. The others were all out in the garden. I was standing at the dining-room window, when I caught a glimpse of a tall man's figure slipping into the porch. I must have seen if anybody had approached the porch by the path from the front gate, and I should certainly have heard the latch of the gate, which used to make a considerable noise, and I should also have heard footsteps on the gravel-path. The figure appeared quite suddenly; it had on a tall hat. I was very much astonished, but ran to the door, thinking it might possibly be my father. No one was there; I went to the gate, and looked up and down the road. No one was in sight, and there was no possibility that anybody could have got so suddenly out of view.

I have never at any other time in my life had any hallucination whatever, either of sight or hearing.

I remember Mrs. W. telling me of her experience of the slap as soon as she came downstairs.

I ought to add that at the time when we were negotiating about the house, the landlady of the lodgings where my father and I were staying told me that all the villas of the row in which our house was situated, ten in number, were haunted. I was with my father when I heard this. Mrs. W. was not with us. I am certain that the remark made no impression whatever on me, and that it did not even recur to my mind till I saw what I have described. I did not even mention the remark to Mrs. W.

Mrs. W. adds:—

I distinctly remember my step-daughter coming to me immediately after her first sight of the figure, and telling me about it. I then told her for the first time of my own experience (I had then only had one), and our descriptions completely tallied. I distinctly remember our agreeing about the parting of the hair in the middle, and about the amount of white shirt-front. We could neither of us remember whether his tie was white or black. We agreed that we should know the face if we ever met it. And subsequently, at an evening party, we both pitched on the same individual as more like our

strange visitor than any one else we knew. The resemblance, however, was not extremely close.

I distinctly remember, also, my step-daughter exclaiming, "There's that man again!" when we were playing bézique. I rushed at once into the hall and found the door closed as she has described.

I also remember her telling me at once about what she had seen, and what her brother had exclaimed when they were playing at battledore and shuttlecock.

She told me about what she had seen in the porch when Mr. W. and I returned from town on the next (Monday) morning.

The following is Surgeon-Major W.'s confirmation:—

I was told of these various occurrences by my wife and daughter at the times which they have specified. I only heard from my wife of her *first* experience after she had told me of her *second*. After she had seen the figure during the game at cricket, I went into the kitchen, but found everything as usual. On my return home, after my daughter's seeing the figure peeping round the dining-room door, I went all over the premises as my custom was, and found windows secured and every thing in order.

My wife and daughter are as unlikely as any one I know to suffer from causeless frights. They are completely free from nervousness, and though these experiences were startling and bewildering to them, they did not in the least worry themselves in consequence.

It seems possible that the voice may have been that of one of the children talking in sleep, and the slap some effect of imagination, but it is not easy to account for the apparitions by any such known causes.

The next case I will give (G. 464) is somewhat less striking, but it has, like the last, the advantage of being recent. Mr. Gurney has had a long interview with Miss Leigh Hunt and Miss Laurence, and talked over the phenomena with them.

From Miss Kathleen Leigh Hunt, 81, Camden Road, N.W.

June, 1884

Two years ago last winter I was staying with my cousin at a house in Hyde Park Place, which we were taking care of for my cousin's brother-in-law and sister during their absence from England.

One morning after breakfast, I think it was about 10 o'clock, I was going upstairs when I seemed to see, about two stairs in front of me, a figure, which I took to be the housemaid, going up before me. I went up the entire flight of stairs, under this impression, to the first floor, when suddenly at the top I could see nobody. This puzzled me, as I could not account for any one being able to disappear so quickly, and I went into the room that was the nearest to the stairs, thinking that in some way the housemaid must have gone in there without my seeing her. The room, however, was empty, and so was the drawing-room, which led out of it with folding doors that were kept open. I then went into the only other room on that floor, but no one was there either. I felt that it was impossible that she should have gone

on upstairs, as I should have seen her do so. I was not at all frightened, although I began to believe that it could not have been the housemaid that I had seen; still the hour of the day was not one to suggest ghostly thoughts, and the figure itself had nothing supernatural about it, being simply that of a servant in a light cotton dress (a white ground, with a spriggy pattern all over it), and with white cap on. Of course, being behind it, I had not seen the face. The whole figure had the general appearance of the housemaid, so that she had been the one I had thought of. It was not in the least like the cook, who dressed in much darker cottons, and was besides a very little woman, while the figure I saw was of medium height.

I determined not to tell my cousin about this, as I was going out for the day, and I thought she might get nervous in thinking about it alone, and afterwards I forgot about it till seeing it a second time impressed it upon my mind.

It was about the same time in the morning, about two or three weeks afterwards, as far as I can remember, that having, as I thought, heard a single knock at the street door, and wishing to speak to the housemaid as she returned from answering it, I stood in the dining-room, just inside the half-open door, waiting to catch her as she passed back to the kitchen, but standing a little behind the door so that I should not be seen if anybody should come into the house when she answered the door. I saw a figure pass along the passage towards the street door, which I took to be the housemaid again, because I was expecting her to go by, but, owing to my position, I did not see her face, but only a piece of her cheek and the side view of her figure. On neither occasion did I hear any sound of walking, but this did not surprise me, although the figure was not two yards from me, because the housemaid had a very quiet walk indeed, quite remarkably so. As I heard no door open or shut, and no figure returned after waiting two or three minutes, I put out my head and looked in the hall. Nobody was there. I then went across to the only room on that floor besides the dining-room. Nobody was there either. Both the little room and the dining-room have only one door each to them, so there was no possibility of her having left the room any way but the way I went in. This time I felt I must inquire into the puzzle, and I went straight to the kitchen, where I found the housemaid sitting. I asked her if she had not just been to the door. She answered, "No." "Then," I said, "surely you went to the door just now; you must forget, there was a single knock at the door." But she said she had heard no knock, and had not been out of the kitchen. I then told my cousin about my two experiences, and she surprised me by telling me of hers, and of the former housemaid having told her that she often saw "skirts going up round the stairs." We agreed we would not say anything of this to her sister or her husband, as we were afraid we should only be laughed at and thought to be nervous, although we did not find our experiences made us feel so, nor was I nervous when I had them. My health was very fairly good during that time, better than usual indeed; nor ought I to omit to say that never before or since have I ever fancied I have seen anything of a ghostly kind, nor have I ever had any unaccountable experiences of any sort except that twice in that house.

KATHLEEN LEIGH HUNT.

In answer to inquiries, Miss Leigh Hunt says :—

July 17th, 1884.

Your conjecture was right regarding the servants at Hyde Park Place. There were only two with us at the time, and I did not question the cook on the matter because the figure I saw bore no resemblance to her. The cook was much smaller, and always dressed in darker cottons ; she was, besides, remarkably heavy footed. I do not remember hearing any noise at all when I saw the figure, but this did not surprise me, as the housemaid was very quiet in all her movements. I questioned the housemaid once after the second time of seeing the figure, which was like her in general appearance.

In another communication, she adds :—

During my visit, I frequently heard noises as of persons walking about and moving articles in a dressing-room adjoining my bedroom. This room communicated with mine by a door which was left open, the only other door of the dressing-room being locked. A friend, Miss E. L., who had stayed in the house the previous winter, told me that she had had the same experience. I certainly have never thought I have heard such sounds anywhere else.

From Miss Laurence, 81, Camden Road, N.W.

One morning, about 10.30, I was on my way to my bedroom, situated on the top floor of the house. The flight upstairs leading from the second floor to the top floor was well lighted by two windows and a large skylight overhead. When I reached the second-floor landing I saw a cotton skirt, of a light lilac shade, and indefinite pattern, disappearing round the bend of the stairs leading to the top floor, and, believing it to be the housemaid we then had, I called out, "Harriet," two or three times. She immediately came out of a bedroom door to my left on the second floor, whereupon I said to her, "But you were going upstairs just now, how is it that you are here ?" She answered, "No, I was in this bedroom," pointing to the one she came from, "all the time." I then said, "I saw your skirt going round the bend !" and she replied, "Oh ! that's nothing, miss, I *often* see a skirt go round that corner."

I saw the skirt so vividly that had I not known the parlour-maid was in the bedroom, out of which the housemaid had just come to me, and the only other servant, the cook, downstairs, I should have concluded it to belong to one of them. It was as real looking as possible, and could not have been an effect of light. I saw only the skirt, and it was about four yards in advance of me.

I had never before, nor have I since, been subject to an hallucination.

JESSIE LAURENCE.

In answer to inquiries Miss Laurence says :—

June 24th, 1884.

I am sorry I cannot be more precise as to the date. The house was taken in 1877, and we lived there till the autumn of 1882. It was some time between these years of course, but I really cannot say *what* year. My efforts to find the housemaid, "Harriet," have failed.

From Mr. Paul Bird, of 39, Strand, Calcutta, who is known to Mr. Gurney.

July 17th, 1884.

I have much pleasure stating, briefly, what I saw, or thought I saw, at my late residence, in Hyde Park Place. I came home as usual one evening about 7.30, the hall lamp being lighted, and while wiping my feet on the mat, saw one of the maid servants come towards me a few steps and then pass into the dining-room. I took off my overcoat and then went into the dining-room to tell her to bring dinner, and to my surprise there was no one in the room. There was no other possible egress from the room than the door she went in at. I then went upstairs and told my wife, who exclaimed that a similar figure had been seen by Miss Hunt and others.* I never saw the figure again though I frequently looked for it. My own impression at the time was that it was an optical delusion, that there *was* a servant where I saw her, but that instead of passing into the dining-room, as I could have sworn, she really passed through another door into the kitchen, which was on the same floor as the dining-room, and was entered from the hall by a door opposite the street door. I delayed verifying this theory till too late, and was besides a little afraid of unsettling the servants if I made inquiry.

PAUL BIRD.

Miss Leigh Hunt adds :—

We carefully compared notes at the time, and the descriptions agreed.

It seems possible here that the second appearance to Miss Leigh Hunt may have been an illusion resulting from expectation produced by the fancied knock at the door, and that what Mr. Bird saw may have been explicable in the way he at first supposed. But the combination of appearances of a similar kind in the same house, and independently of each other, to two people who never had similar experiences elsewhere, is certainly curious.

The next case (G. 107) is less recent. Personation of the ghost by some real human being would be the explanation of it that would suggest itself, were it possible to suppose that Sir Arthur and Lady Becher were wrong in believing the door of the bath-room to be effectively locked. The narrative is written by General Sir Arthur Becher, of S. Faith's Mede, Winchester, who in sending it, says : "I am not at all a nervous or superstitious person, but I bear the character of a 'ghost-seer' in my family, as I have seen other, to us, 'uncannie' visions, but not of sufficiently clear details to narrate for the purposes of your

* There seems to be a slight discrepancy between this and Miss Hunt's statement that she and her cousin had resolved not to mention the apparition to Mr. or Mrs. Bird. Miss Hunt is inclined to think that the most probable explanation of it is that it was Miss Laurence really who exclaimed "that a similar figure," &c., since she was present on the occasion.

inquiry, excepting one at the Cape of Good Hope, which I also enclose for you to do what you like with."

April 11*th*, 1884.

General Sir A. Becher, who held a high appointment on the Staff in India, went, accompanied by his son and A.D.C., to the Hill Station of Kussowlie, about March, 1867, to examine a house he had secured for his family to reside in during the approaching hot season. They both slept in the house that night. During the night the General awoke suddenly, and saw the figure of a native woman standing near his bed, and close to an open door which led into a bath-room. He called out, "Who are you?" and jumped out of bed, when the figure retreated into the bath-room, and in following it the General found the outer door locked, and the figure had disappeared.

He went to bed again, and in the morning he wrote in pencil on a doorpost, "Saw a ghost," but he did not mention the circumstance to his wife.

A few days after, the General and his family took possession of the house for the season, and Lady Becher used the room the General had slept in for her dressing-room. About 7 p.m. on the first evening of their arrival, Lady Becher was dressing for dinner, and on going to a wardrobe (near the bath-room door) to take out a dress, she saw, standing close by and within the bath-room, a native woman, and, for the moment, thinking it was her own ayah, asked her "what she wanted," as Lady Becher never allowed a servant in her room while dressing. The figure then disappeared by the same door as on the former occasion, which, as before, was found locked! Lady Becher was not much alarmed, but felt that something unusual had occurred, and at dinner mentioned the event to the General and his son, when the General repeated what had occurred to him on the former occasion. That same night, their youngest son, a boy about 8 years of age, was sleeping in the same room as his father and mother, his bed facing an open door leading into the dressing-room and bath-room, before mentioned, and in the middle of the night the boy started up in his bed in a frightened attitude, and called out, "What do you want, ayah? what do you want?" in Hindustani, evidently seeing a female figure in the dressing-room near his bed. His mother quieted him, and he fell asleep, and the figure was not seen by *us* on that occasion, nor was it ever again seen, though we lived for months in the house. But it confirmed our feeling that the same woman *had appeared to us all three*, and on inquiry from other occupants we learned that it was a frequent apparition on the first night or so of the house being occupied.

A native Hill, or Cashmere woman, very fair and handsome, had been murdered some years before, in a hut a few yards below the house, and immediately under the door leading into the bath and dressing-room, through which, on all three occasions, the figure had entered and disappeared. My son sleeping in another side of the house never saw it.

I could give the names of some other subsequent occupants who have told us much the same story. *

* The probable address of one only of these other occupants has as yet been obtained, and she has not answered a letter addressed to her on the subject.

Subsequently Sir Arthur Becher writes :—

Winchester, *May 14th*, 1884.

I write to say Lady Becher does not desire to write anything more personally on the subject of the "Ghost Story" I before detailed, as she says my account of it was given in connection with and entirely in accordance with her recollection of the circumstances. The woman appeared to me in the night, and in the ordinary light of a room without any blinds or shutters.

In answer to inquiries, he further tells us that the bath-room door was locked on the inside ; that the rooms were on the ground floor ; but that there was no exit but by the doors referred to. Also that the child had certainly not heard of the ghost before he saw it.

The following narrative (G. 378) is sent by Mr. John D. Harry to Mr. Gurney, who is not personally acquainted with him, but learns from two common acquaintances that he is a man of acumen in ordinary affairs. Mr. Harry's residence is in the South of Europe.

December 8th, 1882.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your circular on Psychical Research, I have great pleasure in affording you the following facts, of which we (that is, myself and three daughters, with one of the housemaids) have been from time to time cognisant. I think it was in the winter of 1871, an apparition, in the exact likeness of a fair woman draped from head to foot in white, glided slowly through the library of my house and into my bedroom. The face at the time I did not see, as the figure preceded me to my bedroom. She appeared tall and rather slight. On her entering my room, I immediately followed and closed the door after me, with the object of discovering who the person was that was playing some sort of trick, but I could find no one in the room, after searching it thoroughly. I, however, kept the circumstance perfectly secret. It might have been two or three years after this last event that I heard screams from all my daughters, and, as it appeared after, from their maid as well ; this was about 10 o'clock at night, and about the same hour I had seen the apparition previously. One of my daughters the next morning rushed to tell me of the fright they had had, but before she had time to explain the cause I at once dared her to talk of any such nonsense as ghosts, as they might be sure apparitions were only in the imagination of nervous people. I did not, however, tell her of what I had seen. From that time to the time my last daughter was married, it was never alluded to between us, and I did not know till then, when my daughter was leaving the house for her marriage journey, that either of my daughters had again seen the apparition. A few minutes before she left the house, she desired to speak to me privately, and when she gave me the full particulars of the female apparition which she had seen repeatedly, I then acknowledged that the same figure had on seven or eight occasions appeared in my bedroom and twice in the library, and that on one occasion it lifted up the mosquito curtains and looked closely into my face. On this occasion I became rather startled, as it was so sudden, and I used not very polite language, when it dropped the curtain and glided slowly away. It never appeared to walk, but to glide. It is now nearly

two years since I have witnessed it for a certainty, as the last time, I believe, I was merely dreaming of it. So impressed has the face become in my imagination that I believe I could distinguish it among thousands,—pale, rather handsome, oblong features, and about 35. My daughter once heard her sister's name called two or three times, but there was no one in the room or near to account for the voice.

Had it not been for the scene at my daughter's marriage it would never have been spoken of (at least, by me); but when she stated in the presence of others that she was glad to leave the house, and hoped never to sleep in it again, I very reluctantly told some of the friends present; but this took place eight-and-a-half years after the first time any of us had seen the apparition.—I am, sir, yours truly,

JOHN D. HARRY.

P.S.—My great reason now for keeping the matter secret is that the property I inhabit might not be depreciated, as the ——— are a most nervous and superstitious people.

I should add that the figure appeared to all three of my daughters and their maid at one time, and on the return of my daughter (the eldest), with her husband, she again saw it, and her husband likewise acknowledged that he saw something, but could not describe it as he had just awoke.

It has never been seen by any of us except on the particular flat where the sitting-rooms and bedrooms are.

The following account is from one of Mr. Harry's daughters,—Mrs. Knight. It will be seen that the details are not in complete agreement with his recollection of what his daughter had told him, but this only illustrates what I have already said about second-hand information. The two accounts agree in the important point that a female figure draped in white has been seen by several persons in the house, and independently by at least two of them. It was apparently seen too indistinctly by the second witness for any clear recognition of the features, or she would hardly have taken it for her sister; unless, indeed, she means us to understand that the face really was exactly like her sister's, in which case it must have been unlike that of the figure seen by her father, and which he believes he could distinguish among thousands. I hope we may ultimately obtain the evidence of Mr. Harry's other daughters as well.

May 6th, 1885.

In the year 1871, about May, we moved into ——, the family consisting of my father, two sisters, and myself. I was unpacking clothes one evening, about sunset, in the first week of our being there, with a woman called Pepina, when we both saw a shadow of a woman rising out of a bed in a room which opened out of the one we were in. I spoke first, when we had recovered our presence of mind, and said, "Pepina, what did you see?" She said, "Miss Louie," meaning my youngest sister. I said, "So did I." We were not frightened, only surprised. The next evening, at sunset again, my other sister and I were sitting on top of the house as is the general custom in —— for coolness sake. Suddenly a figure came to the low door opening on

to the roof, and disappeared. I said, "Wasn't that Louie?" My sister replied, "Yes, I wonder why she did not come up." She then went to the top of the ladder and called her, but there was no answer. Then I remarked, "That is the second time I have seen Louie in this house. I hope nothing is going to happen to her." Later in the evening I said to my sister, "Did you come up to the roof to-night?" "Oh, no!" she said, "I wasn't near there. I was downstairs all the time." Then I remarked, "Well, something is going to happen to you, for we have seen your ghost twice following," but she only laughed.

I told my father of it, but he was very angry and said there were no such things as ghosts, and that we were never to speak of such things for fear of frightening the servants.

I lived in that house for eight years and never saw it again. The last ten months I was alone with my father, and slept in a room quite away from anybody, but I never saw anything again nor had any fear. It was only on hearing from my father, after I was married, that he had seen it once or twice, that I was afraid to go to the house, and I do not think anything would induce me to go there again.

My father is afraid of nothing, but I know that he often sees this shadow, and yet does not believe it is anything supernatural, only he allows that he cannot account for it. If I had seen it alone I should have thought I was out of health or imaginative, but as there were two people each time it could not have been imagination.

S. E. Knight.

In answer to inquiries, Mrs. Knight adds:—

The figure rose from the bed with its arms outstretched, as if beseeching or asking for something. I also noticed that it had its arms stretched out in the same manner the second time I saw it. It vanished into the wall at the back of the bed as we approached it. It was a white shadowy figure of a young woman. The face looked pretty, but very sad. I couldn't say how it was dressed, it all looked white and flimsy, as if you could pass through it. It is quite as clear in my memory now as at the time I saw it. I daresay you have heard from my father that once he saw it in grey instead of white, and he said it looked to have grown smaller.

Another narrative of appearances last year, in a house in Sussex, has not yet been printed by the Committee, because they hope to obtain some further evidence about it shortly, but it has been shown to me in manuscript, and as it relates to a curious variety of these apparitions I will give a brief account of it. We have, I believe, four first-hand accounts from different percipients, none of whom had previously heard what the ghost was like. They saw in the night, by a wardrobe in a particular room, a column of light vaguely shaped like a woman, which in some cases moved without changing its shape or attitude, from the wardrobe to the fireplace, and then slowly back again, and from the fireplace to the window, there disappearing all at once. The servant, having heard of the ghost, slept in the room with a view to seeing it, and succeeded on various occasions, but to her it appeared more like a ball of light with a sort of halo round it. She saw it once in the

evening as she passed the door of the room, and called others to see it, but when they got there it had disappeared. This seems to have been the only occasion on which it was seen by any one not in bed. One of the percipients has endeavoured to account for the appearance as a reflection from the looking-glass, a light shining in at the window, &c., but does not seem to have succeeded in doing so satisfactorily. Rumour in the village says the house is haunted, and that a woman murdered her mother there, but such village gossip cannot, I think, be taken as of any value without very careful investigation, since it may quite possibly have its origin in the very circumstances which it is supposed to explain and confirm.

I have now, I think, exhausted the cases where we have first-hand testimony from two or more witnesses who, without knowing what the apparition was supposed to be like, seem to have seen much the same thing. But there are other cases which ought not, I think, to be left out of account, where we have first-hand evidence of appearances to one percipient, and second-hand accounts of others, only heard of by the narrator of the first-hand account after his own experience. The following is an instance (G. 629). Names may not be published, and further information cannot be obtained, which is much to be regretted, as the story might become very interesting, and afford us useful information. It was received by Mr. Myers from a friend who writes on January 15th, 1884.

The following was written to me by a relative. She learnt from an old gardener that there is a story connected with the house, but what the story is she could not find out.

"I have had an odd sensation in summer, early in the morning, that there was a woman in the room, but I could not look up till she had gone. I considered this to be a species of nightmare, till last August. I was, as before, lying awake, when the same feeling came over me; this time far more strongly. I heard a dress rustle, and *felt* a short, dark woman was coming towards my bed. She put her hand on my shoulder, and looked over at my face; then the spell was off, and I could turn round.

I was awake, I know, and was just noticing that the wardrobe door was left a little open. I felt I could not stay in this room after this, and so moved into another. I told my maid what I had seen, saying it must be nightmare, when she said, 'Why, that is what B. used to say. A short, sallow woman used to come into his room, and pass by him to the window.' This B. was our late man-servant, and his room was over mine.

I took an opportunity of asking him, and he said he *knew* he was awake, and got up to look, but after a few times he got used to it.

We are seldom at home in August. I *now* remember when we came here, 17 years ago, being told the house was haunted, but never believed it or thought of it again.

The sensation was so dreadful, and yet I felt she (the apparition) meant

no *harm*, more as if she were looking kindly at me. Her face seemed in darkness, and yet I *could* see it. You will laugh, because it was all at my back. I am curious to know if anyone will believe in a *non*-seeing sight. I saw her in the back of my head; my face was to the wall. I felt I *could* not move.

This is a correct version of my experiences on the morning of August 11th, 1883."

Here it will be observed, unlike the other cases I have quoted, the sensation of seeing is produced without any possible intervention of the eyes.

The following (G. 383) is another instance. It is an account of the apparent hauntings of a house at Hammersmith, by Mrs. W. B. R——d, and was written in the summer of 1883.

When we went to live in our house at Hammersmith, we had never heard a word of its being haunted, nor had we any sort of feeling that it was a ghostly house or anything of the sort, nor had we ever in any other house experienced any phenomena of the kind. Almost immediately after taking possession, all the members of the household complained of hearing noises in the lower part of the house—windows would be violently shaken every night between 2 and 4 o'clock, and steps were heard apparently going about the house. I myself frequently had doors opened for me before entering a room, as if a hand had hastily turned the handle and thrown it open. Then occasionally we used to hear sounds as of someone sobbing and sighing (deep long sighs at all times of the day). I used to hear these sounds in my bedroom, and on the little staircase leading to it, and my husband would hear it in the dining-room underneath. Sometimes I would hear a sound of stitching in the room out of my bedroom, as if some very hard and coarse work were being done, and then a sound as of something being dragged across the floor. I got to have a feeling which was most uncomfortable, at times, as of being *watched*. These sort of things went on for about five years, when, in October, 1875, about 3 o'clock one afternoon I was sitting with three of my children in the dining-room, reading to them. I wanted to speak to the parlour-maid, and I rang the bell for her when the door opened, and on looking up I saw a figure of a woman come in and walk up to the side of the table, stand there a second or two, and then turn to go out again, but *before* reaching the door she seemed to dissolve away. She was a grey, short-looking woman, apparently dressed in grey muslin. I hardly saw the face, which seemed scarcely to be defined at all. None of the children saw her, and I did not mention the circumstance to them nor to the servants, lest they should get frightened and leave. I only told my husband. I was in perfect health at the time.

During the next two months, a figure, described exactly like the one I had seen, was seen by two different servants, during the absence of the family. One of them saw it in the afternoon in daylight, and the other at 10 o'clock at night; one saw it on the little staircase, and one in the day nursery. Neither of these servants had by any possibility heard of my having seen anything of the sort. They were both in good health, and, having been with me some time, had long grown accustomed to the noises; but one of

them was so upset and frightened by the apparition that she sent word to us at once that she must leave us.

The following summer, in July, I was awoke in the night by a frantic scream of terror from my little girl (then six years old), who slept in a tiny room opening out of ours. Her father ran to her, when she said, "Oh! I awoke and saw a little wicked-looking old grey woman standing at the foot of the bed, looking at me with a horrid face, and then suddenly she went down through the floor with a loud noise, and I screamed out." The child was in good health, and had never heard any talk of the apparition.

In the autumn of 1876 I was awoke one night, and felt an icy wind blowing through my room, and heard loud sobs; the curtains of the bed were pulled back, and my hair was pulled. Another night I was awoke by a brilliant light in my room and the same cold wind. Previously to this, my husband, on one occasion, heard his name distinctly called in his studio, as he sat at work. Since all this (1876) only occasional rappings have been heard, and I have not felt that feeling of being watched, which used to come over me when sitting in my room, the feeling which I had for years before I saw any apparition.

The following are letters written later by Mrs. R——d.

March 11th, 1884.

Dear Mr. Gurney,—As to the night that I told you of last September, I was, as far as I can remember, awoke by the dog barking about 12 o'clock. The barking stopped, but I heard what sounded like steps downstairs. Very soon the old noises began in our little library: jumping about, the window rattling, the whole place shaking, till my windows rattled too. The dog whined incessantly, and the banging and jumping seemed to grow more and more boisterous. I got up and made some noise with the furniture in my room, lighted my candles, and went on to the landing to listen if there were noises in the other part of the house, but all was perfectly quiet there, though in the little room downstairs the dog seemed to grow more and more distressed, and the noises continued more violently than ever. I listened to them till 3 o'clock, and as there seemed no chance of their stopping, I left my room and passed the rest of the night in Helen's. The dog evidently was still afraid of the room when the morning came. I called to him to go into it with me, and he crouched down with his tail between his legs, and seemed to fear entering it.

That was all that disturbed me, but I found it enough, as I was alone in the house with only Helen and the maid.—Yours sincerely, C. R——d.

April 5th, 1884.

Dear Mr. Gurney,—I never heard of any Clewer Sisters having lived here. Some person who knew the house, I cannot remember who, told me an old invalid lady once lived here, but she is a misty personage.

About 40 or 50 years ago a Mr. Atwood, the then vicar of Hammersmith, lived here, and we bought it from his son. Our immediate predecessor was a Mr. Seaton, a gentleman much given to horseracing.

In 1804, some people of the name of Scott lived here, as we know by having found some of their invitation cards behind a mantelpiece, but that is all I can tell of the former inhabitants of the house.—Yours very sincerely,

Clara R——d.

The appearance to the child is not, I think, important, as it may have been merely a bad dream, but there can hardly be a mistake as to the servants having seen independently a figure very much like that seen by Mrs. R——d. It will be observed that mysterious noises occupy a prominent place in this narrative, which has not been the case in any that I have yet spoken of except the one given in the *Proceedings*, Part VI.

To the present group of cases belong two more which will be printed when a little more evidence has been obtained. I will give a brief account of them on account of their great interest. In the first, the appearances have taken place, so far as we know, only since the present occupants came to the house in April, 1882. They have occurred mainly in the summer, and have been very frequent. The figure seen is that of a lady in widow's garb, holding a hand and handkerchief up to her brow and apparently weeping; the face is concealed. It moves about, and has been seen in various parts of the house and garden, but most frequently is first seen by the original percipient on the stairs, and has constantly been followed down to the drawing-room, where it sits down in a particular corner of a particular sofa—or if the percipient sits in that place herself, the apparition stands behind. At first this lady only saw it, and for some time said nothing about it, but after a time a young brother of eight years old saw independently what he described as a lady in black crying in the drawing-room. Three other persons saw independently what seems to have been the same figure, and since then other members of the family have seen it, though some who have tried to do so have failed. It has once been seen by two together, and on another occasion by one only, though others were present. This, and its apparently disappearing through a closed door, preclude the idea of its being any real person. The house where this occurs is only about 25 years old, and its history is completely known. The figure seen is believed to resemble a lady who formerly lived there, and whose life there was unhappy, but who did not die there. She was not known to the percipients, and as the apparition never, I believe, shows its face, the likeness inferred from photographs must remain somewhat conjectural.

The other unprinted case relates to an old Elizabethan manor house. It is well-known as a haunted house, and various exaggerated accounts of the ghost may be met with. According to some accounts that reached the Committee, the ghost is continually appearing, but usually only shows its back, which is fortunate since the face is so horrible that any one seeing it is frightened almost into fits and insists on leaving the house! The true history, so far as the Committee yet have it, is less sensational and seems in brief to be as follows. The house was, from the summer of 1861 to the spring of 1863, occupied by a Mr. and Mrs. H. Before he rented

it Mr. H. had heard many reports of its being haunted, but these were of a general character; he heard no description of any appearance. We know also from other sources that the house had previously this reputation. The H.'s constantly heard noises for which they were unable to account; and their little dog behaved somewhat oddly at night, refusing, contrary to its usual habits, to leave its basket on any provocation. One night Mr. H. saw an old woman in a dark gown, grey shawl, and poke bonnet standing at the foot of the bed. She vanished, and he got up and examined the room, satisfying himself that it was no illusion. He never spoke of this, while they remained in the house, to anyone except a sister-in-law whom he bound over to secrecy, and he is certain she kept the secret. During his tenancy an old nurse, after sleeping one night in the house, refused ever to do so again, but would give no reason. After they left they persuaded her to tell them why she had acted thus, and it then appeared that she had seen a figure which she described exactly as Mr. H. did his, though she had never heard of his experience. The nurse is dead and we have her account at second-hand only.

The next tenants are believed to have had experiences, but they have not yet been got at, and after 1864 the house remained empty for some time.

From 1867 to 1875 it was inhabited by a clergyman and his family. In the autumn of 1867 the clergyman, Mr. B., while unpacking in a dressing-room opening on to the landing, saw passing the door a lady in blue with her hair down her back, who could not possibly be anyone in the house. In July, 1868, a similar figure was seen by a lady in nearly the same place. She saw it very clearly, including face and bare feet. It went into the dressing-room and there disappeared. Of these two appearances we have accounts at first-hand, but they were probably not independent in the sense in which I have used the word, as I believe the lady knew what Mr. B. had seen. There are, besides, accounts at second-hand of two appearances to a housemaid of a figure apparently not exactly resembling Mr. B.'s; and also at second-hand of two appearances to a gentleman staying in the house, who described the figure somewhat differently again. These four last-mentioned appearances also occurred in 1868. It is not clear whether there have been other appearances to servants or not. The B.'s left the house in 1875. It was then somewhat repaired and altered, and from 1876 till now has been occupied by another family who have seen and heard nothing at all remarkable.

We have here the remarkable feature that the haunting, which continued for at least seven years, and through the occupancy of at least three families, seems to have changed its character in a marked degree.

I may add that the ghost is said to be the spirit of a young lady murdered in the middle of the last century for her jewels. But the story of this murder is very hazy, and has its origin, I believe, in a letter received from America, after the appearances to the B. family. This letter professed to come from a person who had learnt the story from the last surviving member of the murderer's family, and received from her a secret plan showing the spot where the treasure was hid. From internal evidence, I should judge it to be a hoax.

I will now give some cases where the appearances were not strictly independent, but where it would seem that the previous knowledge possessed by some of the percipients as to the form of the ghost can hardly have operated through expectation in producing it, since their first impression was that they saw a living human being.

The account of an apparition, supposed from a resemblance of figure to be possibly that of Miss A., printed in the *Proceedings*, Vol. I.,p. 108, is a case of this. It is a record, as will be remembered, of a shadowy female figure seen several times.

A somewhat similar case is the following (G. 77), obtained through Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood. The house is in Ireland, but neither its name nor that of the percipients may be published. The first account is from Miss C., the governess.

On the 18th of April (Thursday), 1867, about 7.40 p.m., I was going to my room, which I at that time shared with one of my pupils, when just as I had reached the top of the stairs I plainly saw the figure of a female dressed in black, with a large white collar or kerchief, very dark hair, and pale face. I only saw the side face. She moved slowly and went into my room, the door of which was open. I thought it was Marie, the French maid, going to see about A.'s clothes, but the next moment I saw that the figure was too tall and walked better. I then fancied it was some visitor who had arrived unexpectedly (Mrs. S. had done so a few days previously), and had gone into the wrong bedroom, and as I had only been at F. H. a short time, I felt rather shy at speaking to strangers, so waited where I was a minute or two expecting to see the lady come out, but I *never* lost sight of the door. At last I went in, and there was no one in the room. I looked everywhere, and even felt the back of the hanging side of the wardrobe to see whether there was any concealed door leading into the next room. This idea would not have occurred to me had I been able in any way to account for the lady's disappearance. She could not have gone by the window, as the room was on the second storey. Going downstairs, I met the cook and another maid, and asked them if any stranger had arrived, and was answered in the negative. I had never heard of any strange appearances in the house, and could not account for what I had seen that evening.

Some years after, in December, 1874, as I was going to bed, about 10 o'clock (the house had been slightly altered), I saw most distinctly a lady in black leaning over the fire in the room occupied by the eldest daughter. She was shading

her eyes with her hand, and seemed looking for something by the fender; her other hand was on the chimney-piece. I walked slowly towards the room, and said, "Take care, C., you will burn your face, it is *so* near the flame." As there was no answer I spoke again, I suppose louder, for at that moment C., whom I supposed the lady to be, came out of her *sister's room* and asked what I was talking about and why I was in such a fright about her burning her face. There was no one in her room and no one could have passed me unobserved, as I was standing close to the door.

Another time, late one evening in September, I was sitting in the school-room with the door open, when I saw the figure again, standing on the far side of the stove in the lower hall. I at once got up to see who it was, but it had vanished. I think it seemed to go up one step of the stairs, but am not sure, as this was the only time I felt rather nervous when seeing it, and that, perhaps, from thinking it was someone who had no business in the house, or that someone was playing me a trick. Each time I have seen "the black lady" she has been dressed in what appeared to be black serge or cashmere—something soft and in heavy folds—with the same large white collar or kerchief on her neck. Whatever it was, I feel as certain of having seen it as that I am now writing this account of it, and it may be as well to mention that I am by no means a nervous person—quite the contrary.

In answer to the inquiry how she knows the dates of the appearances, Miss C. tells us that she "has kept a diary for many years, putting down *short* remarks of remarkable and interesting events, seeing the 'Black Lady' amongst the rest."

She adds that she "had not heard anything of the house being supposed to be haunted when she saw the 'Black Lady' in the spring of 1867. It was not till some months afterwards that she heard the story of Miss M., and the report that she was seen a at times walking about the house and garden."

As regards the story of Miss M., Miss C. says:—"Part of this house, nearly all of it, was burnt down in 1752. The room in which Miss M. slept, and in which, some say, the fire originated, seems to have been near what is now the drawing-room and front hall. Some old people in the neighbourhood, dead now for some years, reported that they had heard long ago that Miss M.'s door was locked by the servants, as she was subject either to fits or to walking in her sleep; that she attempted to escape by the window, which was not a great height from the ground, but that the sash fell down on the hand, cutting off three fingers and causing her to fall back into the burning room. The house was rebuilt in 1762."

Miss A. M.'s Account. *June 26th*, 1883.

I do not know much of the history of our ghost; all I have heard is, that she is said to be a lady who was subject to fits; she was under the charge of servants only, and one night she was locked up in a room by herself, the house was burnt down at that side, and she was burnt to death. In trying to save herself by getting out of the window she smashed two of her fingers.

I do not remember when she was first seen, or who was the first to see her, but two of my sisters saw her, when they were quite young, at different times. One of them was coming out of the nursery, which is at one end of a passage, and she saw this lady standing in the doorway of the room at the

opposite end. My sister was much frightened, and called out that there was a woman with a white face looking at her ; when some one came, the woman had disappeared. I forget how she appeared to the other child, I think she saw her sitting in a chair in a room she had just come into. We did not ask the child much about it for fear of impressing it on her memory and frightening her. My eldest sister was one evening standing in her room, and on turning to the door, there was the ghost standing in the doorway. She disappeared almost directly.

My mother twice, that I know of, saw her, both times on the stairs. The first time, thinking it was one of us, she called but got no answer ; she called several times but got no answer. She says the person turned round and looked at her, but my mother, who does not see very well, still thought it was one of us, and getting angry at not being answered, pursued her up the stairs. The female went into a very small room at the top and shut the door. My mother went in after her but no one was there. The other time the lady passed my mother on the stairs ; she thought she was one of the servants, which it was afterwards proved she was not. My mother is not at all of an imaginative disposition. One of my sisters and myself also saw her at the same time one evening. We were sitting in the school-room rather late ; there is a hall outside the school-room with a large stove in it. We had no light but the firelight, the door was wide open, and I was standing facing the hall, and I saw standing behind the stove the same apparition. She appeared so tall that it did not seem as if she could be standing on the ground. I said to my sister, "Look round," which she did. We both looked at her for a second or two, and then the fire went down ; we poked it up but saw nothing again.

Every one who saw her gives the same description of her, that she is a woman about middle height, dressed in black, with a shawl over her head. When we saw her in the hall she had her side face towards us, so we could not see her well.

I also saw a very curious reflection once. I was sitting in my sister's room, and was leaning back looking up, when I saw on the ceiling the shadow of a head and a hand that appeared as if it had only three fingers. Thinking it was my sister's shadow I thought what a curious shadow her knitting made, and looked down to see what she was doing with it ; on looking up the reflection was gone. We then found that both our shadows were on the floor. I did not know until after I had seen this that the lady had lost two of her fingers when trying to get out of the window.

I omitted to say that there was no egress from the little room my mother followed the lady into excepting the one by which my mother went in.

In answer to inquiries, Miss A. M. writes, on December 1st, 1882:—

We none of us except Miss C. put down the dates of any time we saw the ghost, and I hardly remember any of them.

I saw the reflection in May, 1877. I *think* it was the year after that my mother saw the lady go up the stairs in front of her. I think it must been in January or February, 1880, that I and Miss G. M. saw her ; Miss I. M. in May, 1880. I am afraid I cannot remember any of the other dates.

The ghost was seen by Mrs. M. twice ; by Mrs. I. [the eldest sister] ; by Miss G. M. when a child, and also at the same time that I saw her myself ;

by Miss M. M. when a child; by Miss I. M. Also by Miss C., our governess, whose account I enclose.

I have heard stories of servants seeing her, and one out-of-door servant says he saw her in the garden, but I can't rely upon these.

I have put all names with every confidence that they will be kept strictly private.

Miss I. M.'s Account.

I do not think A. knew or remembered about my having seen her when she wrote her account. It was in June, 1880; I had been out for a walk [to look at a dance at a neighbouring house] with my youngest sister, and one of the maids. (Before we left we had told them not to sit up for us.) When we got back it was about 12 o'clock, but it was a very light night. I went to the window first that we were going to get in by, and looked through the glass and saw a lady standing at the bottom of the stairs, I thought it was my mother at first. She then walked slowly across the hall, and I opened the window, and there was no one there. I could not see her face; she was all in black. That is all I can remember.

The evidence of other percipients cannot be obtained at first-hand. I do not wish to lay much stress on this case because there is some difference in the descriptions given of the figure. All, however, agree that they saw a lady dressed in black. The curious shadow seen on the ceiling cannot, I think, as described, be regarded as important, as it is not shown that it had no ordinary, though fleeting, cause. Of the accounts at first-hand only Miss C.'s and Miss I. M.'s describe appearances taken at first for a real person. Miss A.M. seems to have surmised at once that she saw the ghost.

The next narrative (G. 110) relates to an old house in London, but the names are here also to be kept private. Noises again take a rather prominent place in this account, which has considerable interest, though it is perhaps a little doubtful whether the nurse had no expectation of seeing the ghost; she was certainly in a nervous state.

The first part of the account was written down by Mr. Podmore, and afterwards corrected by Mrs. H. The second part is from Mrs. G., her married daughter. The third part is from the nurse. The history of the house is not known.

The scene of the occurrences mentioned below is a large house in London. The house, which is an old one, has been tenanted by its present occupants for about 12 years. Previously to this it had the reputation of being haunted; Mrs. H. had heard rumours to that effect from the former occupants.

Mrs. H., the lady of the house, has herself seen nothing abnormal in the house, but she has, of course, heard the account given by successive servants, and the facts stated below may be taken to be substantially accurate.

Noises as of footsteps were heard not unfrequently in the dusk and at night along one of the rooms in the building; these noises would appear to

pass quite close to the servant who heard them, but nothing would ever be seen. Other strange noises, as if someone were digging, would be constantly heard in a parlour on the ground floor of the house. These noises would be heard by two or three persons at a time; and either at night or in the daytime. As there are rooms on all sides of this parlour belonging to the house, these sounds could not have been caused by anyone outside the building itself; and no natural origin could be assigned for them within the building.

On several occasions, perhaps a dozen in all, during the 12 years in which the H. family had lived in the house, the servants had been frightened by seeing a woman's figure. They all gave the same description of the figure: a pale woman in black, with an evil face. The figure would only be seen momentarily; indeed in most cases the witnesses appear to have been too much frightened to wait for it to disappear. As Mrs. H. feared, not unreasonably, that some injury might be done to her property if the house acquired generally the reputation of being haunted, she had never questioned the girls closely on what they had seen, being afraid to show too much interest in the matter. She had always laughed off their fears, and endeavoured to make them forget all about it. For the same reason she could not allow us to cross-question the witnesses ourselves. We were forced, therefore, to be content with the following details, with which she and Miss H. supplied us.

The figure was first seen about 11 years ago, by Sarah C., a young servant-girl of about 18. She was coming downstairs in the daytime, when she met the figure, and was so frightened by it that she jumped sideways through the figure and over the stair-rail, dropping a distance of from four to six feet on the other side.

On another occasion it was seen by one of the servants going downstairs to the kitchen, and she, thinking it to be a visitor, who had missed her way, followed it, and found no one there.

The figure was also seen by the cook on one of the upper landings, in full gaslight, and disappeared before the cook came up to it.

Three or four years back, two servants were together in a long room at the top of the house, in the daytime. One of them saw a woman's figure standing by a chest of drawers at the far end of the room. She called her companion's attention to it, saying, "Who is that?" but when they looked again the figure had gone. There was no possibility of retreat for a human being so placed.

The figure was last seen a few weeks ago, by a girl now in the house. She was very much frightened, and could give no particulars.

Mrs. H. and her daughter fancy they have detected some connection between the appearance of this figure, and the subsequent death of children, who have been lying ill at the time.

Miss H. took us all over the house, and we saw each spot where the figure had been seen.

From Mrs. G. (*Née* H.)

The incident I have been asked to relate happened as follows:—

There were two rooms divided by a fireplace; on the left hand of this was a doorway connecting the rooms; on the right, a partition of glass to within

two feet or so of the ground, and wood below. This partition divided the room I was in from a steep staircase into the kitchen below, which staircase opened into the other room with a door that stood open against the wall. In the further room opposite the staircase was a doorway into a garden, on the right side of this, in the same corner, a door leading by a passage to the street.

The time was about six o'clock on a winter's evening, Gas was burning brightly in both rooms. I entered the room by a door on your right hand as you faced the fireplace, and at the opposite end to it. Thus, as I turned to pass into the second room, the glass partition was in front of me.

Through this glass partition I saw a woman advancing towards me from the opposite end of the further room. She was tall, dark, and pale, dressed in black, indoor dress ; her head was sideways, resting quite upon her right shoulder as if her neck was dislocated, Her hair was plainly and smoothly dressed across the sides of her face. She came swiftly towards me, and was so distinct that I did not suppose but that she was some stranger got into the place. When she came to the stairs she suddenly stood still an instant, and then disappeared perpendicularly, like one who falls through a trap-door. I at once ran to the partition, and looked down the stairs, but nothing could be seen, nothing had been heard. I ran down to the kitchen, but the people there had not seen or heard anything. Both rooms were empty. There was only a child with me about six years old, who had seen nothing,

A month or so after, I was sitting in a room in the same house one afternoon, when a cupboard standing against a wood partition between the room and a passage was rapped as if some one were hammering all over it. I opened the door, thinking it was some one in the passage, but while I stood in the doorway commanding both the room and passage, the knocks were as loud as ever. I felt so nervous that I went to the nursery and fetched a child about five or six years old, to come and play in the room with me. She was amusing herself with some toys, and I was reading, when she stopped, and looked intently at the partition just above the cupboard. It was painted a plain colour ; there was no picture, or light or shadow where she was looking. I asked the child what she was looking at. "At the face," she replied. "Never mind," I said, "go on with your play," and so she did, but very soon stopped again. She came up to me, and looking at the same place, she said, "Oh, the face." "Some one looking out of window," I replied, inconsequently, as the window was behind us. "Oh, no," she said, "it wants you, Miss Alice, it wants you." I saw nothing, but picked up the child, and took refuge in the nursery.

From the Nurse.

February 13th, 1883.

I never feel nervous about my nursing capacity, or the recovery of my patients, except I am nursing in the place where I am writing this.

The house is old, and like most old houses has its haunted room, in addition to a subterranean passage, which was blocked up 50 years ago, and from which, it is reported, strange sounds have come, like the blows from a mallet, and the sound of somebody digging. I have never heard anything of the sort, but this much I know for a fact, that often when taking my notes or watching quietly by my patient, with a good fire, and a light burning, I

have suddenly felt as if a cool wind was blowing about me so that I could not help shivering, and as if fingers were lightly touching my shoulders, and more than once feeling positive that somebody passed quickly through the room. Now I have never experienced these strange sensations when nursing in any other house, but I always feel when called here to nurse that I am about to do battle for the life of my patient, with a foe whose exact power I do not understand, and have always striven to defeat an influence which I felt was evil, by soliciting the protection of One Who is Almighty.

About four years ago I came here to nurse a little girl, five years of age, suffering with whooping cough and inflammation of the lungs.

My patient was isolated as much as possible, as there were other children in the house. The room in which I was to nurse seemed in all respects suitable for nursing—large, lofty, properly heated and ventilated. There was only one arrangement I did not like, and that I did not notice until I saw my little patient more than once look anxiously towards it, being a large window or partition, partly of glass, which had been recently added to make the room lighter. The door, also partly of glass, was at the side of the partition and opened directly on to the stairs. One day, shortly after my arrival, I was informed that the baby, only a few months old, was dangerously ill. The doctor did not think it would recover. Consequently the person who had charge of my patient while I was off duty could not be spared, so when night came I was rather tired. After giving my patient her medicine, making her comfortable and attending to the fire, I rested for a short time on a spare bed which was in the room. When I arose I looked at my watch ; it was just 10 minutes to 1. At that moment the child, who had been sleeping quietly, sat up, looked wildly at the partition, gave one piercing scream, then hid her face in the bed clothes. I dared not look at the partition, but turning my head went quickly to the child saying, "Did anything hurt or frighten you ?" She would neither answer nor look up. I then heard a sound on the stairs, as if somebody was going down without boots on, thud, thud ; so I called out "Who's there ? Do speak, you have frightened us. Is it you, Mrs.—— ?" meaning the person who waited on us. Not receiving an answer I waited awhile, then softly opened the door and looked out. All was quiet ; the gas was burning on the lower landing. By its light I saw a woman standing at the foot of the stairs. Her face was turned up towards me. It was perfectly colourless, the eyes and mouth were closed ; her hair was of a drabbish colour and her neck appeared to be slightly twisted. I drew back instantly, for the face I had seen shocked me ; it resembled the face of a corpse. For a moment I thought, is it possible that anybody would attempt to frighten us ? I looked again—the woman had disappeared.

There was a bell communicating with the housekeeper's room. I rang it violently, waited a few minutes, then heard the well-known footstep of Mrs. —— on the stairs. As she came into the room, she said, "Is anything the matter, nurse ?" Before I could answer, she said, "The dear baby's gone. She died just 10 minutes to 1." "Well," I remarked, "that is strange." Then I told her what had occurred, and concluded by asking her if she had heard or seen either of the servants about the house. "Oh, it's not the girls," she said. "They are all in bed, except the nurse that has been with the baby. It is not the first time, I can tell you, that strange things have been

seen and heard ; to tell you the truth, nurse, I wouldn't sit in this room alone, no, not for a pension. One nurse that was here declared that her patient's medicine and spoon were thrown across the room, and I myself once went through the nursery and saw a woman in a dark dress looking into one of the drawers. I went into the next room and said to the nurse, 'Who's that person at the drawers?' She answered, 'You must be mistaken, there isn't anybody in the nursery.' I went back to see and the woman had disappeared. Yes, it's strange, but it's true, before trouble, sickness or death, that woman is always seen, but there," she said, "it does not do to talk about such things. You know what people are, and there wouldn't be a servant got that would stay in the house if they knew all." Then looking at my patient she said, "I think she seems worse than when I last saw her." "Well," I said, "she has been dreadfully frightened," and I thought, but did not say, if she dies, it will be as much from fright as any other cause. A few days after, I was called away to a very important case. My little patient lived only two or three days after my departure. More than once since then I have asked myself this question, "Was she frightened to death?"

The following (G. 468) is again an account of apparent haunting in an old house in London—15, St. Swithin's Lane. The events took place in 1854 and onwards. Mr. Gurney has seen Mrs. and Miss Vatas-Simpson and discussed their experiences with them personally. I begin with the recollections of Miss Vatas-Simpson (written in October, 1884), whom Mr. Gurney describes as a sensible and clear-headed person, and who has never had any other hallucination, veridical or otherwise.

From Miss Mary E. Vatas-Simpson.

I remember well (when a little girl, with a sister and brothers younger than myself) an old lady who proved the greatest trouble we children had, first because she was a mystery, and secondly because she got us into trouble with our father. It happened in this way. Ours was an old house, the dining-room at the top, three windows front, a fireplace each end, two doors opposite the windows—one leading into my eldest sister's bedroom and the other on to the landing at the top of the stairs, which stairs were narrow, with enormous bannisters turning at every few stairs into a great square post, on which we used to delight to perch ourselves to see what was going on below, particularly if the servants let anyone into the drawing-room, which was under the dining-room.

One day I was sitting thus on a post, when I saw a tiny old lady walk slowly into the room, all alone. This is what surprised me, for this reason. There was across the stairs an ornamental iron gate, which shut off my father's offices from the offices of the lower part of the house. Persons calling had to ring to gain admission, as they would do at a front door. This old lady I saw come from the stairs above the gate, but on leaning over I saw the gate was shut and no one there. After a little whispered conversation with my brother Walter, who was sitting astride on the post above me, we thought we would see who she was. So we went gently into the room, quite expecting to see her ; but we were disappointed, she was not there. I came

skipping lightly out of the drawing-room, knowing we had no business there, when I screamed with astonishment, for out of a door always kept locked, at the foot of the very stairs on which we had been sitting, came our old lady. I ran into the drawing-room to tell Walter, and when I reached the top of the stairs again, I saw her below the gate, going slowly downstairs. She was just out of our sight when my father rushed upstairs, and was very angry indeed with us for the noise we made.

A few days after this we were all playing at a very favourite game—chairs put into form to represent a carriage, in which we sat and covered our heads with a blue and white cotton table-cover for a roof. My brother Garry hurt me. I threw off our cover, and just inside the half-opened door stood the old lady, dressed like she was before—black shabby dress, rather large bonnet, and a good deal of velvet on her kind of hanging mantle. I thought she must have made a mistake and come up too far for father's office. Seeing a half-smile on her face I walked towards her, when she went out of the door quite slowly and turned towards my sister's bedroom. I quickly ran into the dining-room, intending to catch her to-day by the door between the two rooms; but I did not see her. Rushed through my sister's room, on to the landing, down the stairs—when I saw, two or three turns of the stairs lower down, Walter was running after the old lady, who went very quickly, keeping close to the wall all down the staircase. Once again my father came out of his office and told Walter he would whip him if he heard another sound. We asked the servants who this old lady was. They looked at each other and said "only an old lady who came to see mamma." Though we often saw her and were not a bit afraid of her, yet no one seemed to believe us; so though we children often talked about her to each other, we did not mention her in public. This we did do: One of us took to riding outside our carriage on purpose to watch our strange old lady. For she always *looked* a great deal—or seemed to our youthful eyes to do so—and we all thought she would do something horrid to us the first time she caught us under the table-cloth. We even kept a large ruler close to us on purpose to throw at her if she touched us. She was very real indeed to us, and I seem to see her quite vividly now when I recall it all to my mind.

(Signed) MARY E. VATAS-SIMPSON.

What follows is from Mrs. Vatas-Simpson's Diary.

This is very strange. What can it mean? The servants say that they see queer things moving about, and that they hear peculiar noises. One servant has left us in consequence. To-day I was told by a neighbour that the people who lived here before we came could not remain, because there were always noises and sounds about the house at night, and that even his little children were disturbed by them. At last they became so very unbearable he was obliged to go elsewhere. One hardly knows whether to believe such reports or to laugh at them. At present we have had no nocturnal visitors, and I shall not tell my dear ones, to cause apprehension of ghosts and hobgoblins.

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There must be some foundation for the rumours regarding the sounds, noises, and appearances in this old house. It has stood here since the Fire of London. The lower part of the house is very extensive; and then, under-

ground, dark, big, cavernous cellarage (which, it is said, has not been thoroughly explored or examined for years) where secret passages are believed to exist, and from whence issue sounds of moaning and sighing, clearly and quite unmistakably, after dark, when the hum of the busy world is hushed. Any one then, by placing themselves over the window grating may hear distinctly the peculiar noises within. I try to turn a deaf ear to all this, and to combat the fears such revelations inspire in the household, but am unsuccessful with the servants, as they leave me in consequence. My husband says the sounds are produced by the contrary winds careering through the gratings, and perhaps they are.

A severe illness has kept my pen idle for several weeks. Not so, however, events. To-day, L. told me that when the children are playing upstairs an old woman will persist in standing in the doorway, looking in very disconsolately. She believes in the reality of the occurrence ; says that it is an annoyance ; would I give orders to the servants to keep our gate on the staircase locked ?—the iron gate that shuts in the private portion of the house from that which is below, making it thus quite impossible to pass up the stairs from the offices below.

* * * * * *

So late, so tired and weary. Every night now L. and I have to sit up long, dreary hours to wait my husband coming home, for we are afraid to go to bed till he returns. There is no feeling of security with only women in this big, grim, and hollow-sounding house, and though we are both free from all superstitious fears, and far from timid, we cannot but be sensible of our unprotected helplessness, left alone, as we are, till the night wanes into morning.

To-night, and for several nights now, we have had our courage put to the test, and most decidedly it has not been found wanting. . . . The first evening, about 11 o'clock, sitting with the drawing-room door open, a man's face was clearly seen above the balustrade, while the old-fashioned size and the carvings of the supports hid his form from our view. Instantly we both jumped up, and as instantly started forward. Both thought that he had come up by mistake, or purposely, perhaps, to see someone in the house. Ere we could speak he was gone.

The servants, not having gone to bed, were summoned, told to go and fasten the iron gate, and reprimanded for their negligence in forgetting to do so. The gas was alight, illuminating the house from the ground-floor to the very roof of the house. We stood upon the landing. The servants went down, protesting that they had locked and fastened securely the gate : and so they had—it was securely fast.

Then I went for the key, and downstairs, and satisfied myself of the fact, and also went below to satisfy myself that all doors and every place below were firmly secured for the night.

Now, then, how did that man get in ?—or rather, how did he get *out ?* It is possible he might have been concealed during the evening, and so have been on the stairs—but where could he go, instantaneously as he had been followed, and by both of us, neither of us suspecting anything more than that he had obtained entrance through the forgetfulness of the servants, and nothing doubting but that he would wait to be spoken to ? Where could

he go ?—for in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, the spot where he had appeared was vacant.

Well, when my husband came home I told him. He treated it as a good joke, laughed at our bewilderment, and said we must all have been asleep and dreaming. He has such a supreme contempt for any supposition of the supernatural. Has no belief in spiritual visions, in "ghosts," or visions of the night. He is far too practical, and only derides my credulity. At present I have been able to keep all suspicion of these things from the household.

* * * * * *

Twice lately, sitting up during the night hours, my L. and I have been disturbed by that same appearance on the stairs, and each time have done our best to discover the mystery. The face is pale to sickliness, and the eye steady and mournful. The figure is shrouded in a sort of dark, shadowy indistinctness, and his departure is sudden and noiseless. The first time he came we slowly advanced to him, side by side, quite silently, and with firm decision of manner, intending to show him our determination to enforce an interview, and ask explanation for his intrusion. Ah ! he is gone.

The second time I was reading an interesting book. L. looked up from her employment and, seeing him, touched me gently (we were close together), when both of us made a sudden dart forward, only to find the spot vacant which had, one instant previously, been occupied by his face and figure. It is impossible that we can be mistaken or deceived. No, no, we are not. There is no misapprehension, because no fear quells our courage ; no cowardice prevents the full action of our powers of perception ; no alarm frustrates our intention of grappling with him if we can, or of pursuing him, or of holding him if we can come up with him. We are on our guard against surprise, and our nerves steady, prepared to make a decided unequivocal effort to find out who and what this nocturnal intruder may be.

But nothing avails ; he is not here ; he is not anywhere near. Looking keenly at him one moment, the next he has fled, quick as a flash of lightning. But he *was* standing there ; we both saw him, positively and undoubtedly.

* * * * * *

It is useless to contend against facts. Nervous terrors and timorous imaginations have nothing whatever to do in suggesting the various appearances and the indescribable sounds which pervade the rooms, the corners, and the recesses of this great house. Superstition might indeed supply one person with food for miracles or for belief in deception and witchcraft ; but when there are several witnesses of all ages there must be a foundation of truth, and, at all events, each and every one could not be deceived. If all that is going on here is a strange delusion, then all would not be affected at the same moment. If it is but a mere sensation or impression, then it would only be conceived by *one* mind, not by all. If it were capable of detection, then so many persons gathered together would surely find out that it was imposture and deception.

Besides, there is nothing done to annoy any one of us ; no attempt is made to frighten or even to surprise us. There seems no system or organisation in all these mysteries. In addition to the little old woman who goes about the upper floor, and the man who comes occasionally upon the stairs,

there are other sights and sounds, and other nocturnal disturbances. Very often a babe is heard wailing and crying in the kitchen, generally in the evening. We heard these piteous wailings when we first came here to live, and then imagined that a babe was really within hearing; but when, after the lapse of many months, the sounds were still those of a new-born babe, no stronger in tone or different in expression, then we began to wonder, and to strive to penetrate the mystery, and are constrained to believe that no living infant causes those sounds.

Then again, close to my bedroom door, in a recess, there are notes of the most mournful singing the ear can hear—real notes—soft and sad, but clear and thrilling. Then, in an instant, the notes are prolonged, and change into short, sharp screams of agony. Then total silence.

All this takes place in the very interior of the house—in parts where there is no outside wall, but where the wall, thick and massive, divides one room from another.

Incredulous as my husband has always been when I have complained of our incomprehensible and spectral visitants, yet last night he was penetrated with the belief that there must be *truth* in our representations, at all events. So deeply is he impressed by the solemn assurance of his own scrutiny that a vision did really appear to him, that doubting, unbelieving, and sceptic as he is, he confesses himself thrilled and pervaded with unwonted sensations of awe and excitement. I must write it down. It all happened in this way:—

After all outer doors were shut and business hours over, my husband had for several evenings past devoted his leisure to writing, and to sorting the piles of letters and papers which had accumulated during his illness. Correspondence was behindhand; so shutting himself up in his own private office, he directed all his thoughts, energy, and attention to reducing the number of letters unanswered, and arranging papers and documents in their several places. His orders were peremptory to the servants to allow no one to disturb him, and I took my part in securing to him that perfect freedom from interruption, so absolutely needed in such an occupation.

This evening the silence in the house was almost oppressive. My husband had not once come up to the drawing-room since he left it after dinner. It was now 11 o'clock, and the hour for the servants to retire for the night, except when we had company. I sat with the door open that evening. I have a habit of doing this when I am alone. The large landing and the outlet gives more freedom and air. The door of the kitchen is in close proximity—an outer door—and always kept shut. Opposite the drawing-room door, across the landing, is the staircase, the balustrade of the stairs forming one side of the landing. All at once there was a great tramping upon the office-floor below; the door of the private office was flung open with much violence. My husband, in angry tones, called to the servant, and demanded "how they dare permit a stranger to come to him at that time of night?" Which servant had disobeyed him?

No one had done so.

"Don't deny it. Who is the woman? When did she come, and what does she want? I see no one at this hour of the night. Let her be here to-morrow if she wants me; show her out and fasten the gate again."

All this was spoken as if the person who had disturbed him was standing

there still ; addressed to the domestics that she might know his rules had been transgressed, and that she might hear him say so. It was in vain that the servants protested they had let no one in ; and had seen no one pass up or down the stairs, that every door and window was fastened and secure. Astonishment kept my husband mute ; he stood still, lost to all outward impressions for some time, like one in a dream. Then, with a sort of shudder he moved away from the door of his office, from whence he had not stirred, and told the servants to go to bed ; he would find out on the morrow who had taken the liberty of intruding, or perhaps, the person would call again in the morning.

This was to them, but as soon as we were alone he told me all that had occurred. . . . . Absorbed in deep thought, searching amongst his papers for one of great importance, he raised his head from them, and saw, just within his office doorway, a little old lady standing. Even though an unwelcome intruder, his politeness did not fail ; so rising directly he addressed her. Finding that she neither spoke nor moved, but only looked at him, he advanced a little, speaking again. This forward movement made no alteration ; still she was mute, still not a finger stirred, the eyes still fixed upon him with a soft, sweet expression, the face very pallid. After allowing sufficient time for a reply (even if the old lady should be short of breath from coming upstairs), and still receiving none, he approached nearer, when she moved gradually and softly a little farther into the room, yet scarcely nearer to him, for the room is very spacious. Again he altered his position while she remained motionless, thus bringing himself into closer contact with her ; still she was motionless.

Making now a quick step towards her, determined to ascertain the cause of her silence—lo ! she was gone ! To his amazement he lost all trace of her in one moment. It was then we must have heard the commotion below. . . . After telling me thus far, my husband paused in his narrative. Again he was wrapt in deep meditation. His face was agitated, his lips quivered ; evidently he was mastering strong emotion. Rousing himself from the reverie which I had allowed to remain unbroken, he continued to relate the incidents of the visit, and his own conclusions upon it.

Well, he said he didn't know whether his office door was open while she was there ; he knew that he had shut it, and did not recollect opening it when he missed her from the room. The gas was giving a full blaze of light, and no shadow of darkness rested anywhere to deceive him. The whole place was illumined.

No suspicion entered his mind of anything like visionary object or apparitions ; his whole attention was rivetted upon his letters and papers, and his only idea was that this old lady was in some great trouble, had come to him for advice, and that her age and probable distress might be the excuse for her untimely visit. It was with such considerations that he first addressed her as he would any lady who came to him upon office business, but afterwards, when he became annoyed by her silence, he permitted his irritation to be visible both in voice and manner.

His description of her appearance is this :—"A little old lady, with a very pale face, and her hands clasped before her, a cap round her face, and a dark bonnet, with strings tied under her chin." When I asked him what dress,

then he is at fault. He only saw a dark form. Well, he cannot say, he was only looking at her face. It must have been a dark dress, he believes—it looked dark. She moved with a gentle, gliding motion; looked at him most intently; did not move her hands. His face is quite troubled, and he is much excited. Says that he feels bewildered and embarrassed, and is most unwilling to admit the reality of the vision.

I believe that he would not have named it at all could he have anticipated the termination of the scene. As it is, no explanation can do away with the fact, and it is useless to deny what he has once admitted. Either way, he is in a dilemma, from which he cannot escape. He sums it all up by saying, "I have told you exactly what took place. I know what I saw, and am quite aware that it cannot be explained. As it is, so let it rest." He will never again laugh at us for our absurd notions and experiences of "ghosts," I am quite certain. He is touched in a way that he himself cannot comprehend. He does not like it—his own feelings puzzle him. It will be a long time before he loses the novel impression aroused in his mind by that visit of our little old lady, who seems to wander about our house whenever and wheresoever she pleases.

In the above narrative I only wish to lay stress on the appearance of the little old lady. The man on the stairs, who seems to have appeared always in the same place and to have been seen from the same point of view, may possibly have been an illusion; and the sounds, as Mrs. Simpson suggests, may have been due to wind.

It should be noted that though Miss Mary Vatas-Simpson has not at any other time seen apparitions, the family seem to have a special faculty for doing so. Mrs. Vatas-Simpson and another of her daughters have seen them in two or three houses besides this one, but quite different in each house. Mrs. Vatas-Simpson has also, it would seem, some power of receiving telepathic communications (as one would, perhaps, expect to be the case with a person who sees ghosts, supposing these to be a form of communication with the dead), for she has given us an account of several veridical dreams about a son absent in Australia, between whom and herself there was a very close sympathy.

In the narrative I will next quote (G. 108), it will be seen that the ghost, which has a very well marked character, apparently followed the principal percipient from one house to another.

The committee are not allowed to give names, and the initials used are not the right ones. Mr. Podmore says: "Miss A. T., a younger sister of the principal percipient, Miss T., related to me the incidents described below in great detail, and after questioning her at some length, I drew up the following account in her presence, reading over to her each paragraph as it was written. Miss A. T. has not actually seen the figure herself, but she has heard the particulars of each appearance from the witnesses of it, when the details were still fresh

in their memory, and she has repeatedly heard the whole matter discussed in family conclave, when the disturbances were still going on. Moreover, she has herself heard some of the strange noises described. The account has since been read through by Miss T. herself, and though she declines to give us any further particulars, she admits that this account is 'fairly correct.' Though the narrative, therefore, falls in value somewhat below a first-hand account it is very far superior to an ordinary second-hand ghost story, and may, I think, be taken as almost entirely correct.

Mrs. T. and the unmarried brother mentioned in the narrative are both dead. The family, it should be added, have again removed, but the ghost has not, apparently, followed them."

In 1870 the T—— family took a house in West Brompton on lease for seven years. They entered the house in the spring of that year. This house, it would appear, is now, and has been since 1877, in the occupancy of Captain F——. Captain F—— has been asked by a friend of the T—— family whether anything unusual has occurred in the house during his tenancy, and he has replied in the negative. There would seem, however, to be some reason for doubting the accuracy of this statement.

Nothing remarkable occurred during the first 18 months of the T—— family occupying the house. In the autumn of 1871, when Mrs. T—— and Miss T—— were going upstairs to bed, leaving the hall in total darkness, Miss T——, who was then on one of the upper landings, thought she heard her brother entering the house, and looked over the bannisters. She saw a grey figure leave the dining-room, cross the hall, and disappear down the kitchen stairs. Miss T—— told nobody of what she had seen. This was the first time that anything abnormal was seen in the house.

During their tenancy of the house this same figure was seen repeatedly by at least five independent witnesses,* Miss T—— being the one who saw it most frequently. The figure was very tall, dressed in grey drapery. The drapery also partially enveloped the head, though allowing the features to be seen. The "grey" was a light grey—perhaps such a colour as a white object would assume in partial darkness. The hands, it would seem, hung down and were clasped in front of the figure. The expression of the face was very calm and peaceful—a good face. There was no hair on the face, and it was only from the unusual height of the figure that it was supposed to be that of a man.

There was nothing indistinct about the outline of the figure. The drapery was shapeless—that is, it had no definite shape, such as that of a dressing-gown, or a monk's gown,—but the lines of it were firm and clear. But the whole figure was shadowy and unsubstantial-looking. It was never seen save in the dark, and would appear, therefore, to have been faintly luminous, for it was seen in all parts of the house, and sometimes in rooms almost entirely dark. The figure was seen chiefly in Miss T——'s room, or on the landing near; but it was also seen on the bath-room steps, on the stairs, in the

* It does not seem quite clear that the figure was always identical.

dining-room, and in other bedrooms. The figure never moved its head or hands, and never spoke or made, apparently, any sound (with one exception to be noted below).

Sometimes Miss T—— would see it when in bed, and she would then frequently put her head under the clothes to avoid it. But if she saw it when she was about the house she would always look at it until the figure vanished. But she is quite unable to say whether she looked at it for minutes or seconds. It would finally vanish quite suddenly. Occasionally, however, it would glide away into another room. The figure never walked; it glided. There was never any sound accompanying its movements.

The figure was next seen by an old nurse, Mrs. N——, who met it on the stairs (? in the autumn of the same year, 1871). She looked at the figure until it vanished. She also told nobody at the time of what she had seen.

Some time afterwards a friend of the family was staying in the house. She complained, on the morning after her arrival, that she had been kept awake by the noise of furniture, &c., being moved about in the rooms above her. These rooms were occupied, and no one else had heard the noises complained of. But the occurrence led to a general family discussion. Unaccountable noises had been often heard before in the house, and Miss T—— and Mrs. N—— then mentioned, for the first time, the figure which they had seen.

Mr. T——, the brother, also saw the figure frequently; on one occasion it was in the hall, when he opened the front door. On another when returning from his club late one night, he saw the figure from the street, standing at the drawing-room window.

Miss T—— frequently saw the figure in her room standing at her bedside, and on the landing near her room. Sometimes she woke in the night, and found it at her bedside.

N——, the cook, complained angrily to his wife that one of the other servants would sometimes come into his room at night. He had, at that time, not heard of the figure being seen, but he subsequently connected these appearances with the figure.

R—— T——, then a little boy of seven, was sleeping in the same room as Miss T——. He complained one morning that he had had a "horrid night"! he had been awake, and had seen L—— (Miss T——) standing at his bedside in her night-dress, "only it wasn't L——." Of course, nothing had ever been told the child about the figure which had been seen. It is not clear whether any peculiar feelings accompanied the appearance of the figure; but Miss T—— when in her room, frequently expressed a feeling which she says is quite indescribable. This feeling she always attributed to the presence of a figure in the room, though she was unable on such occasions to see it.

Miss T—— would very often hear footsteps and sighs in her room, as if someone were walking about and sighing. The most unaccountable noises were heard all over the house throughout the whole of these seven years—most frequently in the autumn. Footsteps, knocks at the door, bells rung in the daytime, &c., &c. There were also noises as if a heavy weight, such as a bundle of clothes, had been dropped from a great height on to one of

the landings—the sound was loud, but muffled. These noises, except the bell-ringing, were heard almost invariably at night.

Sometimes two or three people heard the noises, or were woke up by them. At other times only one person would hear them. On one New Year's Eve, when Miss T—— and N—— were alone in the house, N—— came up from the kitchen to the dining-room where Miss T—— was sitting, to see what was the matter. He had heard loud noises, as of furniture being dragged about in the dining-room. Miss T—— had heard nothing, and the house seemed perfectly quiet.

On another occasion Miss T—— heard the same noise, as of furniture being moved, &c., in the room above hers, which was occupied by her brother, Mr. T——. She went up to see what was the matter, and knocked at his door, but he was fast asleep. These noises, as of furniture being moved about—always in the room above—were of frequent occurrence.

This house formerly belonged to a Mr. G——, an artist, who has now sold it. He was very anxious for Mrs. T—— to buy it. A few months after the T—— family had been in the house, and before they had experienced anything unusual, Mr. G—— came to see Mrs. T—— and asked her if she was quite comfortable in the house. As she rented the house unfurnished, the question struck her as odd, and she remarked upon it at the time.

In the autumn of 1877 the T—— family removed to another house in the same neighbourhood, where they remained until April, 1880. Miss T—— was abroad during the winters of 1877 and 1878; but was in the house during the summer months of the latter year. She finally returned in the spring of 1879. It is to be noted that the T——'s had never mentioned the subject of visions and disturbances to even their most intimate friends whilst they were still in the first house, but on leaving the house, believing themselves to be free from their persecutors, they mentioned the subject freely. In the spring of 1879 Miss T—— heard the same noise as before—footsteps and sighs—but fainter. They gradually, however, increased in intensity until they became as bad as ever. She did not mention the subject. The noises, however, in the autumn were heard by all the household—including Miss A. T——, my informant, who being only a child, had not heard them in the other house. They were even more loud and frequent than hitherto, and their character had somewhat changed. Footsteps were heard as before; doors were banged, where no doors or only locked doors were; there was a noise as of a metal tea tray being rolled downstairs.

There was, also, frequently a sound of a person breathing heavily, and walking about, heard in the bedrooms. Knocks two or three times repeated were also heard at the doors.

A married brother was staying in the house with his wife and little girl of three years. One night they all three heard the sound as of a person walking up and down the room and breathing loudly. Mrs. T—— struck a light and lit the gas, when the noises ceased. They recommenced, however, when the gas was turned out.

One night in September, 1879, when H—— T——, a boy of thirteen, had been ill for many months, and was sleeping in the back dining-room, with Mrs. T—— in the same room to attend upon him, they both heard a noise as of a door opening into a third room on the dining-room floor being

opened, and the window of that room being thrown open. The door then banged, and a match was heard to be struck outside. All the household were upstairs in bed, and the boy became ill with fright. Mrs. T—— had to attend at once to him and so did not open the door. In the morning the window was found bolted, and the door of the back room locked.

This noise, as of a match being struck, was afterwards heard several times, both in the middle of the day and night, and by several persons. Also in different parts of the house ; but always outside a door.

From this time, until the date of the boy's death, a fortnight or three weeks afterwards, the noises were louder than at any other time, and disturbed the boy's rest at night.

On Christmas Day, 1879, Miss T——, going to early service, saw the figure standing just below her, at the top of the bath-room stairs. She saw the figure again that afternoon at the foot of her bed, when she had gone up in the dusk without a light. She saw the figure again, more than once before she left the house. On one occasion, when sleeping in the same room with Mrs. T——, Miss T—— woke and saw the figure standing between the beds, near the foot. There was a noise as of a parcel being dropped on the floor, and the figure vanished. The noise woke Mrs. T——, who wanted to know what was the matter.

A child of three years (the same as before mentioned) woke up one night with a scream, saying that something had come to take her away. After this occasion the child refused to be left alone, as long as she stayed in the house.

A housemaid met the figure standing on the stairs one evening, and ran down in great fear to tell the other servants.

A nurse, on another occasion, saw a figure which she supposed at the time to be that of her mistress, leaving the bedroom at night.

It is to be noted that during these nine years Mrs. T.—— and Miss A. T——, and two younger children, who were constantly living in the house, never saw the figure. Nor did any other members of the family, except those mentioned, though an elder brother stayed until 1875 with his family in the first house, and a cousin lived with them for 18 months in the second house.

It will be observed that in the cases I have quoted or mentioned the ghost has not been traced beyond a single occupancy of the house, except in the one instance where its character seemed to change with the tenants to whom it appeared. It is true that in other cases there are vague reports of previous haunting, but nothing that can be relied on. Nothing can be inferred from this, however, as, except in the case of the weeping ghost in widow's garb, where we seem pretty clearly to have heard about the beginning of the haunting, there is no more evidence of the ghost's previous non-appearance than there is of its appearance.

There is in certain cases evidence of the apparently complete cessation of haunting, but here again it is difficult to draw any certain inference, because the analogy of experimental thought-transference would certainly lead us to expect that the faculty for seeing ghosts should vary in different people and at different times, so that the apparent absence of

the ghost might arise simply from the absence of anyone capable of seeing it, and because the long and irregular intervals that are liable to occur between manifestations make it difficult to determine what length of interval warrants us in concluding that there will be no more. It is worth while, however, in this connection, to give a narrative (G. 317) of a ghost traced back through a considerably longer period than any other yet, I think, in the collection. I give it with some hesitation, as we have it only at second-hand, and it, and in a less degree the narrative last quoted, and one given as an example of collective hallucination, are the only ones that I shall give in this paper where none of the most important evidence is at first-hand, but it seems to be carefully told, and, I should think, may safely be trusted for its main statements. It is much to be regretted that after taking the trouble to make the investigation Mr. Hill did not take the additional trouble to record the results in writing. The narrative is given to us by the Rev. Chas. C. Starbuck, Andover, Mass., U.S.A., a Congregational minister, and described by Mr. Alfred R. Nichols, of 32, Lawrence Hall, Cambridge, Mass., as "a man of much scholarship and absolute trustworthiness."

I wish to give an account of what I call "a well authenticated apparition." I wish to give it, not because it is any better attested than a hundred others, nor because it is in the least startling, for a quieter ghost never was; but because there is so little in it that is unique, and it is therefore an excellent type of the better sort of such accounts, and because the facts are such as cannot possibly be strained into an explanation that treats them as the effects of one or two excited imaginations, and also because their entire want of purpose or dramatic effect makes them more credible, and lastly, because they rest on so eminent and unimpeachable an authority. They were communicated to me in all their details, and in repeated conversations, by the late Hon. Richard Hill, of the Island of Jamaica. Mr. Hill was a gentleman of eminent character and worth, a privy councillor of the island, but much more distinguished as the most eminent naturalist of the West Indies. Charles Kingsley, in his charming book on the West Indies, speaks of Mr. Hill as a man whom it was an honour to know, and regrets that not visiting Jamaica he had not had the opportunity to enjoy his acquaintance. He died about six years ago in the fulness of years and honours, and in the fulness of a Christian faith.

Mr. Hill, somewhere, I believe, about 1840, took a house in Spanishtown, the capital of Jamaica. The house was of brick, and was thought by Mr. Hill, who was a great antiquary, to have been built before 1655, at a time when St. Jago de la Vega was still a Spanish city. There was nothing remarkable about the dwelling beyond any other house suited for the use of a family in good circumstances. Mr. Hill, it appears, moved into it quite unaware that there was anything connected with it above the common. Nor, in the series of facts which he related to me, are there more than one or two which of themselves amount to anything. It is the combination alone which gives them importance.

Mr. Hill, I may remark, was a bachelor, and his widowed sister, Mrs.

Harrison, lived with him and kept house for him. The shutters of his bedroom were each in two pieces. One night it chanced that the upper pieces had been left open, and the rain had beaten in. In the morning he complained to his sister, who promised that the neglect should not occur again. The next evening he was lying in bed awake, while a faint light came into the room from a hall lamp that shone through the transom. While lying thus he saw the door opened, and a woman enter the room, cross the floor to the window, and, as it seemed to him, look up at it. Her face was muffled, and her whole garb peculiar, but, in the faint light, he supposed her to be Ann, his sister's confidential servant. He took it for granted that having just bethought herself of the shutters, she had come in, unaware that he was in the room, to make sure that they were duly fastened. The woman then turned and went out, but as she was leaving the room Mr. Hill called "Ann!" She gave no answer, and closed the door. Supposing that she was startled at finding that he was in bed, he thought nothing of it. In the morning he casually remarked to his sister that Ann had been in his room the night before, and had been thrown quite out of countenance by discovering that he was in bed and awake. "Oh!" said his sister, "Ann would have known better than to go into your room at such an hour." She then summoned Ann, who confirmed her mistress's statement, but intimated, with a mysterious look, that she could give an opinion as to who the intruder was. Mr. Hill then learned that whispers were current in the household to the effect that there was something more than natural in the new house. On what these surmises were founded will presently appear.

Mrs. Harrison herself had thus far not seen the strange visitor, and her little experience with her would not have amounted to much taken by itself. Her bedroom opened into the dining-room, into which a door also opened from the hall, or from some other room, upon two or three steps. This door was at the head of Mrs. Harrison's bed, divided from it by the partition. One night Mrs. Harrison heard it open, and someone come down into the dining-room. She was startled, but presently concluded that a chance breeze had blown the door open and deceived her ear by counterfeiting the sound of footsteps. The next night, however, the door was unmistakably opened by someone who came down the steps and began pacing round and round the dining-table. Mrs. Harrison was now thoroughly frightened, although what had happened acquired significance only from its fitting in so perfectly with what took place at other times.

The second time Mr. Hill saw his former visitor he had been asleep, and awakened with a start, such as we sometimes give when another is gazing at us. He found her standing at the foot of the bed, and apparently looking fixedly down at him, although the muffler which she appeared to wear concealed her face. He asked her who she was, and what she wanted. She made no answer, but turned and went out.

Putting together his own remembrances and the description of others who had seen her, he came to the conclusion that she wore the garb which was in use in the colony in the reign of George the First, that is about 115 years earlier.

He only knew of her coming once again into his bedroom. There was

an old negro woman, to whom, in the intermediate period of apprenticeship between slavery and full freedom, which prevailed in the island between 1834 and 1838, he had, as stipendiary magistrate, placed in charge of the interests of the half-emancipated negroes, had opportunity to show peculiar kindness. The old woman's gratitude, like a true negro's, knew no bounds. Whenever she came into Spanishtown from her little place a few miles out, she would be sure to visit her benefactor, bringing some little present—a few cocoanuts, a few yams, or a bunch of bananas. And once, when he was absent from town, her gratitude took the grotesque form of insisting on being allowed to spread her mat at night in his bedroom and sleep there. Mrs. Harrison humoured her; but in the night the door opened, and this mysterious lady came in. It must be that the old woman had never been told of her, or else even her gratitude would never have given her the courage to sleep in a haunted spot. However this may be, she at once surmised a ghost, and rushing out in great affright, dragged her mat to the stable, and spent the rest of the night there.

At another time a new servant-girl had just come. When night fell, she was told to spread her mat in the veranda. Chairs were standing about here and there in it, as they had been used through the day. But in the dead of the night the servant-maid heard them swung back, one by one, against the wall, andsome one begin to pace back and forth along the porch. Like a true negro, she too, surmised a ghost, and rushing into the bedroom of another maidservant, squeezed herself into bed with her as well as she could. In the morning she tremulously asked Mrs. Harrison : "Missis, do 'perrits walk this house ?" Whether she soon left, I cannot say, but my impression is that my friend was obliged to submit to pretty frequent changes of servants about this time, though I cannot be sure that I was so informed.

Another person, a former servant, had more nerve. This was a respectable and estimable mulatto woman who had had the charge of Mrs. Harrison's little girl in her infancy. She came once to pay a visit to her former mistress and her little foster child, and at night she spread her mat for rest in an unfurnished chamber, through the windows of which the full tropical moonlight poured in. The next morning she said to Mrs. Harrison : "Missis, did you come into my room last night ?" Mrs. Harrison, at once imagining what had happened, replied evasively, wishing to lead the nurse to believe that she had. But she was not to be deceived. "Oh, no," she said, "it was not you. You do not wear ——," mentioning a kind of slipper, dragging at the heel, the name of which I cannot recall, but which is now worn only by the women of the common people, and which, I fancy, is going out of use even among them, having probably, like so many styles, descended to them from a higher rank. The nurse then went on to say that in the night the door of her sleeping-room opened, and this same lady (whom, having seen in the full moonlight, she was able to describe), came in, and began to march round and round her mat, apparently looking down fixedly at her, although I do not think that at this time, or any other time, her muffler even permitted her face to be seen. The worthy nurse was terribly frightened, but being a woman of great nerve she held her ground, and after a while her unwelcome visitant went out.

One day, before or after this (for I am unable to give the sequence of

these incidents), Mrs. Harrison, being indisposed, sent out a female servant to bring her a cup of tea or something of the sort from the kitchen, which, as usual there, was a little distance away—across a paved yard. The servant met this lady midway, and supposing her to be some stranger, and probably surprised to find one dressed so strangely wandering about the servants, quarters, asked her what she wanted. She turned, and with some sharpness retorted: "What is that to you?" This was the only time she is ever known to have spoken. Assuming her to have been from the other side, it would seem as if not even death could extinguish the slave-holding pride of an old colonist. Search was made for her, after the servant had returned to make report to her mistress, but she was not to be found.

One day Mrs. Harrison was receiving a call from another lady in the drawing-room, which on one side opened on the veranda. Mrs. Harrison's little daughter and the little daughter of her visitor were in one of the windows looking out upon the veranda while their mothers were talking. Suddenly the children uttered an exclamation, and the ladies, looking up, saw this same strange visitor passing the window at which their daughters were sitting. She appeared to be coming from the street, and to be going towards the other end of the veranda, at which there was only a window. All four looked into the gallery after her, but she was gone.

By this time Mr. Hill began to be greatly interested in his mysterious guest, or hostess, as we may choose to take it. He therefore determined to sound his landlord, a young gentleman to whom the house had passed from an uncle. As I believe his name to have been Osborne, I shall call him so. "Mr. Osborne," said his tenant one day, "there is an interesting peculiarity about your house, as to which I wish to question you. I hope you will answer me frankly, for, in my mind, it adds ten pounds a year to the value of the house, so you need not be afraid I am going to beat you down in the rent." He then described these various appearances, and added: "Now what I want to ask you is, was this visitor known here in your uncle's time?" "Since you think so well of her, Mr. Hill," answered his landlord, "I will be frank with you. She was well known here in my uncle's time." Mr. Hill next, being or becoming acquainted with a lady who had been in her youth a frequent visitor at the house, asked her what she knew of this mysterious stranger. This friend informed him that the unbidden guest was as familiar then as she had been since he had become a tenant. He then prosecuted his inquiries through the little city of 7,000 people, and was able to trace her back to about 1806, at which time, he was assured by his informants, no one knew how much longer she had been accustomed to frequent the house. At that time, he was told, the house was conveyed by its owner, a Mrs. Deane, or some such name, to a purchaser. As the parties to the sale were sitting in the drawing-room, about to sign the necessary documents, this same lady was seen, as once afterwards, to pass along the veranda in front of the drawing-room windows. One of the company, noticing her quaint, unaccustomed attire, asked Mrs. Deane who that old-fashioned visitor of hers was. "Oh," said she carelessly, "it is a neighbour of ours who comes in occasionally," and the matter passed.

I may remark that, although this personage sometimes appeared to come

from the street, or to go towards it, Mr. Hill's inquiries brought no information that she had ever been seen outside of his house and court-yard. This, in a small city of 7,000 inhabitants, the great bulk of whom were negroes, cuts off the supposition that she could have harboured elsewhere, and resorted at all times of day and night to a neighbouring house. This would be an incredible explanation even if it only applied to a year or two. Applied to a space of time outnumbering a generation, and extending back beyond a time within the memory of anyone known to Mr. Hill that was acquainted with the house, the explanation becomes simply preposterous.

In 1848 the interior of the house was completely remodelled, and she was never seen again. It was not that any hidden passages were blocked up, for the house had nothing mysterious about it except its mysterious visitor. But inside it was no longer the same dwelling. It appeared, as Mr. Hill said, as if she had permission to abide so long as things were as they had been.

Had such an inexplicable manifestation occurred to one alone, or to more than one whose minds were full of the story, or in one part of the house, or only at night, or for a few months, a plausible explanation would be easier. But, as the account shows, she was seen at all times of the day and of the night, in various parts of the house and in the court-yard, by persons who had heard of her and by persons who had never heard of her; by persons who, when they saw her, at once imagined her to be a ghost, and by persons who never suspected but that she was a living woman; while, of the latter, some came to believe her a spirit, and some remained wholly unaware that she was suspected to be anything of the kind. This last point alone is not covered by anything that occurred during Mr. Hill's occupancy of the house, although it is reasonably well attested.

I may remark that Mr. Hill, having African blood in his veins, may be presumed to have inherited with it a certain share of superstition; yet he was an eminently well educated man, schooled in England, and accustomed, through a long life, to the close observation and weighing of facts, both as a magistrate and as a naturalist. Before I had ever heard of the existence of Charles Darwin from any one else, Mr. Hill mentioned him to me as an able young correspondent of his, and quoted with just gratification a sentence of a recent letter from Darwin to him: "You are an observer after my own heart." And in the previous narrative all that is really involved is his veracity, which is unimpeached. The facts were, for the most part, such as occurred to others, and the combination of them is, of course, open to any one to make for himself. He affected no mystery, and made no confidence of it, but freely communicated all the particulars to any one of his numerous visitors who showed any desire to ascertain them. I may remark that, rich as Jamaica and the other Antilles presumably are in ghostly legends, Mr. Hill, during my long acquaintance with him, never adverted to one of them. The spirit of the precise antiquary always prevailed in him over that of the story teller. And in his individual experience, with one exception,* I never learned that anything had ever happened which bore the stamp of a visit from beyond the grave.

* This one exception was the appearance of a friend apparently at the moment of death.

There are in the collection perhaps half-a-dozen other well-attested narratives of similar apparitions in the same house to different persons, who cannot easily be supposed to have been in a state of excited expectation; but, for various reasons, they do not seem to me quite on a par, from an evidential point of view, with those above given; though they certainly ought not to be left out of account in estimating the whole evidence. It is, of course, quite possible by supposing a sufficient amount of unconscious inaccuracy—varied occasionally by conscious or semi-conscious inventiveness—on the part of our witnesses, to explain away all these narratives, and any number of similar ones that may be hereafter collected. And, as I have already said, we have no exact measure by which to compare the improbability of the required amount of inaccuracy or inventiveness with the improbability involved in supposing the narratives to be substantially true. Hence I can only say that having made every effort — as my paper will, I hope, have shown—to exercise a reasonable scepticism, I yet do not feel equal to the degree of unbelief in human testimony necessary to avoid accepting at least provisionally the conclusion that there are, in a certain sense, haunted houses, *i.e.*, that there are houses in which similar quasi-human apparitions have occurred at different times to different inhabitants, under circumstances which exclude the hypothesis of suggestion or expectation. If this general conclusion be accepted, the evidence for the authenticity of the particular narratives here given appears to me sufficiently good to justify us in regarding them provisionally as accounts, in the main accurate, of actual experiences, and, accordingly, I propose to review and compare these experiences carefully, in order to ascertain what positive or negative characteristics they have in common, and what explanation, if any, their common characteristics suggest.

In the first place, we find no foundation for the very general idea that ghosts haunt old houses only or even mainly.

Secondly, as I have already said, the evidence for appearances on certain anniversaries rests, so far as this collection is concerned, on one story only.

Thirdly, the evidence connecting such appearances with some crime or tragedy is extremely slight. Mr. X. Z. believes he identified his ghost with a person who committed murder and suicide; the other ghost, recognised from his portrait, had died of *delirium tremens;* but I have adduced reasons for some slight doubt as to the unmistakable recognition in both these cases. A native woman had been murdered near where the ayah appeared to Sir Arthur and Lady Becher. The ghost supposed to be that of Miss A. vaguely resembled in figure a lady who had lived unhappily and died mysteriously in the house, and the weeping lady in widow's garb resembles in figure a former unhappy inmate. But

this is all. In nine cases we have not only heard no rumour of a tragedy, but no attempt is made to conjecture whose ghost it is that is seen. In the four remaining ones there is a report of a violent death, but so vague and hazy as to suggest that it has arisen subsequently to the appearance, owing to the supposed necessity of accounting for it in some such way. As regards identification, moreover, it must be observed that in many cases—seven out of the eighteen I have discussed—there is not enough seen of the face to make certain recognition at all possible. In this connection there is a curious point to be noticed. In these eighteen narratives we have no first-hand account of a ghost appearing undoubtedly in the dress of a distinctly bygone age. Mr. X. Z.'s ghost would apparently have been entitled to such a dress, but both as a man and as a ghost he affected a dressing-gown, which is a vague costume. The blue lady in the old manor house appeared with her hair dressed in Hogarth fashion to one percipient, but we have his account at second-hand only, and both the percipients whose accounts we have at first-hand saw her with her hair down her back. Vague costumes, not specially appropriate to any particular period, are somewhat the most numerous in the eighteen selected cases, though in seven or eight of them the dress seems to have been such as would not at all have surprised the percipients if worn by a living person in the day-time. And these remarks apply not only to these eighteen narratives, but with comparatively few exceptions to the whole collection. It is therefore the more remarkable that among all the *fixed local ghosts* described in the collection, who, by their costume, would seem to be connected with the more or less recently dead, we have no single case at first-hand, and I think only two dubious ones at second-hand, of an apparition of any one known to any of the percipients during life.

Fourthly, there is a total absence of any apparent object or intelligent action on the part of the ghost. If its visits have an object, it entirely fails to explain it. It does not communicate important facts. It does not point out lost wills or hidden treasure. It does not even speak, except in the instance mentioned by Mr. Hill, where the ghost replied, "What is that to you?" to an inquiry; but for this incident there is at best third-hand evidence, and it may have been a mistake. Its very movements are of the simplest description in all the cases that I have selected on evidential grounds.*

* There is among the narratives which I have thought in some respects insufficiently evidenced, a case of a ghost alleged to have been seen by one person only, pointing out a missing will; and I will quote here an account of an apparition (G. 474) which went through very unusually dramatic action. I have not included it among the evidentially first-class instances of *haunted houses*, because with the amount of detail given I am unable to determine whether the figure seen by different percipients was similar and seen independently. But for the occurrence of the apparitions the evidence

Fifthly, as to the light by which ghosts are seen, no rule can be laid down. They are seen in all kinds of light, from broad daylight to the faint light of dawn—from bright gaslight to the light of a dying fire. Sometimes they seem to be self-luminous, and sometimes to bring with them, as it were, an apparition of light (like Mr. X. Z.'s ghost), so that the whole place appears lighted up, though there is no real light there. The ghost of the man who died of *delirium tremens* seemed to disappear owing to the gas being turned up; and on the other hand, some apparitions, like ordinary external objects, can no longer be seen when the light goes out. There is even one case where the ghost is described as having been apparently seen in the back of the percipient's head.

Sixthly, as to sounds, again no rule can be laid down. In some cases there are unaccounted-for sounds in houses where ghosts are seen, and in others no sounds beyond what may be noticed anywhere seem to have been observed. Where there are mysterious sounds they have for the most part no obvious connection with the apparitions. The apparition itself rarely appears to make any noise. To hear its footsteps, for instance, seems to be unusual. Sometimes an apparition seems to be heralded by a noise—a sound causing the percipient to look in the direction in which they see the ghost, but it is difficult to say whether these noises are not real, and their connection with the ghost accidental.*

is good. The percipient on this particular occasion was Miss N. Vatas-Simpson, a sister of the lady who as a child saw the little old woman in the house in St. Swithin's Lane.

"When my mother was ill, and I sat up during the night with her, I heard some one trying the lock of our door, which I had locked. I thought it was W. come home late, as usual, so I went up close to the door and whispered through, 'Do not come in; mother's asleep.' I went back to the fire, and I do not know what made me do it, but I gave a great jump, and on looking round found we were no longer alone—a short, stout, elderly man was midway between the bed and the door. He went and stood near the bed, but not close, and while I looked I seemed to know he could do no harm. He stood looking a long time. He clasped and unclasped his hands frequently. Upon the little finger of his left hand he wore a wedding ring, and he turned it round and round in his hand as he stood, and his lips moved, though I could not hear a sound. I tried to flap him away with a towel, as I had heard that a current of air will make these things go sometimes, but to no purpose. He took his own time to go. After seeming to speak to some person, whom I could not see, and pointing to the ceiling a good deal, he *moved*, I cannot say *walked*, to the door; it opened; he went out; it closed; and I went, too, to try the door. It was still *locked*. I never saw him again.

"NETTIE VATAS-SIMPSON.

"*September*, 1884."

* I said in the earlier part of this paper, that I had thought it best to defer the consideration of the few cases in this collection of unaccounted for physical phenomena; but it is as well to mention here that there are, I think, only two instances in it, of clearly physical phenomena apparently produced by an appari-

Seventhly, the mode of appearance and disappearance of apparitions is also various. The ghost is usually either seen on looking round, as a human being might be, or seems to come in at the door. Sometimes it forms gradually out of what at first seems a cloud-like appearance. I do not think there are any cases of its appearing suddenly in a spot which the percipient was actually looking at and perceived to be vacant before. It disappears suddenly in this way sometimes, and sometimes if the percipient looks away for a moment, it is gone. Sometimes it vanishes in a cloud-like manner, sometimes, retaining its form, it becomes gradually more and more transparent till it is gone. Frequently it disappears through the door, either with or without apparently opening it, or goes into a room where there is no other exit, and where it is not found.

Eighthly, as to the seers of ghosts we can again lay down no rules. The power is not limited by sex, age, or profession. It does not, so far as has yet been ascertained, depend on any obvious conditions of health, temperament, intellect, or emotion. It is not even certain that it is possessed by some persons and not by others, although there are reasons for thinking this probable. If several persons are together when the ghost appears it will sometimes be seen by all and sometimes not, and failure to see it is not always merely the result of not directing the attention towards it. Perhaps the truth may be that we all have potentially the power of seeing such things, but that it requires a special state of mind, or body in us, to coincide with some external cause, and that that coincidence rarely, and in the case of most individuals, never, occurs.

And this brings us to the question, What external cause or causes operate? Assuming provisionally that there are haunted houses, in the sense in which I have used the words, what theory can we form to explain them?

I must confess myself quite unable to form any satisfactory theory; —any theory which makes us feel that if it be true, the phenemena are just what we should expect. I have doubted even whether it is yet of any use attempting to theorise, but I think the investigation has, perhaps, arrived at a point at which it is worth while to formulate such hypotheses as seem to derive any support whatever from the evi-

tion. One of these is an account of a ghost that opens a locked door, and comes into the room giving a horrid little laugh. But the narrator had not seen the apparition herself—only been told after she had heard the laugh, and found her door open, that others had experienced the same phenomena, but that in their case they seemed to be produced by a man in grey. In one other narrative, a cupboard-door is really opened and really shut in apparent connection with an apparition that is seen coming out of the cupboard, but I do not feel sure that draughts of air may not have had something to do with this.

dence before us, in order that further observations and inquiries may be partly directed to proving or disproving them. I will, therefore, proceed briefly to state and discuss the only four theories that have occurred to me.

The two which I will take first in order assume that the apparitions are due to the agency or presence of the spirits of deceased men.

There is first the popular view, that the apparition is something belonging to the external world—that like ordinary matter it occupies and moves through space, and would be in the room whether the percipient were there to see it or not. This hypothesis involves us in many difficulties, of which one serious one—that of accounting for the clothes of the ghost—has often been urged, and never, I think, satisfactorily answered. Nevertheless, I am bound to admit that there is some little evidence tending to suggest this theory. For instance, in the account, of which I have given an abstract, of the weeping lady who has appeared so frequently in a certain house, the following passage occurs: "They went after it [the figure] together into the drawing-room; it then came out and went down the aforesaid passage [leading to the kitchen], but was the next minute seen by another Miss D. . . . come up the outside steps from the kitchen. On this particular day Captain D.'s married daughter happened to be at an upstairs window . . . . and independently saw the figure continue her course across the lawn and into the orchard." A considerable amount of clear evidence to the appearance of ghosts to independent observers in successive points in space, would certainly afford a strong argument for their having a definite relation to space; but in estimating evidence of this kind it would be necessary to know how far the observer's attention had been drawn to the point in question. If it had been a real woman whom the Miss D.'s were observing, we should have inferred, with perfect certainty, from our knowledge that she could not be in two places at once, that she had been successively, in a certain order, in the places where she was seen by the three observers. If they had noted the moments at which they saw her, and comparing notes afterwards, found that according to these notes they had all seen her at the same time, or in some other order to that inferred, we should still feel absolute confidence in our inference, and should conclude that there must be something wrong about the watches or the notes. From association of ideas, it would be perfectly natural to make the same inference in the case of a ghost which looks exactly like a woman. But in the case of the ghost the inference would not be legitimate, because, unless the particular theory of ghosts which we are discussing be true, there is no reason, so far as we know, why it should not appear in two or more places at once. Hence in the case of the ghost a well founded assurance that the appear-

ances were successive would require a careful observation of the times, which, so far as I know, has never been made. On the whole, therefore, I must dismiss the popular theory, as not having, in my opinion, even a *prima facie* ground for serious consideration.

The theory that I will next examine seems to me decidedly more plausible, from its analogy to the conclusion to which I am brought by the examination of the evidence for phantasms of the living. This theory is that the apparition has no real relation to the external world, but is a hallucination caused in some way by some communication, without the intervention of the senses, between the disembodied spirit and the percipient, its form depending on the mind either of the spirit or of the percipient, or of both. In the case of haunted houses, however, a difficulty meets us that we do not encounter, or at least, rarely encounter, in applying a similar hypothesis to explain phantasms of the living, or phantasms of the dead other than fixed local ghosts. In these cases we have generally to suppose a simple *rapport* between mind and mind, but in a haunted house we have a *rapport* complicated by its apparent dependence on locality. It seems necessary to make the improbable assumption, that the spirit is interested in an entirely special way in a particular house, (though possibly this interest may be of a subconscious kind), and that his interest in it puts him into connection with another mind, occupied with it in the way that that of a living person actually there must consciously, or unconsciously be ; while he does not get into similar communication with the same, or with other persons elsewhere.

If notwithstanding these difficulties, it be true that haunting is due in any way to the agency of deceased persons, and conveys a definite idea of them to the percipients through the resemblance to them of the apparition, then by patiently continuing our investigations we may expect, sooner or later, to obtain a sufficient amount of evidence to connect clearly the commencement of hauntings with the death of particular persons, and to establish clearly the likeness of the apparition to those persons. The fact that almost everybody is now photographed ought to be of material assistance in obtaining evidence of this latter kind.

My third theory dispenses with the agency of disembodied spirits, but involves us in other and perhaps equally great improbabilities. It is that the first appearance is a purely subjective hallucination and that the subsequent similar appearances both to the original percipient and to others, are the result of the first appearance ; unconscious expectancy causing them in the case of the original percipient, and some sort of telepathic communication from the original percipient in the case of others. In fact, it assumes that a tendency to a particular hallucination is in a way infectious. If this theory be

true I should expect to find that the apparently independent appearances after the first, depended on the percipient's having had some sort of intercourse with some one who had seen the ghost before, and that any decided discontinuity of occupancy would stop the haunting. I should also expect to find, as we do in one of the cases I have quoted, that sometimes the supposed ghost would follow the family from one abode to another, appearing to haunt them rather than any particular house.

The fourth theory that I shall mention is one which I can hardly expect to appear plausible, and which, therefore, I only introduce because I think that it corresponds best to a certain part of the evidence;—and, as I have already said, considering the altogether tentative way in which we are inevitably dealing with this obscure subject, it is as well to express definitely every hypothesis which an impartial consideration of the facts suggests. It is that there is something in the actual building itself—some subtle physical influence—which produces in the brain that effect which, in its turn, becomes the cause of a hallucination. It is certainly difficult on this hypothesis alone to suppose that the hallucinations of different people would be similar, but we might account for this by a combination of this hypothesis and the last. The idea is suggested by the case of which I have given an abstract, where the haunting continued through more than one occupancy, but changed its character; and if there be any truth in the theory, I should expect in time to obtain a good deal more evidence of this kind, combined with evidence that the same persons do not as a rule encounter ghosts elsewhere. I should also expect evidence to be forthcoming supporting the popular idea that repairs and alterations of the building sometimes cause the haunting to cease.*

As I have said, the evidence before us is quite inadequate to enable us to decide among these theories, or even to say that any one of them is strongly supported by it. The only thing to be done, therefore, is to obtain more evidence, both for the occurrence of the phenomena

* In an earlier part of this paper, I mentioned cases of haunted houses where the apparitions are various, and might therefore all of them be merely subjective hallucinations, sometimes, perhaps, caused by expectancy. It is, of course, also possible to explain these cases by the hypothesis we are now discussing. Another class of cases is, perhaps, worth mentioning in this connection. We have in the collection two cases of what was believed by the narrators to be a quite peculiar feeling of discomfort, in houses where concealed, and long since decomposed bodies were subsequently found. Such feelings are seldom clearly defined enough to have much evidential value, for others, at any rate, than the percipient; even though mentioned beforehand, and definitely connected with the place where the skeleton was. But if there be really any connection between the skeleton and the feeling, it may possibly be a subtle physical influence such as I am suggesting.

in question, and about the houses where they occur, their former inhabitants and history. The investigation is likely to be a long and laborious one, for the difficulties of tracing back such unrecorded history are often very great, and sometimes insuperable; and even if we could learn all the facts bearing on the question in any particular case, we should still very likely find it difficult to draw the right conclusion, owing to the rare and irregular appearances of most ghosts, and the consequent difficulty of determining definitely the times at which haunting begins or ends. Nevertheless, without such investigation we cannot hope to learn the true explanation of the phenomena; and the evidence already collected seems to warrant us in thinking that it is worth undertaking, and not likely to be fruitless. In the meanwhile, it is to be hoped that all who take an intelligent interest in the subject, and have the good fortune to live in haunted houses themselves, and to see ghosts, will help in the search for the truth, by finding out all they can, both about their own experiences and those of others, and about the history of the houses they live in.

And I should like to say here that it would be a great pity if any one thought that hallucinations, when not veridical, were indications of anything seriously amiss with the brain. This is entirely unsupported by the evidence collected by the Society. Hallucinations are, no doubt, sometimes symptoms of disturbance produced by overwork or other causes, but so are headaches, and no one is either ashamed of a headache, or particularly alarmed by it. Moreover, if the theory that the ghosts of haunted houses have their origin in unveridical hallucinations be true, one thing that would follow would be that seeing such things is not necessarily a sign of bad health. For we know that among our witnesses to such phenomena we have persons not only remarkably sensible and practical, but remarkably strong and healthy.

If we now attempt to sum up the evidence afforded by the Society's collection, for phantasms of the dead,* it seems to stand as follows:—

Firstly.—There are a large number of instances recorded of appearances of the dead shortly after their death, but generally there is nothing by which we can distinguish these from simple subjective hallucinations. In a few cases, however, information conveyed seems to afford the required test, but these are at present too few, I think, for us to feel sure that the coincidence may not have been due to chance.

Secondly.—There are cases of single appearances at an interval of months or years after death, but at present none which we have adequate grounds for attributing to the agency of the dead.

* I must again remind my readers that I am not dealing with the evidence for communications at the time of death, which is, in my opinion, very strong. By "phantasms of the dead," I mean communications at least twelve hours after death.

Thirdly.—There are numerous cases of seemingly similar apparitions seen in particular houses, without apparently any possibility of the similarity being the result of suggestion or expectation; but the evidence connecting such haunting with any definite dead person is, on the whole, very small; and the evidence for the operation of any intelligent agency in the haunting, at present absolutely nil; and until we can discover more about the laws that seem to govern such haunting, we are hardly justified in forming any theory as to its cause, except as a provisional hypothesis.

As regards present conclusions, the result of the investigation will, I fear, appear to many very unsatisfactory. But I do not myself think that we ought to expect so quickly to come to a conclusion; and my examination of the evidence has at any rate convinced me that the inquiry, though likely, as I have said, to be long and difficult, is worth pursuing with patience and energy.

Note.—On the very eve of going to press, Mr. Gurney has received the following letter from Mr. Webley, the "Mr. W." of case 477, p. 93:—

84, Wenman-street, Birminghan,
May 18th, 1885.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter, I shall be happy to give you the information asked for. My wife died on 2nd February, 1884, about 5.30 a.m. The last hours of her life were spent in singing. I may say notes came from her within ten minutes of her decease; and beautiful as her voice was, it never appeared so exquisitely beautiful as this.

Yours sincerely,
Henry Webley.

HALLUCINATIONS.

By Edmund Gurney.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ARGUMENT.

Hallucinations of the senses are first distinguished from other hallucinations, by the fact that they do not necessarily imply any false belief.

A definition of them is then given which serves to mark them off on the one hand from true perceptions, and on the other hand from remembered images or mental pictures.

The old method of distinguishing the *ideational* and the *sensory* elements in hallucinations of the senses is criticised; and it is shown that the delusive appearances are not merely *imagined*, but are actually *seen* and *heard*—the hallucination differing from an ordinary percept only in the fact of lacking an objective basis.

The controversy as to the physiological starting-point of the phenomena is briefly sketched; and it is shown that the *creation* of sensory hallucinations, which is central and the work of the brain, is quite distinct from the *excitation* or *initiation* of them, which may be *peripheral* and due to some other part of the body that sets the brain to work.

This excitation may even be due to some objective external cause, as is shown by the fact that the view of an imaginary object may sometimes be affected, in just the same way as the view of a real one would be, by a prism or a mirror. The imaginary object becomes (so to speak) attached to some *point de repère*—some visible point or mark, at or near the place where it is seen—and is thus made to follow the course of any optical illusions to which the said point or mark is subjected. But this dependence on an external stimulus does not affect the fact that the actual sensory element in the hallucination is in these, as in all other cases, created and imposed by the brain.

There are, however, a large number of hallucinations which we must suppose to be *centrally initiated*, as well as *centrally created*. Cases are considered where the hypothesis that the hallucination depends on an external stimulus, if possible, is yet very doubtful; for instance, where the imaginary object is seen in free space; or where it appears to move independently of the eye. But there are many other cases where the said hypothesis is plainly excluded; and where the excitation or initiation, if it does not take place in the brain, can only be

due to some morbid disturbance in the sense-organs themselves. A variety of instances are adduced where the assumption of such a morbid disturbance would be gratuitous or impossible; as, especially, in auditory hallucinations; in hallucinations which conform to the course of some more general delusion; in hallucinations which are voluntarily originated; and in the so-called "psychic" hallucinations, of which a new explanation is offered. A further argument for the central initiation is drawn from the fact that *repose* of the sense-organs seems a condition favourable to hallucinations.

This discussion as to the *excitation* of hallucinations is followed by a discussion as to their *creation*—the cerebral process which is involved in their having this or that particular (and often elaborate) form. Where in the brain does this process take place?—in the particular sensory centre concerned? or in some higher tract? Reasons are given for considering that *both* places of creation are available; that the simpler sorts of hallucination, which are often also recurrent, may take shape at the sensory centres themselves; but that the more elaborate and variable sorts must be traced to the higher origin; and that when the higher tracts are first concerned, the production of the hallucination is due to a downward escape of current to the sensory centre.

Finally, an argument for the higher origin is drawn from the special class of *veridical hallucinations*; the nature of which often leads us to conclude that those tracts of the percipient's brain which are the physical seat of *ideas and memories* were the first to be abnormally affected.

1. *Definition.*

Is it possible to treat hallucinations as a single class of phenomena, marked out by definite characteristics? The popular answer would no doubt be Yes—that the distinguishing characteristic is some sort of false belief. But this is an error: in many of the best known cases of hallucination—that of Nicolai for instance—the percipient has held, with respect to the figures that he saw or the voices that he heard, not a false but a true belief, to wit, that they did not correspond to any external reality. The only sort of hallucination which is necessarily characterised by false belief is the purely non-sensory sort—as where a person has a fixed idea that everyone is plotting against him, or that he is being secretly mesmerised from a distance. Of hallucinations of the *senses*, belief in their reality, though a frequent, is by no means an essential feature; a *tendency* to deceive is all that we can safely predicate of them.

If we seek for some further quality which shall be distinctive of both sensory and non-sensory hallucinations, the most hopeful sugges-

tion would seem to be that both sorts are *idiosyncratic and unshared.* However false a belief may be, we do not call it a hallucination if it has "been in the air," and has arisen in a natural way in a plurality of minds. This is just what an *idée fixe* of the kind above-mentioned never does: A may imagine that the world is plotting against him; but B, if he spontaneously evolves a similar notion, will imagine that the world is plotting not against A, but against himself. Instances, however, are not wanting where the *idée fixe* of an insane person has gradually infected an associate;* and as contact between mind and mind is, after all, the "natural way" of spreading ideas, we can make no scientific distinction between these cases and those where, *e.g.*, the leader of a sect has instilled delusive notions into a number of (technically) sane followers. But again, hallucinations of the *senses* are also occasionally shared by several persons. Most of the alleged instances of this phenomenon are, no doubt, merely cases of *collective illusion*—an agreement in the misinterpretation of sensory signs produced by a real external object; but, as the result of wide inquiries, I have encountered several instances of genuine and spontaneous *collective hallucination.* If, then, sensory and non-sensory hallucinations agree in being as a rule unshared, they agree also in presenting marked exceptions to the rule; which exceptions, in the sensory species, are of a peculiarly inexplicable kind. The conclusion does not seem favourable to our chance of obtaining a neat general definition which will embrace the two species; and, in abandoning the search for one, I can only point, with envy, to the convenient way in which French writers are enabled not to combine but to keep them apart, by appropriating to the non-sensory class the words *délire* and *conception délirante.*

Let us then try to fix the character of *hallucinations of the senses* independently. The most comprehensive view is that *all* our instinctive judgments of visual, auditory, and tactile phenomena are hallucinations, inasmuch as what is really nothing more than an affection of ourselves is instantly interpreted by us as an external object. In immediate perception, what we thus objectify is present sensation; in mental pictures, what we objectify is remembered or represented sensation. This is the view which has been worked out very ingeniously, and for psychological purposes very effectively, by M. Taine;† but it is better adapted to a general theory of sensation than to a theory of hallucinations as such. To adopt it here

* See Dr. G. H. Savage's Note on the "Contagiousness of Delusions," in the *Journal of Mental Science*, January, 1881, p. 563; and the paper on "Folie à Deux," by Dr. Marandon de Montyel, in the *Ann. Médico-Psych.*, 6th series, Vol. V., p. 28.

† *De l'Intelligence*, Vol. I., p. 408, &c.

would drive us to describe the diseased Nicolai—when he saw phantoms in the room, but had his mind specially directed to the fact that they were internally caused—as *less* hallucinated than a healthy person in the unreflective exercise of normal vision. I prefer to keep to the ordinary language which would describe Nicolai's phantoms as the real specific case of hallucination. And I should consider their distinctive characteristic to be something quite apart from the question whether or not they were actually mistaken for real figures—namely, their marked resemblance to real figures, and the consequent necessity for the exercise of memory and reflection to prevent so mistaking them. The definition of a sensory hallucination would thus be *a percept which lacks, but which can only by distinct reflection be recognised as lacking, the objective basis which it suggests*—where *objective basis* is to be taken as a short way of naming the possibility of being shared by all persons with normal senses.* It may be objected that this definition would include illusions. The objection could be obviated at the cost of a little clumsiness; but it seems sufficient to observe that illusions are merely the sprinkling of fragments of genuine hallucination on a background of true perception. And the definition seems otherwise satisfactory. For while it clearly separates hallucinations from *true perceptions*, it equally clearly separates them from the phenomena with which they have been perpetually identified—the remembered images or *mental pictures* which are not perceptions at all.† It serves, for instance, to distinguish, on the lines of common sense and common language, between the images of "day-dreams" and those of night-dreams. In both cases vivid images arise, to which no objective reality corresponds; and

* I have indeed referred above to *collective* hallucinations; but they may fairly be excluded here, not merely because they are very exceptional, but because it is a nice question for Idealism to determine how far, or in what sense, they lack an objective basis. To put an extreme case: suppose all the seeing world, save one individual, had a visual percept, the object of which nevertheless eluded all physical tests. Would the solitary individual be justified in saying that all the others were victims of a subjective delusion? And if he said so would they agree with him?

† M. Taine's definition and mode of treatment become unsatisfactory here. Regarding perceptions as in essence hallucinations, he naturally regards mental images—since they are the shadowy representatives of former perceptions—as hallucinations *of an embryonic sort.* This metaphor commits him to showing how the embryo may develop into the full product—which will happen if the mental image be then and there externalised, as is often the case in delirium. The result of this transformation is inevitably a *false* hallucination; and a special connection is thus suggested between mental images and one particular sort of percept, namely the *incorrect* sort. But in ordinary experience, mental images are of course far more closely and constantly connected with *correct* percepts, M. Taine's *true* hallucinations, whose relics and representatives they are, than with *false* hallucinations, into which not one in a million of them is ever transformed.

in neither case is any distinct process of reflection applied to the discovery of this fact. But the self-evoked waking-vision is excluded from the class of hallucinations, as above defined, by the point that its lack of objective basis can be and is recognised *without* any such process of reflection. We have not, like Nicolai, to consider and remember, before we can decide that the friends whose faces we picture are not really in the room. We *feel* that our mind is active and not merely receptive—that it is the mind's eye and not the bodily sense which is at work; without attending to this fact, we have it as part of our whole conscious state. Dreams on the other hand are, as a rule, pure cases of hallucination, forcing themselves on us whether we will or no, and with an impression of objective reality which is uncontradicted by any knowledge, reflective or instinctive, that they are the creatures of our brain.

But, though our definition may be sufficient for mere purposes of classification, it takes us but a very little way towards understanding the real nature of the phenomena. It says nothing of their origin and, though it distinguishes them from mere normal acts of imagination or memory, it leaves quite undetermined the faculty or faculties actually concerned in them. And when we pass on to these further points, we find ourselves in a most perplexed field, where doctors seem to be as much at variance as philosophers. The debate, most ardently carried on in France, has produced a multitude of views; but not one of the rival theorists seems ever to have convinced any of the others. Still progress has been made, to this extent at any rate, that it is now comparatively easy to see where the disputed points lie, and to attack them with precision.

2. *The Dual Nature of Hallucinations.*

It was, of course, evident from the first that there was a certain duality of nature in hallucinations. In popular language, the *mind* and the *sense* were both plainly involved: the hallucinated person not only *imagined* such and such a thing, but imagined that he *saw* such and such a thing. But in the early days of the controversy, the attempts at analysing the *ideational* and the *sensory* elements were of a very crude sort. The state of hallucination used to be treated as one in which ideas and memories—while remaining ideas and memories and not sensations—owing to exceptional vividness took on the character of sensations. It was not clearly realised or remembered that sensations have no existence except as *mental* facts; and that, so far as a mental fact takes on the character of a sensation, it *is* a sensation. This was clearly stated, as a matter of personal experience, by Burdach and Müller; in the French discussions, the merit of bringing out the

point with new force and emphasis belongs to Baillarger.* He showed that when the hallucinated person says "I see so and so," "I hear so and so," the words are literally true. If the person goes on to say "*You* ought also to see or hear it," he is of course wrong; but when he says that *he* sees or hears it, his statement is to be taken without reserve. To *him*, the experience is not something like or related to the experience of perceiving a real external object: it is *identical* with that experience. To the psychology of our day this may seem a tolerably evident truth. Still it is easy to realise the difficulty that was long felt in admitting that any experience that was dissociated from the normal functions of the sense-organs could be completely sensory in character. Popular thought fails to see that the physical question which for practical purposes is all-important—whether the object is or is not really there—is psychically irrelevant; and a man who has been staring at the sun will, as a rule, think it less accurate to say that he *sees* a luminous disc wherever he looks than to say that he *fancies* it. The best corrective to such a prejudice is Delbœuf's experiment, which it will be convenient briefly to set forth, for the sake of subsequent reference.

Two small slits are made in a shutter, and one of them is filled with a piece of red glass. The opposite wall is therefore lit by a mixture of white and red light. A stick is now placed across the red slit; its shadow is of course cast on the wall; the part of the wall occupied by the shadow, though illuminated only by *white* rays from the other slit, appears—owing to the optical law of contrast—a bright green. † Let this shadow now be looked at through a narrow tube,

* In the long and rather barren debates which took place in the Société Médico-psychologique during 1855 and 1856, Baillarger, no doubt, insisted too strongly on an absolute gulf between percepts (true or false) and the ordinary images of fancy or memory. But his opponents made a far more serious mistake in so far identifying the two as not to perceive a difference of *kind*, at the point where the sensory element in the mental fact reaches such abnormal strength as to suggest the real presence of the object. Griesinger's statement (*Ment. Path. and Ther.*, p. 89) and Wundt's (*Phys. Psych.*, Vol. II., p. 353) seem too unguarded in the same respect. As long ago as 1832, the late Dr. Symonds, of Bristol, drew exactly the right distinction between images and hallucinations. (Lecture reprinted in *Miscellanies*, p. 241).

† Wundt (*Phys. Psych.*, Vol. I., p. 463) has described some experiments, on the analogy of which it seems to me that this first result should be explained. I at any rate cannot concur with Delbœuf's explanation of it, which M. Binet adopts. According to them, it is due to two things: to the fact that the rays which pass from the shadow to the spectator's eye are really grey; and to the spectator's knowledge of the further fact that the only colour which, seen through red light, looks grey, is green. They hold then that the sensation, though of grey, excites through association an image of green. To this there seem to be three objections. (1) Not one person in 20 possesses the supposed

which prevents any part of the wall external to the shadow from being seen. Nothing red is now in the spectator's view, so that there can be no effect of contrast: the red glass may even be removed; none but white rays are passing to his eye from the shadow; yet its colour remains green. And in this case the chances are that, unless previously warned, he will tell the exact truth; he will admit, and even persist, that what he sees is green. He will scout the idea that the green is a mere memory of what he saw before he applied the tube; he will assert that it is presented to him as an immediate fact. And such is assuredly the state of the case; but it is a state which, from the moment that he has put the tube to his eye, is kept up purely as a hallucination, and without regard to the facts of the external world. The delusion is of course instantly dispelled by the removal of the tube—when he perceives that the only light in the room is white, and that the shadow is grey; but for all that he will probably never doubt again that a genuine hallucination of the senses is something more than "mere fancy."

It is impossible to be too particular on this point: for high authorities, even in the present day, are found to contest it. When a person who habitually speaks the truth, and who is not colour-blind, looks at an object and says "My sensation is green," they contradict him, and tell him that however much he *sees* green, his sensation is *grey*. Whether this be a mere misuse of language, or (as it seems to me) a misconception of facts, it at any rate renders impossible any agreement as to the theory of hallucinations. For it ignores the very point of Baillarger's contention—that images sufficiently vivid to be confounded with sensory percepts *have become* sensory percepts.

When once the truth of this contention is perceived, it is also perceived that the previous speculations had been largely directed to a wrong issue; and that the *dual* character of a false perception is after all, no other than that of a true perception. A hallucination, like an ordinary percept, is composed of present sensations, and of images which are the relics of past sensations. If I see the figure of a man, then—alike if there be a man there and if there be no man there—my

piece of knowledge. (2) Even for one who does possess it, the moments in his life during which he has had experience of the fact that green seen through red light looks grey, are surely not sufficiently striking or numerous to have established an instinctive and inseparable association between the sensation of grey, occurring in a place where red light prevails, and the idea of green. (3) Even if this inseparable association could be conceived possible, one fails to see why the result should be the transformation, in the spectator's consciousness, of the *idea* green into (what at any rate seems to him to be) the *sensation* green; that being the very sensation which, in the supposed moments of experience, has been conspicuous by its absence. On Delbœuf's theory, the lawn seen through red glass ought not only to excite the idea of green (which it perhaps may do), but to *look* green.

experience consists of certain visual sensations, compounded with a variety of muscular and tactile images, which represent to me properties of resistance, weight, and distance; and also with more remote and complex images, which enable me to refer the object to the class *man*, and to compare this specimen of the class with others whose appearance I can recall. If Baillarger did not carry out his view of hallucinations to this length, the whole development exists by implication in the term by which he described them—*psycho-sensorial.* The particular word was, perhaps, an unfortunate one; since it suggests (as M. Binet has pointed out) that the psychical element is related to the sensorial somewhat as the soul to the body; and so, either that psychical events are independent of physical conditions, or that sensations are not psychical events. *Ideo-sensational* would avoid this difficulty; but the obverse term which M. Binet proposes—*cerebro-sensorial*—is on the whole to be preferred. For this brings us at once to the *physical* ground where alone the next part of the inquiry can be profitably pursued—the inquiry into *origin.* From the standpoint of to-day, one readily perceives how much more definite and tangible the problems were certain to become, as soon as they were translated into physiological terms. So far as the controversy had been conducted on a purely psychological basis, it had been singularly barren. In the vague unlocalised use, "the senses" and other ever-recurring terms become sources of dread to the reader. But as soon as it is asked, where is the local seat of the abnormal occurrence? and on what particular physical conditions does it depend? lines of experiment and observation at once suggest themselves, and the phenomena fall into distinct groups.

3. *The question of Central or Peripheral Origin: the difference between Creation and Excitation.*

In its first form, the question is one between *central* and *peripheral* origin. Do hallucinations originate in the brain—in the central mechanism of perception? or in some immediate condition of the eye, or of the ear, or of other parts? or is there possibly some joint mode of origin?

For a long time the hypothesis of an exclusively central origin was much in the ascendant. But this was greatly because—as already noted—Esquirol and the older writers did not recognise the sensory element as truly and literally sensation, but regarded the whole experience as simply a very vivid idea or memory. If the central origin is to be established it must be by something better than arbitrary psychological distinctions. Hibbert and Ferriar, going to the other extreme, contended that the memory was a *retinal* one; if a man *sees* what is not there, they held, it can only be by a direct recrudescence of

past feeling in his retina. "But," urged Esquirol, "the *blind* can have hallucinations of vision; the *deaf* can have hallucinations of hearing; how can these originate in the peripheral organs?" The obvious answer, that this did not necessarily thrust the point of origin back as far as the cerebrum, does not seem to have been forthcoming; and the opposite party preferred to fall back on definite experiment. They pointed out, for instance, that visual hallucinations often vanish when the eyes are closed; or (as Brewster first observed) that they may be doubled by pressing one eyeball. But though there was enough here to suggest that the external organs *participated* in the process, there was no proof that they *originated* it, even in these particular cases; while for other cases the observations did not hold. An immense advance was made by Baillarger, who maintained the central origin by really scientific arguments. He pointed out (1) that the external organ may often be affected by local irritants — inflammation, blows, pressure, galvanism—without the production of any more pronounced form of hallucination than flashes, or hummings; that is to say, the peripheral stimulation fails to develop hallucination, even under the most favourable conditions: (2) that there is a frequent correspondence of hallucinations of different senses—a man who sees the devil also hears his voice, and smells sulphur—and that it is impossible to refer this correspondence to abnormalities of the eye, ear, and nose, occurring by accident at the same moment: (3) that hallucinations often refer to dominant ideas—a religious monomaniac will see imaginary saints and angels, not imaginary trees and houses. Hence, argued Baillarger, "the point of departure of hallucinations" is always "the intelligence"—the imagination and memory—which sets the sensory machinery in motion. He naïvely admitted that how this action of an immaterial principle on the physical apparatus takes place passes all conception; but it might be forgiven to a medical man, writing forty years ago, if he had not fully realised "brain as an organ of mind," and so did not see that what he took for a special puzzle in the theory of hallucinations, is simply the fundamental puzzle involved in every mental act. Passing him this, we may say that his treatment of the question entitles him to the credit of the *second* great discovery about hallucinations. He had already made clear their genuinely sensory quality; he now made equally clear the fact that the mind (or its physical correlate) is their creator—that they are brain-products projected from within outwards.

This is a most important truth; but it is very far from being the whole truth. Baillarger saw no *via media* between the theory which he rejected—that the nerves of sense convey to the brain impressions which are there perceived as the phantasmal object—and the theory which he propounded, that "the intelligence" (*i.e.*, for us, the brain, as

the seat of memories and images) of its own accord, and without any impulse from the periphery, excites the sensory apparatus. It seems never to have struck him that there may be cases where the sense-organ supplies the *excitant*, though the brain is the *creator*—that irritation passing from without inwards may be a means of setting in motion the creative activity. He took into account certain states of the organ—*e.g.*, fatigue produced by previous exercise—as increasing the susceptibility to excitation from "the intelligence," and so as conditions favourable to hallucination; but he got no further.

The facts of hallucination absolutely refuse to lend themselves to this indiscriminate treatment. Following the path of experiment, we are almost immediately confronted with *two* classes of phenomena, and *two* modes of excitation. We need not go, indeed, beyond the elementary instances already mentioned. Delbœuf's experiment, where green was seen by an eye on which only white rays were falling, fairly illustrates Baillarger's doctrine—the green being produced not by an outer affection of the eye, but by an inner affection of the brain. But in the case of a person who has been staring at the sun, the "after image" or hallucination can be clearly traced to a continuing local effect in that small area of the retina which has just been abnormally excited; and it will continue to present itself wherever the eye may turn, until rest has restored this area to its normal condition. A still simpler form of change in the external organ is a blow on the eye; and the resulting "sparks" are genuine though embryonic hallucinations.

Such cases as these last are, however, hardly typical; for in them the brain is not truly creative; it merely gives the inevitable response to the stimuli that reach it from below. They are moreover *normal* experiences, in the sense that they would occur similarly to all persons with normal eyes. Let us then take another instance, where the mind's creative *rôle* is fully apparent, while at the same time the primary excitation is clearly not central. Certain hallucinations—as is well known—are *uniliteral*, *i.e.*, are perceived when (say) the right eye or ear is acting, but cease when that action is obstructed, though the left eye or ear is still free. Now this is in itself could not be taken, as some take it,* for a proof that the exciting cause was not central; it might be a lesion affecting one side of the brain. But very commonly, in these cases, a distinct lesion is found in the particular eye or ear on whose activity the hallucination depends; † and it is then natural to conclude that the hallucination was the result of the lesion, and that the one-

*Dr. Régis in *L'Encéphale*, 1881, p. 51; Prof. Ball in *L'Encéphale*, 882, p. 5.

† Dr. Régis in *L'Encéphale*, 1881, p. 46; M. Voisin in the *Bulletin de Thérapeutique*. Vol. XXXIX.; Dr. Despine, *Psychologie Naturelle*, Vol. II., p. 29; Krafft-Ebing, *Die Sinnesdelirien*, p. 25.

sidedness of the one depended on the one-sidedness of the other. The justice of the conclusion has been proved in many cases by the fact that the hallucination has ceased when the local lesion has been cured. Other cases which strongly suggest a morbid condition of the external organ are those where the imaginary figure moves in accordance with the movements of the eye. The visual hallucinations of the blind, and the auditory hallucinations of the deaf, would also naturally be referred to the same class—the seat of excitation being then, not necessarily the external organ itself, but some point on the nervous path from the organ to the brain. In the case, for instance, of a partly-atrophied nerve, the morbid excitation would be at the most external point where vital function continued.* It should be noted, in passing, that a distinct lesion, *e.g.*, atrophy of the globe of *one* eye, may give rise to *bilateral* hallucinations (*Vienna Asylum Report*, 1858), or to unilateral hallucinations of the *sound* eye—the latter being no doubt affected directly by the brain.

4. *External Excitation of Hallucinations.*

But we may now proceed a step further. The excitation may be external not only in the sense of coming from the external organ, but in the sense of coming from the external world. It may be due not to any abnormality of the eye or the nerve, but to the ordinary stimulus of light-rays from real objects. M. Binet is the first who has given the complete evidence for this fact, accompanied by a scientific explanation of it;† and in so doing, he has made a contribution to the learning of the subject second in importance only to that of Baillarger.

M. Binet's experiments were conducted on five hypnotised girls at the Salpétrière, who could be made to see anything that was suggested to them; and also on an insane woman at St. Anne, who had a standing visual hallucination of her own. The experiments may be divided into two sets—those conducted with, and those conducted without, special optical apparatus. The results of both sets confirmed the rule first enunciated by M. Féré—that "the imaginary object is perceived

* Delusions due to visceral disturbances are often quoted as cases of hallucination excited from parts below the brain. Thus a woman dying of peritonitis declares that an ecclesiastical conclave is being held inside her (Esquirol, *Maladies Mentales*, Vol. I., p. 211). But here there is a prior and independent basis of distinct sensation; so that the experience would at most be an illusion. And it is hardly even that; for one cannot say that the false object is sensorially presented at all; no one knows what a conclave in such a locality would actually feel like; the conclave is merely a *délire*—an imagination suggested by sensation, but which does not itself take a sensory form.

† In the *Revue Philosophique*, April and May, 1884.

under the same conditions as a real one"; but to this M. Binet adds the further conclusion, that a sensation derived from a *real* external source occupying the same position in space as the imaginary object seemed to occupy, was an indispensable factor of the hallucination. The results obtained without special apparatus do not appear to me at all to justify this conclusion. They were (1) suppression of the imaginary object by closure of the eyes; (2) suppression of the imaginary object by the interposition of an opaque screen between the eye and the place where the object seemed to be; (3) doubling of the imaginary object by lateral pressure of one eyeball. M. Binet argues that the suppression in the first two cases, and the doubling in the third, depended on the suppression and the doubling of a real sensation, physically induced by rays from the direction in which the object was seen. But the fact that external objects are hidden from view by the interposition of our own eyelids or any other opaque obstacle, has become to us a piece of absolutely instinctive knowledge; and we should surely expect that an object which was but the spontaneous projection of a morbid brain, might still be suppressed by movements and sensations which had for a lifetime been intimately associated with the suppression of objects. And as regards the doubling by pressure of the eyeball, it can be perfectly explained on Baillarger's principles—by supposing that an excitation which has been centrally initiated spreads outwards to the peripheral expansion of the optic nerve.

When, however, we turn to the other group of experiments, the case is very different. The instruments used were a prism, a spy-glass, and a mirror. It would occupy too much space to describe the results in detail. It is enough to say that the prism applied to one eye doubled the imaginary object;* that the spy-glass removed or approximated it according as the object-glass or eye-piece was applied to the patient's eye; that the mirror reflected the object and gave a symmetrical image of it; and that the optical effect, as regards angles of deviation and reflexion and all the details of the illusion, was in every case precisely what it would have been had the object been real instead of imaginary. Here then we are fairly driven outside the patient's own organism; it seems impossible to deny that some point of external space at or near the seat of the imagined object plays a real part in the phenomenon.† To this point M. Binet gives the name of

* The observation was first made by M. Féré; see *Le Progrès Medical*, 1881, p. 1040.

† One reservation must be made. It is just conceivable that the changes wrought on the imaginary percept were due, not to the optical instruments, but to *thought-transference*. For M. Binet and his assistants of course knew themselves, in each case, the particular optical effect to be expected. An experimenter who has not expressly recognised the reality or the possibility of thought-

point de repère; and he regards it as producing a nucleus of sensation to which the hallucination accretes itself. When the *point de repère* is in such a position as to be reflected by the mirror, then the imaginary object is reflected, and not otherwise; the object is, so to speak, attached to its *point de repère*, and will follow the course of any optical illusions to which its sensory nucleus is subjected. According to this view, the only truly sensory part of the phenomenon is supplied by the *point de repère*; all the rest is a "hypertrophied image" imposed on it by the mind.

These conclusions are entirely foreign to any former theory of hallucination. None of the contending parties, not even the early champions of a purely peripheral origin, had ever dreamt of excitants outside the eye itself. Oddly enough, M. Binet seems hardly aware of his own originality. He remarks that the general view now is that hallucinations are always the product of real sensation; and he divides them into two classes,—those where the sensation is initiated in the sensory organ by an external object ("*hallucinations à cause objective*"); and those where it is initiated by a morbid local irritation of the sensory organ itself ("*hallucinations à cause subjective*"). As practically the inventor of the former class, M. Binet is really the first person who has had a right to this "general view." But his modesty connects itself with a serious historical error. For he still retains Baillarger's term—*psycho-sensorial*—and actually refers to Baillarger as having meant the same by that term as he himself does. With Baillarger—as we have seen—the "sensorial" element was imposed or evoked *by* "the intelligence," not supplied *to* it; and was not an unnoticed peg for the hallucination, but its very fulness and substance. Baillarger explicitly lays down, as one of the prime conditions for hallucination, a "suspension of external impressions"; and gives as the definition of a psycho-sensorial hallucination "a sensory perception independent of all external excitation of the sense organs," including excitation morbidly initiated in the organs themselves.* The opposition is really complete. Of all the optical illusions described by M. Binet, the only one which Baillarger's doctrine would explain is the doubling of the

transference would never think of so arranging his experiment that he himself should not know, till after the result, which instrument was in use or what was its position; nor indeed is it easy to imagine how such a condition could in practice be carried out. The point seems worth suggesting, as it would be most interesting if a state of hallucination turned out to be one in which the "subject" is specially susceptible to "transferred impressions."

* Baillarger, *Des Hallucinations*, pp. 426, 469, and 470. A similar misreading of Baillarger, contained in a single sentence, is the one point from which I dissent in the extremely clear and concise chapter on the subject in Mr. Sully's *Illusions*.

object by pressure on the side of the eyeball; for this alone could be accounted for by supposing the retina to be excited from the brain. The novelty of M. Binet's own results is that they force us to regard the external impression as not only present but indispensable, at any rate at the moment when the optical instruments produce their characteristic effects.

But while admiring the manner in which M. Binet has marshalled his facts, and recognising that they have led him to a most interesting discovery, I cannot accept his conclusions beyond a certain point. He applies conceptions drawn from his special department of observation to the whole field, and considers that hallucinations are exhausted by the two classes just defined—*i.e.*, that there is no such thing as central initiation. Now even for the cases "*à cause objective*," to which the novel experimental results belong, it is important to observe that though the excitation comes from outside, the *hallucination*—the object as actually perceived—is still (as Baillarger taught) a pure product of the mind. Everything about it, including its false air of reality, is brain-created; and the occasioning or evoking cause has no place in it. But if this be so—and M. Binet himself has practically admitted it—we cannot consent to call the external excitation of the organ *sensation*. M. Binet so treats it throughout—as a sensation atrophied, indeed, and clothed upon with hypertrophical and delusive images; but still as sensation—as a psychical element in the result. Now in considering Delbœuf's experiment above, we objected to the notion that the spectator had a *sensation* of grey which he clothed with an *image* of green. The physical rays that met his eye were such as normally produce the sensation of grey; that is the only way in which the word *grey* can be brought into the account; psychically, no colour but green was present. Just the same objection applies to saying of the hypnotic "subject" that he is receiving from part of the table-cloth a "sensation" of white, which he clothes with an image of a brown butterfly; or of the patient in *delirium tremens*, that he is receiving from the wall-paper "sensations" of drab which he clothes with images of black mice. In neither case is there a "perturbation of sensorial functions" in M. Binet's sense. The sensorial elements, the brown and the black, spring from a new activity within; they are not the outcome of functions exercised on the table-cloth or the wall-paper—not a perverted transcript of white and drab.

Holding fast to this view, we can still perfectly well explain M. Binet's results, even in the hypnotic cases on which he chiefly relies. If the *point de repère* is not at, but close to the spot where the imaginary object appears (as seems to have been the case in some of the experiments), there is no difficulty. The *point de repère* is then itself part of what is all along perceived;

and in any effects produced on it by optical apparatus, it will carry the neighbouring object with it by *association*. If, however, the actual area covered by the object is sufficiently distinguished from its surroundings to act itself as *point de repère*, and no other possible *points de repère* exist in the field of vision,* the case is different, but can still be explained. It will not be disputed that a slightly longer time is necessary for the formation of the image of a suggested object and the conversion of this image into a percept, than for the experience of sensation from an object actually before the eyes. When therefore the operator points to a particular place on the white table-cloth, and says "There is a brown butterfly," we may suppose that in the patient's consciousness a real sensation of white precedes by an instant the imposed sensation of brown. So when the cardboard on which a non-existent portrait has just been seen is again brought before the patient's eyes, it is almost certain that the recognition of it as the same piece of white cardboard (known by its *points de repère*) precedes by an instant the hallucinatory process and the re-imposition of the portrait. That there is this instant of true sensation seems to be shown, indeed, by one of M. Binet's own experiments. The patient having been made to see an imaginary portrait on a blank piece of cardboard, this was suddenly covered by a sheet of paper. The patient said that the portrait *disappeared for a moment*, but then reappeared on the paper with complete distinctness. We may thus fairly conclude that an area which was actually seen before the hallucination was induced in the first instance, will also be actually seen for a moment when vision is redirected to it (or its reflexion), after the prism or spy-glass has been brought into play. During that moment, it will of course be seen under the new illusive optical conditions; and *association* may again cause the object which supplants it to follow suit. There can be no objection, however, to supposing that the supplanted area continues further to *provoke* the hallucination, in the same sense that the white rays provoked the green percept in Delbœuf's experiment. The rays which are lost to sensation continue to excite the sensorium physically; and what M. Binet says of the sensation only needs to be transferred to the *physical excitation*—which will have definite peculiarities, corresponding to the distinguishing marks of the area whence it comes. Double this excitation by a prism, or reflect it from another quarter, and the percept which it

* I cannot quite make out whether these conditions were ever exactly realised. In the case where an imaginary portrait had been evoked on a piece of cardboard, and this piece was subsequently picked out by the patient from among a number of similar ones, I gather that there was some recognisable mark external to the area of the portrait. It is said that lateral pressure doubled the image, even when the eyes were "fixed on the uniform surface of the wall." But this particular optical effect, as we have already noticed, does not imply the presence of *points de repère* at all.

provokes may naturally be doubled or seen in the new direction. So, if both eyes were employed in Delbœuf's experiment, might the green percept be artificially doubled.

I am aware that this substitution of the physical for the psychical term may appear very unimportant and even pedantic; but in truth it is not so. For it is really his psychical expression of the external stimulus in these cases that has led M. Binet to regard hallucinations as simply a monstrous form of *illusion*, and to enunciate a general formula for them which—for all its attractive and original air—seems radically unsound. He considers them *the pathological—as opposed to the normal—form of external perception.* As in normal perception, we have a visual sensation which we associate with *true* images, so, he holds, in hallucinations we have a visual sensation which we associate with *false* images. The looseness of this analogy is surely obvious, and the apparent symmetry of the two cases quite unreal. In normal vision, the true images which (according to M. Binet's own account) we primarily associate with the visual sensation, are not *visual*, but *muscular* and *tactile* images, whereby we attach the ideas of weight, solidity, and distance to what we see. The process through which we get the perception of a real external object is thus primarily an association between psychical elements belonging to *different senses*—a visual sensation, which the brain receives, and non-visual images, which the brain supplies; and if we convert the non-visual images into sensations by touching or pressing the object, we get a verification of its external reality. Now, if M. Binet's formula is to hold, and hallucinations are the pathological form of external perception, we ought to find that they are produced when for the *true* images of normal perception we substitute *false* images. Is this the case? Suppose a hypnotic patient to be impressed with the idea that a piece of white paper is a red rose: would it be a right account of his hallucination to say that he receives a visual sensation, and then associates with it false muscular and tactile images? Certainly not: what he does is to *see wrong* to begin with, to see false *form* and false *colour*—things quite distinct in character from ideas of weight, solidity and distance, and which might exist in the absence of any such ideas. It is true that when he has this visual experience, habit leads him to go on and connect it with false images of weight, solidity and distance; but that is a secondary result. Hallucination does not depend on the falsity of those images; and, indeed, the test of touching and pressing would often fail to demonstrate their falsity, owing to the frequent sympathy of several senses in hallucination. The essential fact is immediate, and consists simply in having *a visual experience which others cannot share*—in seeing what is invisible to a normal eye. This becomes clearer still, if we make the imaginary object correspond to a real object in everything

except colour. Let the patient be led to believe that a green stick of sealing-wax is a red stick; then, whatever tests be adopted, he will share with normal persons every sensation except the visual; but none the less will the process of hallucination be complete. This process, then, is no way parallel to that of normal perception. It is not, as that was, an association between psychical elements belonging to different senses; and its sensory part, the essence of which is *redness*, is not—as in the normal perception of a red object—*received* by the brain, but is *imposed* by it. By what right can processes so different be represented as co-ordinate—as the healthy and the morbid exercise of the same function?

5. *Cases where External Excitation is Doubtful.*

So far I have considered M. Binet's theory only in relation to his own cases—where it was easy to concede the *fact* of excitation from without, whatever be our view of its share in the phenomena. It remains to consider the numerous cases—the large majority of the whole body of hallucinations—where this excitation is itself doubtful, or more than doubtful. Let us take the doubtful cases first.

In the optical experiments it was, of course, convenient that the hallucination should be projected on a flat opaque surface; and on such a surface the objective *points de repère* may be easily found. But it is quite as easy to make the patient see objects in free space—say, out in the middle of the room; and such is the common form of spontaneous hallucinations, both of sane and insane persons, where human figures are seen. The eyes are then focussed, not on the real objects from which *points de repère* would have to be supplied, but on the figure itself; which may be much nearer than the wall behind it, and may thus require a very different adjustment of the eyes. And here lies a difficulty for the hypothesis that the hallucination depends on some definite external excitation of the retina. For the real objects which are the supposed excitants, though in the line of sight, are not within the range of clear vision for eyes adjusted to the imaginary object. Can the *points de repère* be supposed to excite a percept whose position is such that, for *it* to be clearly visible, they themselves must cease to be so? It is a good deal to require of them. Still, M. Binet's experiment with the insane patient is a very striking one. This woman, Celestine by name, had an imaginary attendant called Guiteau. Guiteau lent himself to scientific tests, and was doubled by a prism and reflected by a mirror in the most orthodox fashion. This undoubtedly implied *points de repère*—probably situated near, and not on, the area which Guiteau concealed. One would like, however, to know exactly how his figure was situated in relation to its background. The distance

between the two may have been inconsiderable; and in that case the fact of the doubling and the reflection would not prove the *points de repère* to have been an essential condition of the hallucination. For, when the patient is made to look attentively at the figure, as a preliminary to the optical tests, the very fixity of the gaze may then and there establish the *points de repère* which will enable those tests to succeed. It would be interesting to know whether Guiteau would be reflected when he was not being specially stared at, supposing that there was a mirror in an appropriate position.*

The supposed necessity of the external excitation might be otherwise tested thus. Suppose Celestine to be placed in a white spherical chamber, lit from a point directly above her head. Here there would be no *points de repère*—no special points of external excitation with which an imaginary object could be connected. The only excitant to the eye would be perfectly uniform white light; and this excitant would

* In the case of the hypnotic "subjects," a certain peculiarity in the fixed regard, such as might establish *points de repère*, is strongly suggested by the following fact. In some cases, after a screen had been interposed between the patient's eyes and the imaginary object, she continued to see not only that object (say, a mouse), but a *real object* (say, a hat) on which it had been placed. Thus the hat assumed the property—shared by the imaginary mouse, but unshared by any other real objects—of remaining as a percept in spite of an opaque barrier.

As regards reflexion, the following case from the Society's collection is of interest; it is from Mr. Adrian Stokes, M.R.C.S., of Sidmouth:—

"When I was living in Bedford Street North, Liverpool, in the year 1857 (I think), my wife roused me from sleep suddenly and said, 'Oh! Adrian, there's Agnes!' I started up, crying, 'Where? Where?' but, of course, there was no Agnes. My wife then told me that she had awoke, and had seen the form of her only sister, Agnes, sitting on the ottoman at the foot of the bed. On seeing this form she felt frightened; but then, recalling her courage, she thought if the figure were real she would be able to see it reflected in the mirror of the wardrobe, which she had in full view as she lay in bed. Directing her eyes, therefore, to the mirror, there she saw, by the light of the fire that was burning brightly in the grate, the full reflection of the form seated on the ottoman, looking at a bunch of keys which she appeared to hold in her hand. Under the startling effect caused by this sight, she called me to look at it, but, before I was awake, the form and its reflexion had vanished. It was not a dream, my wife is certain.

P.S.—When my wife saw her sister sitting at the foot of our bed looking at the bunch of keys, she (the sister) was clad in the ordinary indoor dress of the time. I remember the start of surprise with which I awoke and exclaimed. My wife has never, that I know of, experienced any hallucination or delirium; and is a woman of excellent sense and judgment. She never saw any other vision but that one."

Here, however, the expectant imagination of the percipient may have been adequate to conjure up the reflected figure, and the case does not therefore support M. Binet's theory.

remain identical, in whatever direction the eye turned. Consequently, if the external excitation be a necessary factor in the production of Guiteau, he ought, if seen at all, to be seen wherever Celestine looked; there would be nothing to attach him to any particular spot. It is rash to prophesy; but I strongly suspect that he would prove more amenable, and that Celestine would retain her power of turning her back on him. Such, in my view, would be the natural result: a figure spontaneously projected by the brain would be located as an independent object, and looked at or not at pleasure. It would be interesting to know, further, if Guiteau is ever seen in the dark. But it should be observed that light may favour and darkness hinder the projection of a phantasm, owing to the different effect of the one and the other on the *general* physiological state. The presence of light might thus be a necessity, quite apart from any distinguishable *points de repère.* In the same way the presence of light is occasionally found to be a condition of *auditory* hallucinations;* which even M. Binet would find it hard to compound out of a "sensation" of light and an "image" of sound.

But the difficulty of regarding external points of excitation as a necessary condition becomes even greater when the hallucination is a *moving* one. As to these cases, M. Binet can only say that the *point de repère* keeps changing; that is, as the imaginary figure passes along the side of the room, in front of a multitude of different objects—pictures, paper, furniture, &c.—the very various excitations from these several objects act in turn as the basis of the same delusive image. We may surely hesitate to accept such an assertion, till some sort of proof of it is offered; and it is hard to conceive of what nature the proof could be. The case of course differs altogether from that where the imaginary figure follows the movements of the eye, owing to some morbid affection of that organ which acts as a real moving substratum for it. Instead of the figure's following the eye, the eye is now following the figure in its seemingly independent course. What is there to produce or to guide the selection of ever-new *points de repère?* To what external cause can M. Binet ascribe the perpetual substitution of one of them for another? On my view—that the figure may be centrally initiated, no less than centrally created—none of these difficulties occur. Such a figure may

* Ball, *Leçons sur les Maladies Mentales*, p. 116. See also the very interesting case given by Professor F. Jolly in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*, Vol. VI., p. 495. His paper is on the production of auditory hallucinations by the application of an electric current in the neighbourhood of the ear. In one case, he shows good reason for attributing the hallucination, not to a stimulation of the *auditory* nerve, but to a transference to the auditory centre of the stimulus given to fibres of the *fifth* nerve. For the subjective sounds did not, as in all the other cases, correspond in a regular way to the opening and closing of the current, but appeared under all conditions in which *pain* was produced.

just as well appear in the empty centre of the room as on a piece of cardboard, and may just as well move as stand still. The same sort of argument applies to the case where the percipient is haunted by a figure which, however, can be seen only in one direction.* Thus Baillarger describes a doctor who could not turn without finding a little black cow at his side. The mind may locate its puppet according to its own vagaries; and this experience is very like a sensory embodiment of the well-known delusion that somebody is always behind one.

6. *Cases where External Excitation is Absent.*

So much, then, for M. Binet's hallucinations "*à cause objective.*" We turn now to the vast body of cases where excitation from the outer world is plainly absent. This class includes phantasms seen in the dark, and probably the vast majority of auditory hallucinations, which have so far been disregarded. To bring these under M. Binet's theory, it has to be assumed that in every case they are initiated by some morbid or abnormal condition of the eye or the ear. The assumption is, to say the least, a very violent one. We have duly noted the cases where hallucinations have been undoubtedly due to injury of the external organ; but this does not establish, or even strongly suggest, the existence of a similar condition in cases where it defies detection.† As a rule, where the

* Ball, *Leçons sur les Maladies Mentales*, p. 73; Baillarger, *Des Hallucinations*, p. 312. Another type of the *moving* hallucination is presented by Bayle's case (*Revue Médicale*, 1825, Vol. I. p. 34), where a spider used first to appear life-size, and then gradually to expand till it filled the whole room.

† The sweeping method seems as much in favour now as at the earlier stages of the controversy. As M. Binet has stated his case in a masterly way, I need not encumber the course of the argument by perpetual references to cognate statements. But there is one mode of presenting the rival views which seems so established in the recent French literature that it will be well to reproduce it here in a succinct form. Writers of authority (Prof. Ball in *L'Encéphale*, 1882, p. 6, and in *Maladies Mentales*, p. 111, &c., and Dr. Régis in his classical paper on unilateral hallucinations in *L'Encéphale*, 1881, p. 44), seem never to have conceived the theory of a purely central origin in any other light than as the "projection of an idea outwards"—a doctrine which they regard as now abandoned, and which they refer to only in its most antiquated shape. They start by treating the "mixed" or "psycho-sensorial" theory as if its point and purpose had been to assert that the *body* counts for something in hallucinations—in opposition to the former crudely "psychical" theory, which made "the imagination" act independently of any bodily affection. They then point to cases where hallucinations have plainly been due to a lesion or morbid irritation of the sensory apparatus; and they adopt this morbid condition as the bodily element or physical basis of the phenomenon—that which gives it its *mixed* character and makes it psycho-*sensorial* instead of psychical. Thence they assert, as an indispensable condition of every hallucination, that the imagination must be set to work by some "abnormal sensation" derived from some point of

abnormal condition has been made out, hallucinations have not been its only result. The ulceration of the cornea which initiates visual hallucinations has begun by affecting the vision of real objects. Illusions, or false perceptions of colour, often precede the appearance of more distinct phantasms.* So, in cases of more transient abnormality—such as the well-known *illusions hypnagogiques*—other signs precede the hallucination. The observer, whose eyes are heavy with sleep, begins by seeing luminous points and streaks, which shift and change in remarkable ways; and it is from these as nuclei that the subsequent pictures develop. Similarly one of the seers of "Faces in the Dark" (*St. James's Gazette*, February 10th, 15th, and 20th, 1882) described the frequent vision of a shower of golden spangles, which changed into a flock of sheep. Now, since our physiological knowledge leaves no doubt that the points, streaks and spangles are due to the condition of the retina, it is reasonable in such cases to regard this condition as initiating the hallucination. But it is not equally reasonable to conclude that the process must be the same for cases where the points, streaks and spangles are absent. I do not forget that even a normal eye is subject to affections which escape attention, until a special effort is made to realise them. But wherever the hallucination can be gradually traced in its development from more rudimentary sensations, these last are very distinct and exceptional things, unknown in the experience of most of us, and the vision itself is commonly of a changing kind—the features developing rapidly out of one another; often also of a swarming kind—detailed landscapes, elaborate kaleidoscopic patterns,

actual lesion. This is both confused and confusing. Hallucinations, as we have seen, are psycho-sensorial in virtue of their *nature*, not of their *origin*—because they present distinct sensory qualities—are things actually *seen* and actually *heard*—not because this or that starting-point can be assigned them. As for their physical basis, that can be nothing else than a concurrent state of morbid activity at certain cerebral centres. In some cases this activity is no doubt due to lesion at some point along the sensory track; in others, as I here contend, it may originate at the centres themselves and may be independent of any excitation previous to or other than itself. Whether right or wrong, this contention will certainly not be refuted by confounding it with the antiquated "psychical" view, which took no count either of a physical basis or of sensory qualities. As for the "projection of an idea outwards," that of course is an expression of the immediate *fact* of hallucination, apart from the question of the *excitant*. Why should it be abandoned? Is it not at any rate as well suited to its purpose as the only piece of information that Prof. Ball offers us in its stead—namely, that hallucinations are the creation of a brain predisposed to create them?

The advocacy of the "cerebral origin" must, of course, not be taken to imply that the condition of the brain is isolated from that of the rest of the body. The abnormal excitability of the brain may be intimately connected with morbid conditions elsewhere: all that is contended is that no immediate sensory stimulant is needed as a definite basis or peg for hallucinations.

* Dr. Max Simon in the *Lyon Médical*, Vol. XXXV., p. 439.

showers of flowers, lines of writing on a luminous ground, and so on.* Now, compare such experiences with ordinary cases of "ghost-seeing" in the dark. A man wakes in the night, and sees a luminous figure at the foot of his bed. Here the hallucination comes suddenly, single and complete, to a person whose eyes are open and unfatigued; it is not preceded by any peculiar affection of vision, is not developed out of anything, and does not move, or swarm, or develop fresh features; nor does it fulfil M. Binet's test of hallucinations due to the state of the external organ, by moving as the eye moves.† Such visions are commonly explained—and often, no doubt, with justice—as due to nervousness or expectancy. But nervousness and expectancy surely act by exciting the mind, not by congesting the retina; they work on the imagination, and their physical seat is not in the eye, but in the brain. Why, then, should not the brain initiate the hallucination? Why may not "visions of the dark," which vary so greatly both in themselves and in the general conditions of their appearance, vary also in their seat of origin?

The auditory cases are even plainer. For it is only exceptionally that the waking ear, like the waking eye, is subjected to marked and continuous stimulation from without, such as might serve, on M. Binet's view, as a basis for a prolonged hallucination. It is not even subject to border-land experiences analogous to the *illusions hypnagogiques.* The only alternative, therefore, to supposing the phenomena to be centrally initiated, is to suppose some abnormality in the external organ itself. Such an abnormality has often been detected; and even where not absolutely detected, it may sometimes be inferred from other symptoms. Thus, an enlarged carotid canal, or a stoppage which produces an unwonted pressure on the vessels, will first make itself felt by hummings and buzzings; hallucination then sets in, and imaginary voices are heard, and these then we should naturally trace to the local irritation that produced the former sounds. But why are we to treat in the same way cases where there are no hummings and buzzings, and no

* Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty*, pp. 159-163; Maury, *Le Sommeil et les Rêves*, p. 331.

† M. Binet treats all "ghost-seers" as so paralysed with terror that they do not move their eyes from the figure—which leaves it open to him to guess that the figure would move if their eyes moved. Having made a large collection of cases of hallucinations of the sane, I am in a position to deny this. To Wundt, also, stationary hallucinations that can be looked away from seem unknown as a distinct and fairly common type, and he inclines to regard them as mere illusions. Brewster's case of Mrs. A., and the well-known cases given by Paterson (*Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, January, 1843) would alone suffice, I think, to refute this view. See also Kandinsky's and Schröder van der Kolk's own experiences. (*Archiv für Psychiatrie*, 1881, p. 461, and *Pathology and Therap. of Mental Diseases*, p. 14.)

grounds for supposing that there is stoppage or lesion of any sort? Among a numerous, though much neglected, class of phenomena—the casual hallucinations of the sane—the commonest form by very far is for persons to hear their name called when no one is by. The experience is often remarkably distinct, causing the hearer to start and turn round. It is not at all connected with conditions that produce blood-pressure, such as lying with one ear closely pressed on the pillow; it comes in a sudden and detached way, and apparently at quite accidental moments. Again, among the insane a well-known form of hallucination occurs in the form of dialogue; the patient returns answers to the voices that haunt him, and is answered in turn. Are we to suppose here an *intermittent* abnormality of the ear, which always sets in by chance at the very moment when the imaginary speaker's replies fall due? It may be added that even where a distinct morbid cause can be traced, it is as often as not a *central* cause. After a long course of alcohol, a man begins to hear voices; but alcohol, while admittedly affecting brain-tissue, has no recognised tendency to affect the ear.

A further argument for the central initiation of many hallucinations of the more distinctly morbid sort may be drawn from the *course* which the morbid process takes. The first stage is often not a sensory hallucination at all; it is a mere delusion; the patient thinks that plots are being concocted against him. After a time his secret enemies begin to reveal themselves, and he hears their abusive and threatening language. We surely cannot ascribe the sensory experience here to a lesion of the ear which happens to occur independently, but regularly, at this particular stage; it follows, on the other hand, in the most natural way, if we regard it as imposed from within, as soon as the disease has gone far enough for the mind to clothe its imaginary fears in a more vivid form. Specially conclusive in this respect are the cases where voices begin to address the patient in the most internal way, without sound, and only after a time talk in a distinctly audible character.* But the most interesting of all the cases in point are those where one type of hallucination assails one side of the body and another the other. † They confirm what was said above—that the mere fact of a hallucination being *unilateral*, or peculiar to one side of the body, though suggesting a defect in the external organ, is by no means a proof of it. ‡ The double sensory experience follows with exactness the course of the delusions. The patient first suffers from melancholy and discouragement; this develops into a belief that he is surrounded

* Griesinger's *Ment. Path. and Ther.*, p. 89. The bearing of this fact on the theory of central origin has been noted by Mr. Sully, *Illusions*, p. 119.

† See Dr. Magnan's account in the *Archives de Neurologie*, Vol. VI., p. 336.

‡ *Cf.* Dr. A. Robertson in the *Report of the International Medical Congress*, 1881, Vol. III., pp. 632-3.

by enemies; and he then hears insulting voices on the right side. To this unhappy stage succeeds in due course one of exaltation and self-esteem; the patient believes himself to be the Son of God. And now encouraging and eulogistic voices present themselves on the left side. "The good and the evil genii form a sort of Manicheism which governs him." Here the imagination, as its operations became more complex, and established an opposition of character between its creatures, took advantage (so to speak) of the fact that the body has two opposite sides; it located friends and foes just as they might be located in a picture or play which represented an impending contest. It cannot surely be maintained that by accident the right ear began to be locally affected, just at the time when the development of the plot necessitated the entrance of the friendly power upon the scene. Another case involves the sense of touch. A man, after praying for a year that his actions might be divinely guided, heard a voice say, "I will save thy soul"; and from that time forward he felt his left or his right ear touched by an invisible attendant, according as he was doing right or wrong.* Did the auditory hallucination concide by chance with the commencement of local irritation in the *pinna?* Dr. Magnan adds three examples of alcoholism, where abuse and threats were heard on one side, praise and consolation on the other. In these cases there were crises of fury, in which hallucinations of all the senses took place, involving both sides alike, and masking the more ordinary condition. On the decline of these crises, the opposed auditory hallucinations recommenced. It seems impossible to resist Dr. Magnan's view, that the poison, distributed through the whole brain, provokes at times a general crisis; but that when this subsides, it localises its action at the weakest spot. Should this happen to be the auditory centre on one side, a single unilateral hallucination would be the result; but if both centres remain affected, the projection may assume the complex two-sided form.

But the strongest cases of all in favour of a purely central initiation yet remain—the cases of hallucination *voluntarily originated.* Wigan's instance has often been quoted, of the painter who, after carefully studying a sitter's appearance, could project it visibly into space, and paint the portrait not from the original but from the phantasm. He ended by confounding the phantasmal figures with real ones, and became insane. Baillarger reports another painter, Martin, as having similarly projected pictures, which so interested him that he requested anyone who took up a position in front of them to move.† A still more

* Bodin, *Démonomanie des Sorciers* (Edition of 1850, Paris), p. 10.

† One of the seers of "Faces in the Dark" reported that he could produce the vision of the spangles and sheep at will. His case differs, however, from those given in the text. For, in the first place, his vision was one of old standing; and, in the second place, his retina must have been pretty constantly in the abnormal

interesting case, recently reported by Dr. V. Parant, is that of an asylum patient who, when thwarted or annoyed, would go to special spots to consult imaginary advisers; the replies she received—it need hardly be said—always corresponded with her own desires and prejudices. Another insane woman used to play "odd and even" with an imaginary prefect of police, whose guesses were always wrong.* M. Binet will surely not maintain that in these cases the person first establishes, by an effort of will, some sort of peripheral excitation, and that this then re-acts by provoking the hallucination. Such a circuitous route might with equal reason be imagined for any simple act of representation or memory.†

The only other group of phenomena that we need notice is one that all writers since Baillarger seem to have agreed to treat as a quite unique type. It is a class of which frequent examples have been observed among religious mystics and persons who believe themselves to be in direct communication with spiritual guides. Such persons describe a voice which is yet soundless, which utters the "language of the soul" inside them, and which they hear by means of "a sixth sense," and without any apparent participation of the ear. Owing to the absence of a definable sensory quality, Baillarger distinguished this class as *psychic* hallucinations, in opposition to *psychio-sensorial;* and M. Binet himself is inclined to treat them as exceptional, and to grant them an origin from within. As one who holds that that is equally the origin of a large number of the undoubted

state. I should thus ascribe the phenomenon to a concentration of attention on actual visual sensations, which fell by habit into the familiar lines. It would be interesting to know whether, after the spangles had appeared, it was possible to *check* their development into sheep.

* *Annales Médico-psych.*, 6th series, Vol. VII., p 379; Ball, *Maladies Mentales*, p. 98. See also the cases described by Michéa, in the *Ann. Medico-psych.* for 1856, p. 389, and M. Sandras's own experience in the same journal for 1855, p. 542. It is odd to find *involuntariness* not infrequently taken as the distinctive abnormality in hallucinations (Falret, *Des Maladies Mentales*, p. 281, Buchez and De Castelnau in the French debates of 1865-6); and the odder, inasmuch as not only may hallucinations be voluntary, but the mental pictures and memories, from which they are to be distinguished, are, of course, often involuntary.

† I should have been tempted to regard these voluntary cases as conclusive had I not found Prof. Ball (*Maladies Mentales*, p. 122) explicitly claiming them as hallucinations provoked by an "abnormal sensation." He does not tell us what the abnormal sensation is, or what causes it. He contents himself with pointing out that hallucinations are very like dreams; that some dreams are (and therefore, apparently, all dreams must be) provoked by external stimulation —say a knock at the door; and that we can sometimes direct the course of a dream at will: *ergo*, it is easy to see how some people may start a hallucination at will. It would be more to the purpose if he would introduce us to a dreamer who can designedly start a pre-arranged dream by knocking at his own door.

psycho-sensorial hallucinations, I cannot recognise this exception; and to me the class in question is of interest, not as *distinguished* from the psycho-sensorial family, but as a true species of that genus presenting the sensorial element reduced to its very lowest terms. These "pyschic" hallucinations appear to me as the first stage of a graduated series—the embryonic instance of the investiture of an image or representation with a sensory or presentative character. In proportion as the sensorial element in hallucination is attenuated and dim, or full and distinct, will the perception appear internal or external; and these cases are simply the most internal sort, between which and the most external sort there exist many degrees of *partial* externalisation.* This view has surely everything to recommend it. We can but take the patient's own account—that he has a distinct impression of words; and that this impression has an actuality which clearly separates it from the mere image or memory of words. How can this separation be conceived, except by recognising the presence of a genuine, though faint, sensorial element? Of what exactly this element may consist, is another question. Dr. Max Simon (in the *Lyon Médical*, Vol. XXXV., pp. 435, 486) has made the very plausible suggestion that what is felt is a muscular impulse to form the words, rather than the sound of them—an impulse exhibited in its extreme form in the irresistible continuous vociferation of mania. On this account Dr. Simon even refuses to regard the experience as hallucination at all. Here, however, I cannot follow him. For, however much a motor-current or impulsion towards speech be involved, the patient's sensation is of something other and more than this. For him, the words are not suggested or initiated, but actually and completely *produced;* in his description of the product we do not encounter terms of impulse or movement, any more than terms of sound. Here we surely trace the characteristic delusive element: what a normal person would recognise as purely subjective experience has assumed an objective reality. In what then does the experience fall short of hallucination? If we adopt Dr. Simon's view, so far as to regard it as hallucination of the muscular sense, it becomes of interest to note that it does not admit of any parallel of a *visual* sort; for no order of visible objects can at all rival language in the closeness and directness of its association with a particular set of muscular

* Our friend, the Rev. P. H. Newnham, of Maker Vicarage, Devonport, has described to us some auditory impressions of his own, which are interesting as exemplifying the stage just above that of the so-called "psychic" hallucinations. He has occasionally had experience of these "psychic" hallucinations, as of words which "seem to be formed and spoken within the chest." But he has also experienced a *soundless* voice which yet *seems to speak into his right ear* (he is deaf of the left ear)—and which thus produces the sense of externality, though not of actual sound.

movements. And this very fact—this absence of any *sightless* hallucinations to compare with these *soundless* ones—is perhaps the reason why the latter have passed as an isolated non-sensory class, with a separate mode of origin. I am concerned to substitute my own view of them; for to admit a genuine sensory element in the most "internal" species of hallucination—which all agree to be centrally initiated—will practically be to admit a similar initiation for *other* psycho-sensorial hallucinations.

And this leads me to a concluding word of criticism on M. Binet's hypothesis. We have seen that it is violent; may we not add that it is gratuitous? He has himself most rightly insisted on the fact that images and sensations are not separated by an impassable gulf, but merge into one another; and he will allow that in many hallucinations, the image—however evoked—gets charged with the whole fulness and vividness of sensation. But then how can it be treated *simply* as an image, superposed on a quite different sensation? To recur once more to Delbœuf's experiment, or to the brown butterfly and the black mice, M. Binet will admit that *somewhere* in the brain activities corresponding to green, to brown, to black, are going on: he is not the writer to make "the imagination" bob in among physical facts like a *deus ex machinâ*. By what right, then, are these activities to be confined to *ideational* tracts, and excluded from all access to a true *sensory* centre? What temptation is there to strain facts and theories in order to make out that the central initiation of sensation is impossible? The hypnotic "subject" will smack his lips over the sweetness of sugar when there is nothing in his mouth—will sniff with delight at a piece of wood when told it is a rose: may not the brain do for sight and hearing what it does for taste and smell? M. Binet seems really to have been led off the track by his own brilliant experiments with prisms and mirrors. Even in those cases, as he admits, the whole work of creation is done by the brain. Even for him the gist of the experience is not the atrophied external "sensation," but the hypertrophied, brain-imposed "image." We do but ask him to concede that the "image," which can here do so much, can elsewhere do a very little more and, while charging itself with full sensation from within, can dispense with the atrophied contribution from outside. Why should it not? There is nothing to lead one to suppose that images would assume the unwonted vividness of sensations specially at moments when the external organs of sense are occupied with *other* sensations; rather the reverse. Is not the sort of day-dream which comes nearest to hallucination favoured by *repose* of the sense-organs? When we want to call up the vivid image of a scene, to make it as real—as sensorial—as possible, do we not close our eyes? And what are the seasons of life in which genuine hallucinations are

commonest? Are they not seasons of *sleep?* Are not *dreams* by far the most familiar instances of the projection by the mind of images that are mistaken for realities? It is just because they are *so* familiar, and waking-hallucinations comparatively so rare, that we are in danger of overlooking the essential similarity of the phenomena, and the light which the former class can throw on the latter. Indeed, if waking-hallucinations are to be taken as the pathological form of any normal function, much might be said for taking them as the pathological form of dreaming; and we might present the waking-dreams of haschisch-poisoning as a sort of intermediate link. The normal dream disappears when sleep departs; having been able to impose its images as realities only because in sleep our sensory faculties are to a great extent benumbed, and images cannot therefore be compared with actual presentations. Thus the normal dream cannot survive the corrective which the contact of the waking-senses with the external world supplies; it fades like a candle at sunrise; and its images, if they survive, survive as images and nothing more, emptied of all robust sensory quality. The hallucination, or pathological dream, on the other hand, does not require to be thus guarded from comparison with real presentations; its "hypertrophied images" are able to resist the normal corrective, for they are often as fully charged with sensory quality as the external realities which compete with them. But though we may thus regard hallucinations as a pathological form of dream, what is here more in point is the converse view—that dreams are a healthy form of hallucination. For it cannot but appear less likely that excitation of the external organs is a necessary basis for hallucinations, if hallucinations turn out to be most common at precisely those times when the external organs are least excited.

6. *The question of Cerebral Localisation.*

We may now proceed to an altogether different question—namely, at what part or parts of the brain the creative process takes place, and in what it can be conceived to consist. The distinction that has so long occupied us, between central and peripheral initiation, may henceforth be dismissed; for wherever *initiated*, hallucinations are assuredly *created* by the brain from its own resources. An initiating stimulus may probably come from any point on the line from the external organ to the central terminus, along which a nervous current passes in our normal perception of objects. But that stimulus will clearly not determine what the imaginary object shall be, or invest it with any of its qualities: it will merely set the creative machinery in motion; and the same stimulus—the same inflammation of the eye or ear—may set the machinery in motion a hundred times, and each time evoke a

different hallucination. Where, then, and what, is this creative machinery? It would be out of place here to attempt any minute account of the various theories, which have for the most part rested on anatomical observations; and the more so, that their details are still *sub judice*. But in a more general way the problem can be stated, and even I think to some extent determined.

If we begin at the beginning, we find agreement among the authorities up to a certain point. All are agreed in recognising *some* part or parts of the brain in which the nerves passing from the various sense-organs terminate, and where the impressions conveyed by the nerves produce the changes which are the physical basis of sensation, or—in the ordinary crude but convenient language—where "impressions are transformed into sensations." As to the locality and extent of these parts, there is a conflict of views, which may be to some extent reconciled if we regard the process as taking place in several stages. Some (Luys, Ritti, Fournié) believe the principal scene of action to be the large central masses called the optic thalami; others (Schröder van der Kolk, Meynert, Kandinsky) would place the centres lower down—that of vision, for instance, in the corpora quadrigemina; others again (Hitzig, Ferrier, Tamburini) locate them higher up, in the cortex itself; and Goltz assigns them so diffused an area that the word centre becomes scarcely appropriate. But all are agreed, I imagine, that they are distinct from the tracts associated with the most highly-developed phenomena of consciousness—complete perception, ideation, memory, and volition; and even if the idea of local separation should come to be modified in the direction indicated by Goltz, the distinctions would be re-interpreted as differences of less and more complex activities. The authorities agree further in connecting the "sensory centres" in a special way with hallucinations. It could not, indeed, be otherwise when once the full sensory character of the phenomena is recognised; for that character can only be the psychical expression of changes at the sensory centres. Any particular activity of these centres which reaches a certain intensity will affect us as a particular sensation; whether excited (1) normally, from the sense-organ; or (2) pathologically, by local irritation of the sense-organ of along the line of nerve from it to the centre; or (3) pathologically, but spontaneously, in the centre itself. In the first case the sensation will be a true one, *i.e.*, will correspond with a real external object; in the second and third cases it will not; but as sensation, it will be the same in all three.

Now for *one* view of the creation of hallucinations, these data are sufficient. We have only to suppose that, in cases (2) and (3), the agitation at the sensory centre falls readily into certain lines and combinations, so as not only to produce a large

variety of sensations—colours, if it be the visual centre, sounds, if it be the auditory one—but to arrange these elements in various definite groups. Everything will now proceed precisely as if these effects had been due to the presence of a real object. The excitation will pursue its ordinary upward course to the highest parts of the brain, and will lead to intelligent perception of the sensory group as an object; while by a yet further process (which will probably take place only in the most complete or "external" form of hallucinations), a refluent current will pass downwards to the external organ, and the perception will be referred to the eye or ear, just as though its object were really acting on those organs from outside.* There then is the full-fledged hallucination; and its creative machinery, according to this view, lies wholly in the sensory centre.

But there is another view. We have noted *three* ways in which the machinery may be set in motion; but there is a *fourth* possible way. The excitation may come *downwards* from the higher part of the brain —from the seats of ideation and memory. And clearly this sort of excitation will have a dominance of its own. It will have *its own* psychical counterpart—an idea or a memory; and when it sets the sensory machinery in motion, that machinery will not now produce or combine a group of sensations determined by its own activity; but will merely embody, or as we might say *execute*, the idea or memory imposed on it. Here, then, the only machinery which is in any sense *creative* is situated in the higher ideational tracts. And if we wish

* Krafft-Ebing, *Die Sinnesdelirien*, p. 11; Despine, *Etude Scientifique sur le Somnambulisme*, p. 328; Tamburini in the *Revue Scientifique*, 1881, p. 139. The mere subjective fact of this reference to the external organ would not prove (as Tamburini seems to assume) that the organ had been actually excited by the refluent current. But, in the case of vision, we have at any rate a fair amount of proof. First, there is the fact already noted, that pressure on the side of one eyeball doubles the phantom. It seems difficult to refer this result to association—the doubling of ordinary objects by such pressure being an infrequent and little noticed experience. Secondly, we have a case of *hemiopic* hallucination recorded by Dr. Pick, of Prague, where only the upper halves of imaginary figures were seen; and where it was ascertained that the upper half of the retina (to which of course the lower half of the figure would have corresponded) was anopic. Further, it has been noted by H. Meyer of "hypnagogic illusions," and by Gruithuisen of hallucinations which consist in the surviving of dream-images into waking moments, that they can give rise to *after-images*; this, however, might perhaps not imply more than the brief continuance of excitation at the *central* cells.

Wundt (*Phys. Psych.*, Vol. II., p. 356) seems to think that this centrifugal retinal stimulation is excluded in the cases where the phantom does not move with the movement of the eye. But, there being a physical process corresponding to the idea of a stationary phantom, why may not that process extend to the whole carrying out of the idea, so as to include the turning on or off of the retinal stimulation according as the phantom is looked at or away from?

to identify the exact starting-point of the hallucination, as such, we must fix it at the point of contact between the ideational and the sensory activities. As long as the nervous activity is confined to the ideational tracts, though there is creation, there is no hallucination; that word is never used to describe the mere image or memory of an object. It is only when the activity escapes downwards, with such force as strongly to stimulate the cells at the lower centre, that sensation floods the image, and we get the delusive percept or hallucination. The force of this downward current may exhibit all degrees. It is probable that even for the barest idea or memory of an object there is some slight downward escape, with a corresponding slight reverberation of the sensory centre; and where, as in rare morbid cases,* the escape is wholly barred, all power of calling up visual images is lost. With every increase in the force of the escape, there will be a rise of sensory quality, and a nearer approach to absolute hallucination; and every stage will thus be accounted for, from the picture "in the mind's eye" to the phantom completely externalised in space. But whatever the degree of the delusion, its local origin is the place where the current, so to speak, bursts the sluice-gates which physically represent the distinction between ideas and percepts.

Here, then, are the two possibilities: (1) that hallucinations are produced by an independent activity of the specific sensory cells—the sensations which arise there being perceived as objects when the nervous current passes on centripetally to the higher parts of the brain; (2) that the part played by the specific sensory cells † is only a response to what may be called *ideational* excitation, propagated centrifugally from the higher tracts where the image has been formed.

In attempting to decide between these possibilities, we shall get little assistance from direct pathological and physiological observations. These have been mainly directed to an end rather the converse of ours—to utilising the facts of hallucination for fixing the locality of the centres, by inspection of the brains of persons who have been in life markedly hallucinated. But cerebral pathology, as Ball trenchantly remarks, has a way of lending itself to the demonstration of whatever one wants. Lesions rarely confine themselves neatly to specific areas. We find M. Luys, the chief advocate of the

* See the case quoted in the *Archives de Neurologie*, Vol. VI., p. 352. "Je rêve seulement paroles, tandis que je possédais auparavant dans mes rêves la perception visuelle." The *Progrès Médical*, July, 1883, has another interesting case.

† I eschew here the expression "sensory centres," merely to avoid confusion with the higher "centres" to which the words "centripetal" and "centrifugal" refer.

optic thalami as the primary seat of hallucinations, admitting the constant spread of lesions from the thalami to the cortex;* and Dr. W. J. Mickle† considers—as the result of a number of very careful necropsies—that in cases of hallucination "thalamic disease plays a less important part than cortical." But on the other hand, he did not find that the lesions were definitely associated with the spots in the cortex which Ferrier and the advocates of restricted cortical localisation mark out as the visual and the auditory centres; while lesions at these spots—the angular gyrus and the first temporo-sphenoidal convolution—seem to be found in cases where no hallucination has been observed.‡ This want of correspondence will seem less surprising if we remember the vast number of casual hallucinations where nothing that could be called a lesion exists; and also that the more persistent hallucinations of the insane belong, as a rule, to the *earlier* period of *irritation*, rather than to the *later* one when marked lesion has supervened, and dementia is creeping on.§ Even if we take subsequent cortical lesion as a sign that the weak spot existed from the first in the highest part of the brain, this would be no proof that the specific sensory centre is cortical. If lesions are not bound to be locally restricted, much less are irritations; and there is nothing to refute the supposition above made, that, when the hallucination occurs, a current has passed downwards to the lower centre—the mischief in the cortex having been primarily an excitant of ideational activities only, and the hallucination being due (as Dr. Mickle well expresses it) to "a tumultuous disorderly reaction of disturbed ideational centres upon sensorial." The same may be said of the *artificial* irritation of the "cortical centres" during life. Ferrier regards the movements which result when an electrical stimulus is applied to these areas, as an indication that visual or auditory sensations (*i.e.*, hallucinations) have been evoked. We may quite accept this interpretation, but still suppose that the primary seat of the sensation was not the spot where the stimulus was applied, but a lower centre on the path along which the irritation passed.‖

* *Gazette des Hôpitaux*, Dec., 1880, p. 46.

† *Journal of Mental Science*, Oct., 1881, p. 382.

‡ *Journal of Mental Science*, Oct., 1881, p. 381, and Jan., 1882, p. 29.

§ Luys, *Gazette des Hôpitaux*, 1881, p. 276; Despine, *Ann. Médico-psych.*, 6th series, Vol. VI., p. 375; Tamburini in the *Revue Scientifique*, Vol. XXVII., p. 141.

‖ It may be remarked, by the way, that what has been here said as to the relation of *hallucinations* to cerebral localisation will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to *blindness*. We may suppose the action of lower centres to be *inhibited*, as well as abnormally excited, by stimulation from above. Thus the fact that blindness follows certain cortical lesions does not by any means establish the location of the principal sensory centres in the cortex. And as it happens, some of the facts of blindness seem absolutely adverse to that location—I mean the

We are thus thrown back on less direct arguments, derived from the nature of the hallucinations themselves. And I think the mistake has again been in imagining that one or other of two alternatives must be exclusively adopted—that either the lower or the higher origin of hallucinations is the universal one. All, I think, that can be fairly said, is that, while the first mode of origin is a *probable* one for some cases, the second mode is a *certain* one for others. Hallucinations produced *at the will* of the percipient *must* first take shape above the sensory centres. For it is indisputable that the *idea* of the object to be projected—the picture, face, sentence, or whatever it may be—must precede its sensory embodiment as a thing actually seen or heard; and the idea, as well as the volition, is an affair of the higher tracts; MM. Luys and Ritti will certainly not locate either of them in the optic thalami. But if the advocates of the first mode have thus ignored an important class of cases, the advocates of the second have erred by adopting a quasi-metaphysical standpoint. Thus Dr. Despine, who has given an extremely clear account of the centrifugal process (*Annales Médico-psychologiques*, 6th series, Vol. VI., p. 371), argues that for a hallucination to arise, we first need an idea—"*an object which does not exist*"; and if in a way it is endowed with existence, this, as a purely constructive act, can only emanate from the seat of the highest psychical activities. There is some originality in extracting a physiological conclusion from the relation of the mind to the non-existent. But at this rate the image of the sun's disc on the wall would originate in a constructive act of the mind: it is as much "an object that does not exist" as the most elaborate phantasm. The non-existence of an object outside the organism is quite irrelevant to the course of nervous events inside; and whether we regard a psychic act, for any given case, as *constructive or receptive*, depends simply on whether the nervous excitation is spon-

phenomena of so-called "psychical blindness," where cortical lesion has produced loss of memory and of the higher functions of *perception*, while *sensation* (according to Munk's view) remains intact, and may gradually give rise to new perceptions and new memories. The observations of Munk and Goltz as to the survival of vision, though not of intelligent vision, after extensive cortical injury, seem distinctly favourable to the theory of the *lower* position of the specific sensory centres. Nor need that theory conflict with the most extreme view as to the absence of circumscribed areas in the cortex. Goltz himself would not deny that *some* place or places on the paths of the optic and the auditory nerve are specially connected with the fact that the stimulation of the one corresponds with sight, and of the other with sound. It cannot be maintained that this psychical distinction has no local representative; for such a contention would logically lead to denying, *e.g.*, that the corpora quadrigemina in the lower animals have any particular relation to vision. Thus, whatever be the final issue of the vexed question of cortical areas of *perception*, a local distinction of genuine centres of *sensation* somewhere in the brain seems as certain as the distinction of the external organs themselves.

taneous, or is received from below. Now this may be applied, as we have seen, to the lower centres of sensation as reasonably as to the higher tracts of perceptive ideation; the former may *construct* as truly as the latter; that is to say, the configurations and activities of their cells may produce definite groupings of the sensory elements.

And for simple and recurrent forms of hallucination, much may be said in favour of this lower origin. It is in accordance with all that we know or conjecture as to nerve-tissue, that certain configurations and modifications of cells would be rendered easy by exercise; and thus the changes to which any morbid excitement gives rise might naturally be the same as have often before been brought about by normal stimulation from the retina or the ear. The elements would fall readily, so to speak, into the accustomed pattern. An object which has been frequently or recently before the eyes—a word or phrase that has been perpetually in the ear—these may certainly be held capable of leaving organic traces of their presence, and so of establishing a sort of lower memory. That this lower memory should act automatically, and independently of the will, seems natural enough when we remember how large a part even of the higher memory is also automatic: an unsought word, suddenly reverberating in the sensorium, is on a par with the images that emerge into consciousness without our being able to connect them with our previous train of ideas. Now it is remarkable how large a number of hallucinations are of this primitive type. I mentioned above that, among the sane, the commonest of all cases is to hear the name called; and even with the insane, the vocabulary of the imaginary voices often consists of only a few threatening or abusive words.* So of optical hallucinations. With the sane, a large number consist in the casual vision—an *after-image*, as we might say—of a near relative or familiar associate. More persistent cases are still frequently of a single object. I have mentioned the doctor and the black cow; similarly a lady, when in bad health, always saw a cat on the staircase.† And among the insane, a single imaginary attendant is equally common: our friend "Guiteau" above was an instance. Wherever such simple cases are not connected with any special *délire*, or any fixed set of ideas, they may, I think, be fairly (though of course not certainly) attributed to an activity following the lines of certain established tracts in the sensorium. We might compare this locality to a kaleidoscope, which when shaken is capable of turning out a certain limited number of combinations.‡

* On this subject, see Dr. V. Parant in the *Ann. Médico-psych.*, 6th series, Vol. VII., p. 384. These embryonic hallucinations often develop into more complex form; see Ball, *Maladies Mentales*, p. 67.

† Blandford, *Insanity and its Treatment*, p. 155.

‡ Charcot (*Le Progrès Médical*, 1878, p. 38) has noted a curious form of

But, on the other hand, the astonishing variety and complexity of other cases—whether visual appearances or verbal sequences—seem absolutely to drive us to a higher seat of manufacture; for they demand a countless store of elements, and limitless powers of ideal combination. The patient listens to long discourses, or holds conversations with his invisible friends; and what is heard is no echo of former phrases, but is in every way a piece of new experience. So, too, the number and variety of visual hallucinations which may occur to a single person, sometimes even within the space of a few minutes, is astonishing. The shapes and features of Dr. Bostock's apparitions were always completely new to him; the seers of "Faces in the Dark" who had in the course of their lives seen many thousand phantasmal faces, had never seen one that they recognised; Nicolai, who was never otherwise than perfectly sane and who eventually recovered, continually saw troops of phantoms, most of them of an aspect quite new to him; and in insanity such a phenomenon is common enough. Even in the casual hallucinations of the sane, what is seen is less commonly a mere revival of an object which the eyes have previously encountered than an unrecognised person. Here, then, we have an immense amount of high creative work—of what in psychical terms we should call *par excellence* the work of the imagination; and this is work which we have good grounds for supposing that the highest cortical tracts, and they alone, are capable of performing. From our experience of the number and mobility of the ideas and images that the mind in a normal state can summon up and combine, we know that the cells of the highest cerebral areas are practically unlimited in their powers of configuration and association; but we have no right to assume the same inexhaustible possibilities as existing independently in any specific sensory centre—we might almost as well expect a kaleidoscope to present us with an ever-fresh series of elaborate landscapes. And over and above all this, we can point to the constant connection between the delusions, the *conceptions délirantes* of the insane and their sensory hallucinations,* which makes it almost im-

unilateral hallucination, which occurs sometimes to hysterical patients on the side on which they are hemianæsthetic—animals, passing rapidly in a row from behind forwards, which usually disappear when the eyes are turned directly to them. Examined by the ophthalmoscope, the eyes of these patients appear absolutely normal. Charcot attributes amblyopy and achromatopsy, occurring in the same persons (as well as in non-hysterical cases of hemianæsthesia), to lesion at a point which he calls the *carrefour sensitif* in the hinder part of the internal capsule; and I assume that he would refer the hallucination to the same point. If so, he may be quoted as an authority for the infra-cortical initiation of simple and recurrent forms of hallucination

* Falret, *Op. cit.*, p. 269: Wundt, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 356; Krafft-Ebing, *Op. cit.*, p. 19; Griesinger, *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.

possible not to regard the latter as a particular effect of the more widely diffused cerebral disturbance. The conclusion seems to be that for many hallucinations the mode of origin can be no other than what I have called the *centrifugal.*

I have throughout tried to express what I have called the centrifugal theory in such terms that it might be accepted even by those who locate the sensory centres themselves not below, but in, the cortex. According to these physiologists, the whole *double* transformation of physical impressions into visual or auditory sensations, and of these sensations into complete perceptions and mnemonic images, would be practically referred to one place. It must be admitted that this view seems at times connected with the want of a due psychological distinction between sensation and perception. But even supposing a specific centre of sensation to be thus equally the seat of psychic functions higher than sensation, it would still be none the less liable to be stimulated by parts of the cortex external to itself; and the nature of many hallucinations would still indicate that they depend on this stimulation, and not on a mere spontaneous quickening of morbid activity in the centre itself. For instance, a girl is violently distressed by seeing her home in flames, and for days afterwards sees fire wherever she looks.* One must surely trace the hallucination to the *distress*, and so to an "escape of current" from the seat of ideas and images other than visual ones. Again, in the cases described above where the hallucinations faithfully reflect the changes of the whole moral and intellectual bias, the local excitement in the sensory centre would still be traceable to an abnormally strong irradiation from the regions where the highest co-ordinations take place —these regions being themselves, *ex hypothesi*, already in a state of pathological activity. The other hypothesis would be that the mere hyper-excitability at the centre itself made it impossible for images to arise without getting hurried on, so to speak, into sensations by the violence of the nervous vibrations. This seems to be what Wundt has in view when he speaks of hallucinations as originating, not in an actual *irritation*, but in a heightened *irritability*, of the sensory centres. But then, what should cause images belonging to one particular order of ideas—the *diseased* order—to be picked out for this fate in preference to any others? The hyper-excitable centre in itself, as an arena of images, could have no ground for such a partial selection among the crowd of them which emerge during every hour of waking life. Among the endless and multiform vibrations involved, why should

* Griesinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 97, For an auditory case, *cf.* the account, in the *Lyon Médical*, Vol. XXXV., p. 437, of a young Frenchman who was rendered insane by the German invasion, and who was then haunted by the sound of guns firing.

the excessive amplitude that corresponds to sensation be confined to a particular set? A reason must exist. The unique agreement between the sensory hallucinations and the more general moral and intellectual disorder must have its particular physical counterpart; and for this "a strong downward escape of current" is at any rate a sufficiently comprehensible metaphor.*

7.—*Veridical Hallucinations.*

There is one topic which I cannot altogether pass over here, as it has a distinct bearing on the centrifugal origin of hallucinations. There is a class of phenomena, not yet recognised by science, and for which the evidence has never yet been presented with anything like convincing fulness; but which—I do not think it rash to say—will be accepted as genuine by a large number of persons who quite realise the strength of the *à priori* presumption against it, whenever the quantity and quality of the evidence shall be adequately realised; and which is accepted already by a considerable number of such persons as, at any rate, having a strong *primâ facie* claim to attention. Readers of these *Proceedings* will hardly need to be told that I refer to the *telepathic* class—hallucinations of sight, sound or touch, which suggest the presence of an absent person, and which occur simultaneously with some exceptional crisis in that person's life or, most frequently of all, with his death. Visual and auditory phantasms occurring at such moments may be conveniently termed *veridical* hallucinations; for while they are completely delusive as far as the percipient's senses are concerned—while they completely conform to our definition, "sensory percepts which lack the objective basis which

* Kandinsky (in the *Archiv für Psychiatrie*, 1881), agreeing with Meynert, denies this centrifugal influence, and regards the contribution of the higher (front) part of the cortex to hallucinations as something quite different—*i.e.*, *the remission of an inhibitory function* normally exercised by this part on the specific sensory regions. But he fails to make out even a plausible case. His argument that the higher part cannot initiate hallucinations rests on no better ground than his own inability, when suffering from hallucinations, to transform mental pictures into hallucinations at will; and on the further experience—which was decidedly exceptional—that his hallucinations did not correspond in any marked way with his more general mental delusions. Again, if one asks in what the effect of the supposed inhibitory function would normally be shown, it must surely be in preventing ordinary mental images from taking on the more vivid characters of hallucinations. Now Kandinsky himself admits that in normal acts of imagination the cortical sensory region is stimulated from the higher part of the cortex; hence he seems involved in the difficulty of conceiving stimulation and inhibition to proceed at the same moment from the same quarter. Nor, again, does he make any attempt to show why the supposed inhibitory function, if it is normally operative, does not equally inhibit the normal stimulation derived from the periphery, *i.e.*, normal perception of objects.

they suggest"—they nevertheless have a definite correspondence with certain objective facts, namely, the exceptional condition of the absent person. Such cases, if genuine, militate very strongly against M. Binet's theory that excitation from the external sensory apparatus is a *sine quâ non* of hallucinations. For here the occurrence of the hallucination depends on the distant event; *that* is what fixes it to take place at a particular time; and an occurrence thus conditioned cannot be supposed to be conditioned *also* by the accidental presence of real phenomena capable of supplying *points de repère*, or by an accidental morbid disturbance of the organ or the nerve. And if the brain be admitted to be the primary physical seat of the phenomena, there are, further, good reasons for supposing that its highest tracts are those first affected, and so that the hallucination is centrifugal. The chief reasons are two. (1) The phantasm is often bodied forth with elements of a more or less fanciful kind—dream-imagery, so to speak, embroidered on a groundwork of fact; and these elements seem clearly to be the percipient's own contribution, and not part of what he receives. (2) Cases occur where actual intercourse between the two persons concerned has long ceased; and where the supersensuous communication can only be supposed to be initiated by the quickening of long-buried memories and of dim tracts of emotional association. The hallucination in these cases would therefore be a complete example of the projection of an idea from within outwards; the sensorium reverberates to a tremor which must start in the inmost *penetralia* of cerebral process.

[Note.—I would specially point out that the argument in the last paragraph does not extend beyond the limits of the percipient's organism. It involves no physical expression of the fact of the *transmission*. If A is dying at a distance, and B sees his form, it is rarely that one can suppose any psychical event in A's mind to be identical with any psychical event provocative of the hallucination in B's mind. That being so, there will be no simple and immediate concordance of nervous vibration in the two brains; and that being so, there is no very obvious means of translating into physical terms the causal connection between A's experience and B's. The case thus differs from "thought-transference" of the ordinary experimental type, where the image actually present in the one mind is reproduced in the other; where, therefore, a physical concordance does exist, and something of the nature of a "brain-wave" can be conceived. This was quite rightly pointed out in the notice of the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* which appeared in Mind XXXVI. But it had also been pointed out by Mr. F. W. H. Myers and myself in the "Theory of Apparitions" there criticised. In our *rapprochement* of veridical hallucinations to experimental thought-transference, we are confining ourselves to the *psychical* aspect; we connect the phenomena as being in both cases affections of one mind by another occurring otherwise than through the recognised channels of sense. The objector may urge that if we have not, we ought to have, a *physical* theory which will embrace all

the phenomena—that we ought not to talk about a *rapport* between A's mind and B's unless we can establish a *bridge* between their two brains. This seems rather to assume that the standing puzzle of the relation between cerebral and psychical events *in the individual*, B, can only be stated in one crude form—viz., that the former are prior and *produce* the latter. For ordinary purposes such an expression is convenient ; but the convenience has its dangers. Still, as the converse proposition would be equally dangerous, a *crux* remains which we cannot evade. Since we cannot doubt that B's unwonted experience has its appropriate cerebral correlate, we have to admit that the energy of B's brain is directed in a way in which it would not be directed but for something that has happened to A. In this physical effect it is impossible to assume that an external physical antecedent is not involved ; and the relation of the antecedent to the effect is, as I have pointed out, very hard to conceive, when the neural tremors in A's brain are so unlike the neural tremors in B's brain as they must be when A's mind is occupied with his immediate surroundings or with the idea of death, and B's mind is occupied with a sudden and unaccountable impression or vision of A. I can only suggest that the action of brain on brain is not bound to conform to the simplest type of two tuning-forks ; and that a considerable community of experience (especially in emotional relations) between two persons may involve nervous records sufficiently similar to retain for one another some sort of revivable affinity, even when the experience has lost its vividness for conscious memory. But, however that may be on the physical plane, the facts of which we have presented and shall continue to present evidence are purely *psychical* facts ; and on the psychical plane, we can give to a heterogeneous array of them a certain orderly coherence, and present them as a graduated series of natural phenomena. Will it be asserted that this treatment is illegitimate unless a concurrent physical theory can also be put forward ? It is surely allowable to do one thing at a time. There is an unsolved mystery in the background ; that we grant and remember ; but it need not perpetually oppress us. After all, is there not that standing mystery of the cerebral and mental correlation in the individual —a mystery equally unsolved and perhaps more definitely and radically insoluble—at the background of every fact and doctrine of the recognised psychology ? The psychologists work on as if it did not exist, or rather as if it were the most natural thing in the world, and no one complains of them. May we not claim a similar freedom ?]

THE CALCULUS OF PROBABILITIES APPLIED TO PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

By F. Y. Edgeworth.

"Nous sommes si éloignés de connaître tous les agents de la nature qu'il serait peu philosophique de nier l'existence de phénomènes, uniquement parce-qu'ils sont inexplicables dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Seulement nous devons les examiner avec une attention d'autant plus scrupuleuse, qu'il paraît plus difficile de les admettre ; et c'est ici que l'analyse des probabilités devient indispensable, pour determiner jusqu'à quel point il faut multiplier les observations ou les expériences, pour avoir, en faveur de l'existence des agents qu'elles semblent indiquer, une probabilité supérieure à toutes les raisons que l'on peut avoir d'ailleurs, de la réjéter."—Laplace.

It is proposed here to appreciate by means of the calculus of probabilities the evidence in favour of some extraordinary agency which is afforded by experiences of the following type: One person chooses a suit of cards, or a letter of the alphabet. Another person makes a guess as to what the choice has been. This experiment—a choice by one party, a guess by another—is performed N times. The number of successful guesses exceeds the number which is the most probable on the supposition of mere chance, viz., m, where $m=Nu$ (in the above-mentioned cases respectively $\frac{1}{4}N$ and $\frac{1}{24}N$), by a considerable number n, where $n=Nv$. There follow a second and a third similar series of trials in which the number of successes exceeds the number most probable on the hypothesis of mere chance, viz., $N'u'$ $N''u''$, by n' n'' respectively. As the number of these series is increased, there occur some in which the number of successes falls below the most probable number. What probability in favour of the existence of some agency other than chance is afforded by (1) a single series such as the first, in which the successes are in excess ; (2) a set of series such as the first two or three, in all of which the successes are in excess ; (3) a chequered set of series in some of which the successes are in excess, in others in defeat ?

These problems may, for our purpose, be replaced by the following : Out of an urn known to contain an infinite number of white and black balls in the proportion $u : 1-u$ have been drawn N balls whereof $N(u+v)$ are white ; and again N' balls whereof $N'(u+v')$ are white ; and so on. v is sometimes negative. What is the probability in favour of agency other than chance deducible (1) from the first series ; (2) from a set of series in which v is positive ; (3) from a chequered set of series ?

The evaluation of such *à posteriori* probabilities involves three

operations which may be distinguished in analysis, though implicated in practice. The first (I.) is to determine what *function* the required probability is of two sets of variables; namely, *à priori* probabilities not given by (or deducible from) direct statistical experience, and "objective" probabilities (to use the phrase of Cournot), which are derived from statistical experience. The second operation (II.) is the treatment of the *à priori* probabilities; the discovery, assumption, or ignoration of those unknown quantities. The third operation (III.) is the evaluation of the objective probabilities. These three operations are taken as the principle of division for this study; as a principle of subdivision, the three problems above stated.

I. There is apt to appear something arbitrary in the form of the function expressing an *à posteriori* probability. When Donkin, for example, constructs a scheme expressing the probability that chessmen, found standing on a board in a certain position, or that neighbouring* stars, have not been so arranged by mere chance, one does not feel very confident that *the* formula, not merely *a* formula, is assigned by him. It should be observed, however, first that an identical value may be reached in different ways; very much as a multiple integral may be expressed in different forms. Secondly, and more importantly, there is a characteristic defect† of the calculus of probability, which leads us to expect a real discrepancy in the methods of performing our first operation. I allude to the fact that we are often unable to utilise all our datum, to calculate the relative probabilities (in favour of mere chance or some additional agency) for the *particular* event observed, but only for a *class* to which that event belongs. And there is something arbitrary in the selection of this class. An example‡ of this peculiarity will presently appear.

(1) For the solution of our first problem two schemata present themselves, each recommended by high authority; the first perhaps more frequently employed in problems of the general sort to which ours belongs, the second, I think, more appropriate to our particular problem. According to the (a) first solution we regard the observed event—the drawing of $N(u+v)$ white balls—as having resulted from some real constitution or proportion of the balls in the urn, some "possibility," in the phrase of Laplace. By inverse probability, upon the principle of Bayes, we determine the probability that this constitution, or possibility, or cause of the observed event, was some ratio higher than u. Let $\phi(x)$ be the *à priori* probability that the sought ratio should have been the particular ratio $\frac{x}{N}$. Let $f(x)$ be the objective probability that, if $x : (N-x)$ were the real distribution of the balls, then exactly

* *Phil. Mag.*, series IV., Vol. I., pp. 463-466.

† *Cf.* Venn, *Logic of Chance*, chap. viii., sections 17-23. ‡ See p. 193.

$m+n$ white balls would be drawn in N trials. Then the probability that the observed event has resulted from some possibility *above* u, is expressed by $\Sigma\ \phi\ (x) \times f\ (x)$, summed from m to N, *divided by* the same expression summed from o to N.

This, as I understand, is the method pursued by Laplace in investigating the probability that the difference in the ratio of male to female births, as observed in Paris and in London (respectively $\frac{25}{24}$ and $\frac{19}{18}$), is due to a real difference between the two localities. ("Theor. Analytique des Prob.," Book II., Art. 29); *mutatis mutandis*, that is, it being observed first that Laplace's m is derived only from a finite set of observations (say at London), whereas ours is derived deductively from an infinite set of observations, the experience of games of chance and even more* widely diffused experiences, from the beginning of time. And secondly, in comparing our formula with Laplace's method, we must allow for his characteristic neglect of *à priori* probabilities. Laplace's reasoning is abridged by Mr. Todhunter, in his "History of Probabilities," Arts. 902, 1018. Laplace is followed by Demorgan, in the treatise on Probabilities published in the "Encyclopæd. Metrop.," at section 145, which the author entitles, "Determination of the Presumption that Increased Frequency of an vent Ehas a Particular Cause." The same method is employed by Cournot in his masterly discussion of *à posteriori* Probabilities (in the eighth chapter of "Exposition de la Théorie des Chances"). The reader who may wish to see the identical (or as nearly as possible the same) problem which we have in hand, discussed by a first-rate authority, is referred to Cournot, section 99; where it is to be observed that our case is that noted by Cournot when his m^1 (our N) is "très petit par rapport à m" (his m corresponding to our infinite set of observations afforded by games of chance, &c.).

But however well established the preceding formula as an organon of statistics (b), the following schema, savouring more of Bernouilli than of Bayes, is perhaps more appropriate to the particular problem in hand. Let a be the *à priori* probability that chance alone should have been the *régime* under which the observed event occurred. Let p be the objective probability that, chance being the *régime*, a deviation from u in the direction of success *at least as great* as v should occur. Let β be the *à priori* probability that there should have been some additional agency. Let γ be the (not in general objective) probability that, such additional agency existing, the observed event should occur. Then the required *à posteriori* probability in favour of the additional agency is $\frac{\beta\gamma}{\beta\gamma+ap}$; where $a=1-\beta$.

* I have dwelt upon this sort of experience elsewhere: *Mind*, April, 1884. *Hermathena*, 1884.

Such, as I understand, is the method pursued by Laplace in his investigation ("Theor. Analyt.," Book II., Art. 25) whether the difference between barometrical observation at different hours of the day is due to cause or chance alone. Laplace is followed by Demorgan in his section 139 entitled "On the Question whether Observed Discrepancies are Consequences of a General Law, or Accidental Fluctuations." Such also is the method employed by Herschel (Essay on Quetelet) in determining the probability that the difference between the numbers of male and female births is not accidental, and that the connection between the binary stars is physical.

It may be objected, perhaps, to both these methods that they do not utilise all our knowledge; for that, as regards the second method, we are given the particular deviation from u, namely, v, while we take account only of the fact that the deviation belongs to the *class* extending from v to $1-u$. In the first method, indeed, we take our stand upon the particular event, the deviation of exactly v. But, on the other hand, we do not take account of our exact knowledge of u. The answer would have been the same if we had been given only that this fraction was somewhere between zero and what we now know to be its exact value.

This difficulty may be partially cleared up by the following illustration (borrowed from Laplace). Suppose we know that there are a thousand tickets in a certain lottery, whereof a hundred are red and the rest white, and that each has a certain number inscribed. If a red ball is drawn, though it has a particular number inscribed on it, yet we cannot utilise that knowledge in the absence of any knowledge whether the agency, other than chance, would prefer one number to another. We may have to put down the (objective) probability that chance alone existing the red ball would have been drawn as $\frac{1}{10}$. But now let it be known that the particular number was prophesied, or is, and might have been found out to be, the prize-bearing ticket; then, indeed, we obtain a hold whereby to bring to bear our knowledge of the differential chance, that is $\frac{1}{1000}$. In our problem, with reference, for example, to the second method above exhibited, we can assign certainly the differential probability that the *exact* deviation v should result from chance alone. But we cannot similarly differentiate our vague knowledge about the other agency. We may assign, certainly, the form of such an argument, but when we come to our second operation we shall find that it is an empty form. This foredoomed form might be $\frac{\beta\gamma^1}{\beta\gamma^1 + ap^1}$ where, corresponding to the notation above employed, p^1 is the (very small) probability that the particular deviation v should occur under the *régime* of chance; γ^1, is the probability (*presumably of the same order of magnitude*) that, an additional agency existing, the exact deviation v should have occurred; a and β are as before.

The only interpretation which I can put on Professor Lodge's reasoning upon the problem now in hand (in the *Proceedings* of the S.P.R., Part VII.), is that it is an attempt in some way to evade the difficulty here noticed. But the originality of his reasoning renders it difficult for the book-taught student to understand it.

(2) Still under the heading devoted to the first operation, we come now to our second problem. It seems a sufficient (though for reasons already intimated it is an imperfect) statement to posit the same formula as in the second method of the preceding problem $\left(\text{viz., } \frac{\beta\gamma}{\beta\gamma+ap}\right)$, substituting for the p of that formula the continued product $p\ p'\ p''$, &c., expressing the probability that under the *régime* of chance all the observed results $m+n$, $m+n'$, &c., would have diverged in the same direction from the most probable result, m by $n\ n'$, &c. (Had the datum been that the observed results had diverged on one side or the other, it would have been proper to take each p as expressing that degree of divergence *on one side or the other.*) The import of γ is analogously modified.

It will be noticed that this formula differs from that offered by Mr. Gurney in Part VII. of these *Proceedings.* But, as above intimated, it does not follow that, because two formulæ are different, both cannot be right. They may be equally serviceable and equally imperfect. In the present case Mr. Gurney's formula appears to be quite as accurate as ours,* but not, as will presently be pointed out, substantially more serviceable.

(3) The third problem may be reduced to the second (or first), by grouping the given series so as to constitute a set, in all of which the successes are in excess. This method, doubtless, does not utilise all our information. But it is convenient; and it might be difficult to frame a more useful formula without special knowledge of the subject-matter. Much would turn upon the probability that the agency other than chance, if existing, would have been attended by the observed chequered result. If it were known or suspected to be a fitful agency, not much presumption against it would be created by defective series.

II. For the methods appropriate to the second operation the reader is referred to the paper on *à priori probabilities* in the *Philosophical Magazine*, September, 1884, and to the authorities therein cited. It is pointed out in the article referred to that an accurate knowledge of the values under consideration can often be dispensed with, and that an inaccurate knowledge is often derivable from experience; partly by a copious simple induction, and partly by inference from the success which has attended the hypothetical values which have been usually assigned

* Poisson (*Recerches*, Art. 64) indicates the difference between these two procedures, without expressing a preference.

to these quantities. To apply these principles to the problems in hand. (1) For the first problem and the (a) first method the *à priori* facility function ϕ (x) can, to a large extent, be ignored, when N is large; as Cournot has well exhibited in the eighth chapter of the work already referred to. I would further contend that there is some empirical ground for treating the function as a constant (as is usual in inverse reasoning founded on Bayes' theorem and the cognate theory of errors of observation). Accordingly the sought *à posteriori* probability reduces to the objective probability $\Sigma f(x)$ between proper limits, divided by the same, summed between extreme limits.

As to the second formula offered above under (b) $\frac{\beta\gamma}{\beta\gamma+ap}$ for additional agency, it is consonant, I submit, to experience to put $\frac{1}{2}$ both for a and β. To put that same value for γ, appears, while not contradicted by, yet less agreeable to, experience. In fact, we know of some kinds of agencies which, if they exist, are extremely likely to make themselves felt (*e.g.*, imposture). Accordingly Mill, discussing a similar problem ("Logic," Book III., chap. xviii., section 6), says: "The law of nature, if real, would certainly produce the series of coincidences." And so Poisson, in a passage above referred to, supposes "une cause capable de le [the observed event] produire necessairement." But it really is not very important what particular value we assign to one of these *à priori* constants, provided that we are careful not to build upon any particularity which does not rest upon our rough though solid ground of experience. In the present case all that we really know about γ is that it is substantial, not in general indefinitely small. But we must not build any conclusion on its *fractional* character, seeing that it may very well be in the neighbourhood of unity. The importance of this remark will appear when we come to the second problem. In the present case, since neither a nor β nor γ is very small, *if* p is very small the above written expression for the *à posteriori* probability in favour of additional agency reduces by Taylor's theorem to $1-\frac{a}{\beta\gamma}\times p$. Thus the objective probability p may be taken as a rough measure of the sought *à posteriori* probability in favour of mere chance. This reasoning is authorised by Donkin and even by Boole, who is so mightily scrupulous about the undetermined constants of probabilities (see the authorities cited in the paper on *à priori* Probabilities in *Philosophical Magazine*). The conclusion is agreeable to the summary practice of Laplace and Herschel. They have not thought it worth while to construct a scaffolding of unknown constants which would have to be taken down again.

The third formula $\frac{\beta\gamma^1}{\beta\gamma^1+ap^1}$ attempts to utilise our knowledge of the particular deviation n, and the particular, most probable value from

which it is a deviation, viz., m, p^1, *is* the objective probability that this particular deviation should occur in the *régime* of chance. p^1 we know; but what is γ^1? It is a magnitude *presumably of the same order as* p^1. Accordingly the above expression is thoroughly indeterminate. It will be remembered that this formula is here criticised not as being identical with the rule given by Professor Lodge, but as that to which the principle he employs might seem to lead. His rule, however obtained, is so far a good rule as (in common with an indefinite number of rules that might be constructed) it always *varies in the same direction* as the rule sanctioned by Laplace, Demorgan, Herschel, and the other masters of the science of probabilities. What is here termed p always increases with the increase, and decreases with the decrease of Professor Lodge's $\frac{p}{q}$ (*Proceedings*, Part VII., p. 261, top). But it happens that Professor Lodge's rule does less than justice to the argument in favour of agency other than chance.

(2) We come now to the second problem, concerning which, under the heading of the second operation, there need hardly be added anything. As under (1) we see (or will see presently) that p is the effective measure of the probability—the *à posteriori* probability—of mere chance, so under (2) the real grip of proof consists in $p \times p' \times$, &c. If we replace $\frac{1}{2}$ which Mr. Gurney assigns as "the probability of obtaining at least that degree of success—if chance $+\theta$" act, by our γ, his "final value" will become

$$\frac{x}{x+\left(\frac{1}{\gamma}\right)^n \times q_1 q_2 \cdots q_n (1-x)}.$$

So far as there is reason to think (with Mill) that "the law of nature, if real, would certainly produce the series of coincidences," Mr. Gurney seems to underrate the probability in favour of a cause other than chance, by assigning to $\frac{1}{\gamma}$ a value (2) which, being raised to the nth power, unduly swells the denominator. If each p or the average—the geometric mean—of the p's were $\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Gurney's formula would be void of any probative content. But this is contrary to common sense. It is contrary to this elementary principle of statistics: that, if an event may indifferently happen one way or another, be either *plus* or *minus*, and it repeatedly happens one way, then there must be a cause other than chance for that repetition.* According to this new rule it is no

* It is evidently owing to a mere *lapsus plumæ* on the part of Mr. Gurney that this consequence can be fastened upon him. For at p. 256 he implies the principle for which we are here contending. It may be as well to repeat that my contention is not against Mr. Gurney's reasoning, which is excellent; but against his assumption of the premiss: that, "if chance $+\theta$" act, the probability

argument in favour of causation * that all the planets move in the same direction. It would be no proof of asymmetry in a coin that it ever so often turned up in succession heads. Doubtless you never could prove by repeated throws the existence of such a peculiar kind of asymmetry, such a wabbling load, that it would be (for each throw) "as likely to bring the degree of success up to that point" which is observed, that is to give heads, as "not to do so," that is to give tails. Pure chance would always be as probable an hypothesis as that. In a word, Mr. Gurney's solution underrates the evidence in the case where the divergence from the most probable value is small or not known to be large, but is *repeatedly in the same direction.* In the general case where p is very small his solution does not differ substantially from ours. His $2p$ is as good as our $\frac{1}{\gamma}p$, may be regarded as of the same order of magnitude.

It should be observed that this criticism relates to the second, not the first operation, as performed by Mr. Gurney. His scaffolding is more elaborate, if not more serviceable, than ours. But in the building he uses some materials which, though solid enough for ordinary purposes, yet will not bear certain strains. It is to be observed, also, that Mr. Gurney's "at least that degree of success" has here been interpreted as at least that degree of divergence from the most probable point *in an assigned, say the plus, direction.* If we interpret (violently) his q as probability of obtaining that degree of divergence *in either direction,* we shall be involved in still greater difficulties.

(3) As to our third problem, it has been already resolved into the other two.

III. We come now to the third, the calculative portion of our work. (1) As an example of the application of first principles without the intervention of approximative formulæ, let us take the experiment cited by Mr. Gurney at p. 251 of Part VII. of these *Proceedings,* where the "name thought of" was DOREMOND, and the "letters

of a certain degree of success being attained may be put down as $\frac{1}{2}$. The ground of my contention is that we are *not* entirely ignorant of the probability in question. For we have the datum that it is greater than the probability that chance alone would attain the certain degree of success. For it is absurd to suppose that chance + a favouring cause is less likely to obtain a certain degree of success than chance alone. Accordingly it might be legitimate to put $\gamma=p+\frac{1-p}{2}$; or rather to regard γ as an independent variable in P, the expression for the *à posteriori* probability in favour of a cause, and to integrate P with regard to γ between limits p and 1; agreeably to the practice recommended by Donkin in his masterly discussion of *à priori* probabilities (*Phil. Mag.*, 1851). It is clear that, when p is in the neighbourhood of $\frac{1}{2}$, Mr. Gurney's assumption sacrifices much of the cumulative force which properly belongs to P.

* *Cf.* Laplace, *Essai Philosophique.*

produced" were EPJYEIOD. Here, out of eight guesses, there are four successes; if success consist in guessing either the very letter thought of, or either of its nearest alphabetical neighbours, in short any one of an assigned consecutive triplet. The probability that a letter taken at random should fall within any assigned triplet is $\frac{1}{8}$. Accordingly (on the supposition that chance is the only agency), the probabilities of obtaining in the course of eight trials no successes, one success, two successes, &c., are given by the first, second, third, &c., terms respectively of the binomial $(\frac{7}{8}+\frac{1}{8})^8$. The probability of obtaining at least four successes is equal to the sum of the fifth, and remaining terms; that is

$$70\left(\frac{7}{8}\right)^4\left(\frac{1}{8}\right)^4+56\left(\frac{7}{8}\right)^3\left(\frac{1}{8}\right)^5+28\left(\frac{7}{8}\right)^2\left(\frac{1}{8}\right)^6+8\cdot\left(\frac{7}{8}\right)\left(\frac{1}{8}\right)^7+\left(\frac{1}{8}\right)^8,$$

or ·011. The probability, then, in favour of an agency other than chance is about ·99.

When larger numbers are involved, approximative formulæ become necessary. According to principles familiar to those who have studied the calculus of probabilities, the objective probability involved in either formula (a) or (b) is approximately*

$$\tfrac{1}{2}\left[1-2\int_0^T e^{-t^2}dt\right], \text{ where } T=v\sqrt{\frac{N}{2u(1-u)}}$$

The approximation requires that n^2 should not exceed N, and that N should be large. This then, according to the reasoning employed in our second part, is the measure of the *à posteriori* probability in favour of chance alone.

For example, in the first instance given by Mr. Gurney, at p. 241 of the December number of this *Journal*, N is 2927, u is $\frac{1}{4}$, and v is $\frac{57}{2927}$. As the condition required for the validity of the approximation is just or very nearly fulfilled, the answer is, if I do the sum correctly, about ·93 as the probability of an agency other than chance; no very crushing probability, as statistical evidence goes. In Mr. Gurney's next instance, N is 1833, u still $\frac{1}{4}$, v is $\frac{52}{1833}$. Whence in favour of additional agency a very respectable probability, ·997.

(2) and (3). As an illustration of the second problem (including the

Omitting a certain term outside the sign of integration (see Todhunter, sec. 997) as here practically, if not in general theoretically, neglectible. It will be observed that in *halving* the quantity within the brackets we assume that an excess greater than n is equally probable as a defect greater than the same quantity. This is exactly true only when $u=\frac{1}{2}$. In our case the factor $\frac{1}{2}$ is too large. The argument becomes *a fortiori*.

third), let us suppose that the series just instanced breaks up into four series, each presenting an excess of successes, with about the same v—an arrangement to which the experiments of M. Richet (described at p. 622-628 of the December number of *Revue Philosophique*) seem to lend themselves without violence. Then for one of the fractional series we have $N=\frac{1833}{4}=458$, u and v as before. Whence p is found about ·08. Whence p^4 about ·00004. And $1-p^4$, the measure of the sought probability, $=$·99996, which may fairly be regarded as physical certainty. It should be observed that if, as would usually happen, the v for all the partial series should not be the same, then *ceteris paribus* the above estimate would be below the mark. On the other hand, if the partial N's were unequal, *ceteris paribus* our estimate would be above the mark. As both inequalities, but especially the former, are likely to make themselves felt, the conclusion may be regarded as safe.

Such is the evidence which the calculus of probabilities affords as to the existence of an agency other than mere chance. The calculus is silent as to the nature of that agency—whether it is more likely to be vulgar illusion or extraordinary law. That is a question to be decided, not by formulæ and figures, but by general philosophy and common sense.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

The Third Annual Business Meeting of the Members of the Society was held at 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W., on the 30th of January.

The President, Professor H. Sidgwick, briefly referred to the growth of the Society during the previous year. He remarked that during 1884 the Society nearly doubled the number of its Members and Associates. At the close of the year the Society consisted of:—

Members	223
Associates	258
Honorary Members	6
Corresponding Members	9
Honorary Associates	21
Vice-Presidents who are not Members or Associates	3
Total	520

The President also referred to the Library as numbering nearly 800 volumes. Of these works, 520 are in English, 135 in German, 110 in French, and 15 in other languages.

An audited balance-sheet of the receipts and expenditure of the Society during the year 1884 was placed before the Meeting. In commenting on it the President said it appeared that, after taking account of moneys due and owing at the end of the year, there was still a balance on the right side; in addition to which there was the Library, the Stock of *Proceedings*, and the furniture and fittings belonging to the Society. It was agreed that a valuation of these should be made during the current year, so that at its close the Society might know its exact position both as to capital and as to receipts and expenditure.

The six vacancies on the Council, caused by the retirement in rotation of five Members, and by the death of Mr. Walter H. Browne, were filled by the election of the following gentlemen:—

G. P. Bidder, Q.C.	Rev. W. Stainton Moses.
Alexander Calder.	C. Lockhart Robertson, M.D.
Richard Hodgson.	J. Herbert Stack.

The approval of the Society was obtained to a change in the relations between the Council and the investigating Committees. In future, the responsibility for both the facts and the reasonings in papers published in the *Proceedings* will rest entirely with their authors; and the Council, as a body, will refrain from expressing or implying any opinion on the subjects thus brought forward. The papers will, however, be submitted to a Committee of Reference before publication.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETINGS IN

May and June, 1885.

The fourteenth and fifteenth General Meetings of the Society were held at the Rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk-street, Pall Mall, on Friday, May 29th, and Friday, June 24th.

MR. F. W. H. MYERS IN THE CHAIR.

The programme on both occasions included parts of Mr. Hodgson's account of his investigations in India, and of the paper on "Some Higher Aspects of Mesmerism," which appear below. At the June meeting Professor Sidgwick read the conclusions expressed by the Committee in the following Report.

I.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED TO

INVESTIGATE PHENOMENA CONNECTED WITH THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.*

1. STATEMENT AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

In May, 1884, the Council of the Society for Psychical Research appointed a Committee for the purpose of taking such evidence as to the alleged phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society as might be offered by members of that body at the time in England, or as could be collected elsewhere.

The Committee consisted of the following members, with power to add to their number:—Messrs. E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, F. Podmore, H. Sidgwick, and J. H. Stack. They have since added Mr. R. Hodgson and Mrs. H. Sidgwick to their number.

For the convenience of Members who may not have followed the progress of the Theosophical Society, a few words of preliminary explanation may be added here.

The Theosophical Society was founded in New York, in 1875, by Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, ostensibly for certain philanthropic and literary purposes. Its headquarters were removed to India in 1878, and it made considerable progress among the Hindus and other

* As this Committee had carried out a large portion of its work before the appointment of the Committee of Reference, its Report has, by exception not been submitted to that body.

educated natives. "The Occult World," by Mr. Sinnett, at that time editor of the *Pioneer*, introduced the Society to English readers, and that work, which dealt mainly with phenomena, was succeeded by "Esoteric Buddhism," in which some tenets of the Occult doctrine, or so-called "Wisdom-religion," were set forth. But with these doctrines the Committee have, of course, no concern.

The Committee had the opportunity of examining Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, who spent some months in England in the summer of 1884, and Mr. Mohini M. Chatterji, a Brahmin graduate of the University of Calcutta, who accompanied them. Mr. Sinnett also gave evidence before the Committee; and they have had before them oral and written testimony from numerous other members of the Theosophical Society in England, India, and other countries, besides the accounts of phenomena published in "The Occult World," "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," *The Theosophist*, and elsewhere.

According to this evidence, there exists in Thibet a brotherhood whose members have acquired a power over nature which enables them to perform wonders beyond the reach of ordinary men. Madame Blavatsky asserts herself to be a *Chela*, or disciple of these Brothers (spoken of also as *Adepts* and as *Mahatmas*), and they are alleged to have interested themselves in a special way in the Theosophical Society, and to have performed many marvels in connection with it. They are said to be able to cause apparitions of themselves in places where their bodies are not, and not only to appear, but to communicate intelligently with those whom they thus visit, and themselves to perceive what is going on where their phantasm appears. This phantasmal appearance has been called by Theosophists the projection of the "astral form." The evidence before the Committee includes several cases of such alleged appearances of two Mahatmas, Koot Hoomi and Morya. It is further alleged that their Chelas, or disciples, are gradually taught this art, and that Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar in particular, a Theosophist residing at the headquarters of the Society, has acquired it, and has practised it on several occasions. It may be observed that these alleged voluntary apparitions, though carrying us considerably beyond any evidence that has been collected from other sources, still have much analogy with some cases that have come under the notice of the Literary Committee.

But we cannot separate the evidence offered by the Theosophists for projections of the "astral form," from the evidence which they also offer for a different class of phenomena, similar to some which are said by Spiritualists to occur through the agency of mediums, and which involve the action of "psychical" energies on ponderable matter; since such phenomena are usually described either as (1) accompanying

apparitions of the Mahatmas or their disciples, or (2) at any rate as carrying with them a manifest reference to their agency.

The alleged phenomena which come under this head consist—so far as we need at present take them into account—in the transportation, even through solid matter, of ponderable objects, including letters, and of what the Theosophists regard as their duplication; together with what is called "precipitation" of handwriting and drawings on previously blank paper. The evocation of sound without physical means is also said to occur.

In December, 1884, the Committee considered that the time had come to issue a preliminary and provisional Report. This Report, on account of its provisional character, and for other reasons, was circulated among Members and Associates of the Society for Psychical Research only, and not published. In drawing up the present Report, therefore, the Committee have not assumed that their readers will be acquainted with the former one. The conclusion then come to was expressed as follows: "On the whole (though with some serious reserves), it seems undeniable that there is a *primâ facie* case, for some part, at least, of the claim made, which, at the point which the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research have now reached, cannot, with consistency, be ignored. And it seems plain that an actual residence for some months in India of some trusted observer—his actual intercourse with the persons concerned, Hindu and European, so far as may be permitted to him—is an almost necessary pre-requisite of any more definite judgment."

In accordance with this view, a member of the Committee, Mr. R. Hodgson, B.A., Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, proceeded to India in November, 1884, and, after carrying on his investigations for three months, returned in April, 1885.

In the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for September and October, 1884, portions of certain letters were published which purported to have been written by Madame Blavatsky to a M. and Madame Coulomb, who had occupied positions of trust at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society for some years, but had been expelled from it in May, 1884, by the General Council of that Society during the absence of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in Europe. These letters, if genuine, unquestionably implicated Madame Blavatsky in a conspiracy to produce marvellous phenomena fraudulently; but they were declared by her to be, in whole or in part, forgeries. One important object of Mr. Hodgson's visit to India was to ascertain, if possible, by examining the letters, and by verifying facts implied or stated in them, and the explanations of the Coulombs concerning them, whether the letters were genuine or not. The editor of the *Christian College Magazine* had already, as Mr. Hodgson found, taken considerable pains to

ascertain this; but he had not been able to obtain the judgment of a recognised expert in handwriting. Accordingly a selection of the letters, amply sufficient to prove the conspiracy, was entrusted by the editor, (in whose charge Madame Coulomb had placed them,) to Mr. Hodgson, who sent it home before his own return. These, together with some letters undoubtedly written by Madame Blavatsky, were submitted to the well-known expert in handwriting, Mr. Netherclift, and also to Mr. Sims, of the British Museum. These gentlemen came independently to the conclusion that the letters were written by Madame Blavatsky. This opinion is entirely in accordance with the impression produced on the Committee by the general aspect of the letters, as well as by their characteristic style, and much of their contents.

The Committee further desired that Mr. Hodgson should, by cross-examination and otherwise, obtain evidence that might assist them in judging of the value to be attached to the testimony of some of the principal witnesses; that he should examine localities where phenomena had occurred, with a view to ascertaining whether the explanations by trickery, that suggested themselves to the Committee, or any other such explanations, were possible; and in particular, as already said, that he should, as far as possible, verify the statements of the Coulombs with a view to judging whether their explanations of the phenomena were plausible. For it is obvious that no value for the purposes of psychical research can be attached to phenomena where persons like the Coulombs have been concerned, if it can be plausibly shown that they might themselves have produced them: while, at the same time, their unsupported assertion that they did produce them, cannot be taken by itself as evidence.

After hearing what Mr. Hodgson had to say on these points, and after carefully weighing all the evidence before them, the Committee unanimously arrived at the following conclusions:—

(1) That of the letters put forward by Madame Coulomb, all those, at least, which the Committee have had the opportunity of themselves examining, and of submitting to the judgment of experts, are undoubtedly written by Madame Blavatsky; and suffice to prove that she has been engaged in a long-continued combination with other persons to produce by ordinary means a series of apparent marvels for the support of the Theosophic movement.

(2) That, in particular, the Shrine at Adyar, through which letters purporting to come from Mahatmas were received, was elaborately arranged with a view to the secret insertion of letters and other objects through a sliding panel at the back, and regularly used for this purpose by Madame Blavatsky or her agents.

(3) That there is consequently a very strong general presumption

that all the marvellous narratives put forward as evidence of the existence and occult power of the Mahatmas are to be explained as due either (*a*) to deliberate deception carried out by or at the instigation of Madame Blavatsky, or (*b*) to spontaneous illusion, or hallucination, or unconscious misrepresentation or invention on the part of the witnesses.

(4) That after examining Mr. Hodgson's report of the results of his personal inquiries, they are of opinion that the testimony to these marvels is in no case sufficient, taking amount and character together, to resist the force of the general presumption above mentioned.

Accordingly, they think that it would be a waste of time to prolong the investigation.

As to the correctness of Mr. Hodgson's explanation of particular marvels, they do not feel called upon to express any definite conclusion; since on the one hand, they are not in a position to endorse every detail of this explanation, and on the other hand they have satisfied themselves as to the thoroughness of Mr. Hodgson's investigation, and have complete reliance on his impartiality, and they recognise that his means of arriving at a correct conclusion are far beyond any to which they can lay claim.

There is only one special point on which the Committee think themselves bound to state explicitly a modification of their original view. They said in effect in their First Report that if certain phenomena were not genuine it was very difficult to suppose that Colonel Olcott was not implicated in the fraud. But after considering the evidence that Mr. Hodgson has laid before them as to Colonel Olcott's extraordinary credulity, and inaccuracy in observation and inference, they desire to disclaim any intention of imputing wilful deception to that gentleman.

The Committee have no desire that their conclusion should be accepted without examination, and wish to afford the reader every opportunity of forming a judgment for himself. They therefore append Mr. Hodgson's account of his investigation, which will be found to form by far the largest and most important part of the present Report. In it, and the appendices to it, is incorporated enough of the evidence given by members of the Theosophical Society to afford the reader ample opportunity of judging of both its quantity and quality.

There is, however, evidence for certain phenomena which did not occur in India, and are not directly dealt with in Mr. Hodgson's Report. Accounts of these will be found at p. 382, with some remarks on them by Mrs. H. Sidgwick.

The report of Mr. Netherclift on the handwriting of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters will be found at p. 381. Extracts from the letters themselves are given in Mr. Hodgson's Report, pp. 211–216

The authorship of the letters attributed to Koot Hoomi, which are very numerous, and many of them very long, is fully discussed in Mr. Hodgson's Report. It may be mentioned here that it is maintained by some that the *contents* of these letters are such as to preclude the possibility of their having been written by Madame Blavatsky. This has never been the opinion of the Committee, either as regards the published letters or those that have been privately shown to them in manuscript. Those who wish to form an independent opinion on the subject are referred to "The Occult World" and "Esoteric Buddhism," which contain many of the letters themselves, and much matter derived from others.

In this connection may be conveniently mentioned what the Committee, in their First Report, called the most serious blot which had then been pointed out in the Theosophic evidence. A certain letter, in the Koot Hoomi handwriting, and addressed avowedly by Koot Hoomi, from Thibet, to Mr. Sinnett, in 1880, was proved by Mr. H. Kiddle, of New York, to contain a long passage apparently plagiarised from a speech of Mr. Kiddle's, made at Lake Pleasant, August 15th, 1880, and reported in the *Banner of Light* some two months or more previous to the date of Koot Hoomi's letter. Koot Hoomi replied (some months later) that the passages were no doubt *quotations* from Mr. Kiddle's speech, which he had become cognisant of in some occult manner, and which he had stored up in his mind, but that the appearance of plagiarism was due to the imperfect precipitation of the letter by the Chela, or disciple, charged with the task. Koot Hoomi then gave what he asserted to be the true version of the letter as dictated and recovered by his own scrutiny apparently from the blurred precipitation. In this fuller version the quoted passages were given as quotations, and mixed with controversial matter. Koot Hoomi explained the peculiar form which the error of precipitation had assumed by saying that the quoted passages had been more distinctly impressed on his own mind, by an effort of memory, than his own interposed remarks; and, that inasmuch as the whole composition had been feebly and inadequately projected, owing to his own physical fatigue at the time, the high lights only, so to speak, had come out; there had been many illegible passages, which the Chela had omitted. The Chela, he said, wished to submit the letter to Koot Hoomi for revision, but Koot Hoomi declined for want of time.

The weakness of this explanation was pointed out (in *Light*) by Mr. Massey, who showed (among other points) that the quoted sentences seemed to have been ingeniously twisted into a polemical sense, precisely opposite to that in which they were written.

And more lately (in *Light*, September 20th, 1884) Mr. Kiddle has shown that the passage thus restored by no means comprises the whole

of the unacknowledged quotations; and, moreover, that these newly-indicated quotations are antecedent to those already admitted by Koot Hoomi, and described as forming the introduction to a fresh topic of criticism. The proof of a deliberate plagiarism aggravated by a fictitious defence, is therefore irresistible.

In conclusion, it is necessary to state that this is not the only evidence of fraud in connection with the Theosophical Society and Madame Blavatsky, which the Committee had before them, prior to, or independently of, the publication of the Blavatsky-Coulomb correspondence. Mr. C. C. Massey had brought before them evidence which convinced both him and them that Madame Blavatsky had, in 1879, arranged with a medium, then in London, to cause a "Mahatma" letter to reach him in an apparently "mysterious" way. The particulars will be found at p. 397.

It forms no part of our duty to follow Madame Blavatsky into other fields. But with reference to the somewhat varied lines of activity which Mr. Hodgson's Report suggests for her, we may say that we cannot consider any of these as beyond the range of her powers. The homage which her immediate friends have paid to her abilities has been for the most part of an unconscious kind; and some of them may still be unwilling to credit her with mental resources which they have hitherto been so far from suspecting. For our own part, we regard her neither as the mouthpiece of hidden seers, nor as a mere vulgar adventuress; we think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting impostors in history.

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2. ACCOUNT OF PERSONAL INVESTIGATIONS IN INDIA, AND DISCUSSION OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE "KOOT HOOMI" LETTERS.

By Richard Hodgson.

PART I.

In November of last year I proceeded to India for the purpose of investigating on the spot the evidence of the phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society.

It will be known to most of my readers that M. and Madame Coulomb, who had been attached to the Theosophical Society for several years in positions of trust, had charged Madame Blavatsky with fraud, and had adduced in support of their charge various letters and other documents alleged by them to have been written by Madame Blavatsky. Some of these documents were published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* of September and October, 1884, and, if genuine, unquestion-

ably implicated Madame Blavatsky in trickery. Madame Blavatsky, however, asserted that they were to a great extent forgeries, that at any rate the incriminating portions were. One of the most important points, therefore, in the investigation was the determination of the genuineness of these disputed documents.

It was also highly important to determine the competency of the witnesses to phenomena, and to ascertain, if possible, the trustworthiness in particular of three primary witnesses, viz., Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, Mr. Babajee D. Nath, and Colonel Olcott, upon whose trustworthiness the validity of the evidence which in our First Report we considered *primâ facie* important, mainly depended.

Before proceeding it may be well for me to state that the general attitude which I have for years maintained with respect to various classes of alleged phenomena which form the subject of investigation by our Society enabled me, as I believe, to approach the task I had before me with complete impartiality; while the conclusions which I held and still hold concerning the important positive results achieved by our Society in connection with the phenomena of Telepathy,—of which, moreover, I have had instances in my own experience, both spontaneous and experimental, and both as agent and percipient,—formed a further safeguard of my readiness to deal with the evidence set before me without any prejudice as to the principles involved. Indeed, whatever prepossessions I may have had were distinctly in favour of Occultism and Madame Blavatsky—a fact which, I think I may venture to say, is well known to several leading Theosophists.

During my three months' investigation I was treated with perfect courtesy, both at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society and by the gentlemen connected with the *Madras Christian College Magazine.* I thus had every opportunity of examining the witnesses for the Theosophical phenomena, and of comparing in detail the disputed documents with the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky. After a very careful examination of the most important of these documents, and after considering the circumstantial evidence offered by Theosophists in proof of their being forgeries, I have come to the assured conclusion that they are genuine.

And it seems desirable here to mention a fact to which attention has already been drawn by the editor of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, in his reply to an unfounded charge brought against him by Theosophists, who accused the authorities of the magazine of having published the disputed documents without any guarantee of their genuineness. So far was this from being the case that prior to their publication of the documents they obtained the best evidence procurable at Madras as to the genuineness of the handwriting. There was indeed no professional expert in handwriting to be consulted, but the judgments

which were obtained included, among others, the opinions of gentlemen qualified by many years' banking experience.

From these Blavatsky-Coulomb documents it appears that Mahatma letters were prepared and sent by Madame Blavatsky, that Koot Hoomi is a fictitious personage, that supposed "astral forms" of the Mahatmas were confederates of Madame Blavatsky in disguise—generally the Coulombs; that alleged transportation of cigarettes and other objects, "integration" of letters, and allied phenomena—some of them in connection with the so-called shrine at Adyar—were ingenious trickeries, carried out by Madame Blavatsky, with the assistance chiefly of the Coulombs.

But further investigations were required. Other apparently important phenomena had come before us which were not directly discredited by the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters. Among these phenomena, for example, were some appearances of Mahatmas, many instances of the alleged precipitation of writing independently of Madame Blavatsky and the Coulombs; and there were also the "astral" journeys of Mr. Damodar. Not only did these and other phenomena require special investigation, but it was desirable that some confirmation should be obtained of the genuineness of the disputed letters—that any conclusions concerning them should not depend merely and exclusively upon questions of style and handwriting. To this end it was necessary that I should examine the important witnesses involved in the incidents mentioned in these documents. It may be added that additional light was required on some of the phenomena mentioned in "The Occult World," and that the authorship of the K. H. letters could not be put aside as not in some degree bearing on our research.

I may now express in brief the conclusions to which I was gradually forced, after what I believe to be a thorough survey of the evidence for Theosophical phenomena.

The conclusion which I formed, that as a question of handwriting the disputed letters were written by Madame Blavatsky, is corroborated by the results of my inquiries into the details of the related incidents.

For Mr. Damodar's "astral" journeys I could find no additional evidence which rendered pre-arrangement in any way more difficult than it appeared to be under the circumstances narrated to us at the time of our First Report, when we considered that collusion between Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar was not precluded. On the contrary, my inquiries have revealed that pre-arrangement between Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar was much easier than we then supposed. The accounts given by those witnesses who, we thought, might contribute valuable corroborative evidence in the way of showing that such pre-arrangement was not possible, tended rather to show the reverse. The cases, therefore, rested entirely upon the evidence of Mr.

Damodar and Madame Blavatsky. But early in my investigation events occurred which impelled me towards the belief that no reliance could be placed on Mr. Damodar, and after discovering the unmistakable falsehoods which marked his own evidence, I could come to no other conclusion than that he had co-operated with Madame Blavatsky in the production of spurious marvels.

I was also, for reasons that will hereafter appear, compelled to discard altogether the evidence of Mr. Babajee D. Nath, who appeared to us at the time of our First Report to be a primary witness for the ordinary physical existence of the Mahatmas.

The testimony of Colonel Olcott himself I found to be fundamentally at variance with fact in so many important points that it became impossible for me to place the slightest value upon the evidence he had offered. But in saying this I do not mean to suggest any doubt as to Colonel Olcott's honesty of purpose.

In short, my lengthy examinations of the numerous array of witnesses to the phenomena showed that they were, as a body, excessively credulous, excessively deficient in the powers of common observation,—and too many of them prone to supplement that deficiency by culpable exaggeration.

Nevertheless, I refrained as long as possible from pronouncing even to myself any definite conclusion on the subject, but after giving the fullest consideration to the statements made by the Theosophic witnesses, after a careful inspection both of the present headquarters of the Theosophical Society in Madras and of the old headquarters in Bombay, where so many of the alleged phenomena occurred, I finally had no doubt whatever that the phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society were part of a huge fraudulent system worked by Madame Blavatsky with the assistance of the Coulombs and several other confederates, and that not a single genuine phenomenon could be found among them all. And I may add that though, of course, I have not, in coming to this conclusion, trusted to any unverified statements of the Coulombs, still neither by frequent cross-examination nor by independent investigation of their statements wherever circumstances permitted, have I been able to break down any allegations of theirs which were in any way material.

It is needless for me to enter into all the minutiæ of so complicated an investigation. It would in truth be impossible either to reproduce all the palterings and equivocations in the evidence offered to me, or to describe with any approach to adequacy how my personal impressions of many of the witnesses deepened my conviction of the dishonesty woven throughout their testimony. What follows, however, will, I think, be more than enough to convince any impartial inquirer of the justice of the conclusion which I have reached.

I begin by giving some extracts from the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters which will justify the assertions which I have made above concerning the contents of these documents. The asterisk (*) placed against some of the extracts means that the letters from which those extracts are taken were among those examined by Mr. Netherclift.

1.—The Sassoon Telegram.*

The following is an extract from a letter purporting to be written by Madame Blavatsky from Poona to Madame Coulomb at Madras in October, 1883 :—

Now, dear, let us change the programme. Whether *something* succeeds or not I must try. Jacob Sassoon, the happy proprietor of a crore of rupees, with whose family I dined last night, is anxious to become a Theosophist. He is ready to give 10,000 rupees to buy and repair the headquarters ; he said to Colonel (Ezekiel, his cousin, arranged all this) if only he saw a little phenomenon, got the assurance that the *Mahatmas* could hear what was said, or give him some *other sign of their existence* (*? ! !*) Well, this letter will reach you the 26th, Friday ; will you go up to the Shrine and ask K. H. (or Christofolo) to send me a telegram that would reach me about 4 or 5 in the afternoon, same day, worded thus :—

"Your conversation with Mr. Jacob Sassoon reached Master just now. Were the latter even to satisfy him, still the doubter would hardly find the moral courage to connect himself with the Society.

"Ramalinga Deb."

If this reaches me on the 26th, even in the evening, it will still produce a tremendous impression. Address, care of N. Khandallavalla, Judge, Poona. Je ferai le reste. Cela coûtera quatre ou cinq roupies. *Cela ne fait rien.*

Yours truly,
(Signed) H. P. B.

The envelope which Madame Coulomb shows as belonging to this letter bears the postmarks Poona, October 24th ; Madras, October 26th ; 2nd delivery, Adyar, October 26th ; (as to which Madame Blavatsky has written in the margin of my copy of Madame Coulomb's pamphlet : † "Cannot the cover have contained another letter ? Funny evidence!") Madame Coulomb also shows in connection with this letter an official receipt for a telegram sent in the name of Ramalinga Deb from the St. Thomé office, at Madras, to Madame Blavatsky, at Poona, on October 26th, which contained the same number of words as above.

2, 3, 4.—The Adyar Saucer.

The following are said to have been written by Madame Blavatsky from Ootacamund to M. and Madame Coulomb at Madras, in July or August, 1883 :—

† "Some Account of my Intercourse with Madame Blavatsky," &c.

2.*

Ma bien chère Amie,

Vous n'avez pas besoin d'attendre l'homme "Punch." Pourvu que cela soit fait en présence de personnes qui sont respectables *besides* our own familiar *muffs*. Je vous supplie de la faire à la première occasion.

3.*

Cher Monsieur Coulomb,

C'est je crois cela que vous devez avoir. Tâchez donc si vous croyez que cela va réussir d'avoir plus d'audience que nos *imbéciles domestiques* seulement. Cela mérite la peine—Car la soucoupe d'Adyar pourrait devenir historique comme la tasse de Simla. Soubbaya ici et je n'ai guère le temps *d'écrire à mon aise*, à vous mes honneurs et remerciments.

(Signed) H. P. B.

This letter is said by Madame Coulomb to have contained the following enclosure :—

To the small audience present as witness. Now Madame Coulomb has occasion to assure herself that the devil is neither as black nor as wicked as he is generally represented. The mischief is easily repaired.—K. H.

4.*

Vendredi.

Ma chère Madame Coulomb et Marquis,†

Voici le moment de nous montrer—*ne nous cachons pas*. Le Général part pour affaires à Madras et y sera lundi et y passera deux jours. Il est Président de la Société ici et veut voir le *shrine*. C'est probable qu'il fera une question que'conque et peut être se bornera-t-il à regarder. Mais il est sûr qu'il s'attend à un phénomène car il me l'a dit. Dans le premier cas suppliez K. H. que vous voyez tous les jours ou Cristofolo de soutenir l'honneur de famille. Dites lui donc qu'une fleur suffirait, et que *si le pot de chambre cassait* sous le poids de la curiosité il serait bon de le remplacer *en ce moment*. Damn les autres. Celui-là vaut son pesant d'or. Per l'amor del Dio ou de qui vous voudrez *ne manquez pas cette occasion* car elle ne se répétera plus. Je ne suis pas là, et c'est cela qui est beau. Je me fie à vous et je vous supplie de ne pas me désappointer car tous mes projets et mon avenir avec vous tous—(car je vais avoir une maison ici pour passer les six mois de l'année et elle sera à moi à la Société et vous ne souffrirez plus de la chaleur comme vous le faites, si j'y réussis).

* * * * * *

Voici le moment de faire quelquechose. Tournez lui la tête au Général et il fera tout pour vous surtout si vous êtes avec lui au moment du Christophe. Je vous envoie un *en cas*—e vi saluto. Le Colonel vient ici du 20 au 25. Je reviendrai vers le milieu de Septembre.

À vous de coeur,

LUNA MELANCONICA.

* * * * * *

† Marquis and Marquise are names given by Madame Blavatsky to M. and Madame Coulomb.

The *en cas* referred to is the following :—

I can say nothing *now*—and will let you know at Ooty.
(Addressed) GENERAL MORGAN. (Signed) K. H.

Extracts 5 and 6, from letters written in 1880 by Madame Blavatsky, apparently in Simla, to Madame Coulomb in Bombay, throw some light upon the alleged transportation of cigarettes, &c.

5.

I enclose an envelope with a cigarette paper in it. I will drop another *half* of a cigarette behind the Queen's head where I dropped my hair the same day or Saturday. Is the hair still there? and a cigarette still under the *cover?*

Madame Blavatsky has written on the fly-leaf of the letter from which this passage is taken:

Make a half cigarette of this. *Take care of the edges.*

And on a slip of paper said by Madame Coulomb to have accompanied the cigarette-paper referred to:

Roll a cigarette of this half and tie it with H. P. B.'s hair. Put it on the top of the cupboard made by Wimbridge to the furthest corner near the wall on the right. Do it quick.

6.*

Je crois que le mouchoir est un coup manqué. Laissons cela. Mais toutes les instructions qu'elles restent *statu quo* pour les Maharajas de Lahore ou de Benares. Tous sont fous pour voir quelquechose. Je vous écrirai d'Amritsir ou Lahore, mes cheveux feraient bien sur la vieille tour de Sion, mais vous les mettrez dans une envelope, un sachet curieux et le prendrez en le cachant ou bien à Bombay—choisissez bon endroit et—Ecrivez moi à Amritsir *poste restante*, puis vers le 1er du mois à Lahore. Adressez votre lettre à mon nom. Rien de plus pour *S.*—il en a vu assez. Peur de manquer la poste, à revoir. Avez-vous mis la cigarette sur la petite armoire de Wimb—

7.

Oh mon pauvre Christofolo! Il est donc mort et vous l'avez tué! Oh ma chère amie si vous saviez comme je voudrais le voir revivre! * * *
Ma bénédiction à mon pauvre Christofolo. Toujours à vous,
H. P.B.

This extract is said by Madame Coulomb to be Madame Blavatsky's lament for the destruction of the dummy head and shoulders employed for the Koot Hoomi appearances, Christofolo being the "occult" name for Koot Hoomi. Madame Coulomb declares that she had burnt the dummy apparatus "in a fit of disgust at the imposture," but that

she afterwards made another. The following letter (8) is suggestive in several ways. The Coulombs are evidently supposed to be familiar with the habits and customs of the Brothers. "Le Roi" is said by Madame Coulomb to have referred to Mr. Padshah, and "les deux lettres" sent by Madame Blavatsky to Madame Coulomb (under the name of E. Cutting) appear to have been Mahatma documents. General instructions for the transmission of such documents are exemplified by (9) and (10).

8.

Mes chers Amis,

Au nom du ciel ne croyez pas que je vous oublie. Je n'ai pas le temps matérial pour respirer—voilà tout! Nous sommes dans la *plus grande crise*, et *je ne dois pas* PERDRE LA TETE. Je ne puis ni ose rien vous écrire. Mais vous devez comprendre qu'il est *absolument nécessaire* que quelquechose arrive à Bombay tant que je suis ici. Le Roi et Dam. *doivent* voi et reçevoir la visite d'un de nos Frères et—s'il est possible que le premier reçoive une lettre que j'enverrai. Mais les voir il est plus nécessaire encore. Elle devrait lui tomber sur la tête comme la première et je suis en train de supplier "Koothoomi" de la lui envoyer. Il doit battre le fer tant qu'il est chaud. Agissez *indépendamment* de moi, mais dans les habitudes et customs de Frères. S'il pouvait arriver quelquechose à Bombay qui fasse parler tout le monde—ce serait merveilleux. Mais quoi! Les Frères sont inexorables. Oh cher M. Coulomb, sauvez la situation et faites ce qu'ils vous demandent. J'ai la fièvre toujours un peu. On l'aurait à moins! Ne voilà-t-il pas que Mr. Hume veut voir Koothoomi *astralement* de loin, s'il veut, pour pouvoir dire au monde qu'*il sait* qu'il existe et *l'écrire* dans tous les journaux car jusqu'à present il ne peut dire qu'une chose c'est qu'il *croit* fermement et positivement mais non qu'*il le sait* parcequ'il l'a *vu de ses yeux* comme Damodar, Padshah, etc. Enfin en voilà d'un problème! Comprenez donc que je deviens folle, et prenez pitié d'une pauvre veuve. Si quelquechose *d'inouï* arrivait à Bombay il n'y a rien que Mr. Hume ne fasse pour Koothoomi sur sa demande. Mais K. H. ne peut pas venir ici, car les lois occultes ne le lui permettent pas. Enfin, à revoir. Ecrivez moi. À vous de cœur,

H. P. B.

Demain je vous enverrai les deux lettres. Allez les chercher à la poste à votre nom, *E. Cutting=Coulomb.*

P.S.—Je voudrais que K. H. ou quelqu'un d'autre se fasse voir avant le reçu des lettres!

9.

Ma chère Amie,

Je n'ai pas une minute pour réponde. Je vous supplie faites parvenir cette lettre (here enclosed) à Damodar *in a miraculous way.* It is very *very* important. Oh ma chère que je suis donc malheureuse! De tous côtés des désagréments et des horreurs. Toute à vous,

H. P. B.

10.*

Veuillez O Sorcière à mille ressources demander à *Christofolo* quand vous le verrez de transmettre la lettre ci-incluse par voie aérienne astrale ou n'importe comment. C'est très important. A vous ma chère. Je vous embrasse bien.—Yours faithfully.

LUNA MELANCONICA.

Je vous supplie FAITES LE BIEN.

In the following extracts from letters said to have been written from Ootacamund in 1883, Madame Blavatsky apparently speaks of the Koot Hoomi documents provided by her as "mes enfants."

11.*

Cher Marquis. . . . Montrez ou envoyez lui [Damodar] le papier ou le *slip* (le petit sacristi pas le grand, car se dernier doit aller se couchir près de son auteur dans le temple mûral) avec l'ordre de vous les fournir. J'ai reçu une lettre qui a forcé notre maître chéri K. H. d'écrire ses ordres aussi à Mr. Damodar et autres. Que la Marquise les lise. *Cela suffira* je vous l'assure. Ah si je pouvais avoir ici mon Christofolo chéri ! . . . Cher Marquis—Je vous livre le destin *mes enfants.* Prenez en soin et faites leur faire des miracles. Peut être il serait mieux de faire tomber cellui-ci sur la tête ?

H. P. B.

Cachetez l'enfant aprés *l'avoir lu.* Enregistrez vos lettres s'il s'y trouve quelquechose—autrement non.

(12) (13) and (14) are also said by Madame Coulomb to have been written from Ootacamund, during Madame Blavatsky's visit there in 1883.

12.*

La poste part ma chère. Je n'ai quu'n instant. Votre lettre arrivée trop tard. Oui, laissez Srinavas Rao se prosterner devant le *shrine* et s'il demande ou non, je vous supplie lui faire passer cette réponse par K. H. car il s'y attend ; *je sais ce qu'il veut.* Demain vous aurez une grande lettre ! Grandes nouvelles. Merci.

H. P. B.

This apparently refers to a consoling Koot Hoomi letter provided by Madame Blavatsky for Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao, Judge in the Court of Small Causes, Madras, and actually received by him.

13.

Ma chère Amie,—On me did (Damodar) que Dewan Bahadoor Ragoonath Rao le Président de la Société veut mettre quelquechose dans le *temple.* Dans le cas qu'il le fasse voici la résponse de Christofolo. Pour Dieu arrangez cela et nous sommes à cheval. Je vous embrasse e *vi saluto.* Mes amours au Marquis.—Yours sincerely,

LUNA MELANCONICA.

Ecrivez donc.

I have ascertained that Mr. Ragoonath Rao did place an inquiry in the Shrine, but left without having received an answer, although it would seem from the above that Madame Blavatsky had provided "Christofolo's" reply. M. Coulomb declares that he feared the reply might not be suitable, because Mr. Ragoonath Rao had said that only an adept could answer his question, and moreover that he did not wish "to make fun with this gentleman;" that he therefore wrote to Madame Blavatsky, enclosing the Sanskrit document placed by Mr. Ragoonath Rao in the Shrine, stating that he was afraid that the reply she had furnished beforehand might not be applicable, and asking her to send him a telegram if she still wished the Koot Hoomi (Christofolo) reply to be placed in the Shrine. M. Coulomb received, he says, an answer by letter, which is given in extract (14), from which it would appear that Madame Blavatsky considered the reply, in consequence of the delay, to be no longer suitable. The Koot Hoomi document in question, which, the Coulombs assert, remained in their possession, and which they produce, consists chiefly of Sanskrit, but there is also a note in English, and this note exhibits signs of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork, such as are found in most of the Koot Hoomi writings. (See Part II.)

14.*

Tropo tardi! Cher Marquis. Si ce que "Christophe" a en main eut été donné sur l'heure en réponse cela serait beau et c'est pourquoi je l'ai envoyé. Maintenant cela n'a plus de sens commun. Votre lettre m'est arrivée à 6½ h. du soir presque 7 heures et je savais que le petit Punch venait à cinq! Quand pouvais je donc envoyer la dépêche? Elle serait arrivée le lendemain ou après son départ. Ah! quelle occasion de perdue! Enfin. Il faut que je vous prie d'une chose. Je puis revenir avec le Colonel et c'est très probable que je reviendrai, mais il se peut que je reste ici jusqu'au mois d'Octobre. Dans ce cas pour le jour ou deux que le Colonel sera à la maison *il faut me renvoyer la clef du Shrine.* Envoyez-la moi par le chemin souterrain. Je la verrai *reposer* et cela suffit; mai je ne veux pas qu'en mon absence on examine la *luna melanconica* du cupboard, et *cela sera examiné* si je ne suis pas là. J'ai le trac. Il faut que je revienne! Mais Dieu que cela m'embête donc que maintenant tout le monde *d'ici* viendra me voir là. Tout le monde voudra voir et—J'EN AI ASSEZ.

By "Punch," the Coulombs say, is meant Mr. Ragoonath Rao. It seems clear from the second portion of the above extract that the Shrine would not bear examination, that there was some secret construction in connection with it of which Colonel Olcott was ignorant, and which he must have no opportunity of discovering. Madame Coulomb states that "luna melanconica" here means the opening at the back of the Shrine. Hence, in case Colonel Olcott should return to Madras before Madame Blavatsky, the key of the Shrine was to be concealed. The passage is a

testimonial to Colonel Olcott's honesty, though perhaps hardly to his perspicacity.

One of the first points to ascertain with regard to these letters is whether Madame Blavatsky did treat M. and Madame Coulomb with the complete confidence which their tone throughout implies. Plenty of evidence could be adduced to show that they were treated with confidence both by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, and that they held positions of trust (M. Coulomb being Librarian and Madame Coulomb being Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Society); but it is, I think, sufficiently proved by the fact that when Madame Blavatsky was at Ootacamund, in 1883, Madame Coulomb had charge of the keys of the Shrine; and that when Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott left Madras to come to Europe in February, 1884, M. and Madame Coulomb were left in complete charge of Madame Blavatsky's rooms. Further evidence may be found in a letter of Colonel Olcott, quoted (with some omissions not specified by Dr. Hartmann) in Dr. Hartmann's pamphlet, "*Report of observations made during a nine months' stay at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society,*" pp. 36, 37; and in another letter from Colonel Olcott, which I have seen, from which it appears that he had wished M. Coulomb to be a member of the Board of Control of the Theosophical Society. Moreover, Madame Blavatsky herself spoke of Madame Coulomb in Indian newspapers, of 1880, as "a lady guest of mine," and as "an old friend of mine whom I had known 10 years ago at Cairo," and by admitting nearly all the non-incriminating portions of the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents to be in substance genuine, clearly proves that she was in the habit of addressing Madame Coulomb in a very familiar tone.

I may now proceed to show, in one or two instances, what evidence there is apart from the style and handwriting of the letters tending to establish their genuineness.

I will begin with number 1, relating to the Sassoon telegram. The matter is rather complicated, and the details of my investigation are given in Appendix I. Here I will briefly state the results. Firstly, it became clear to me from conversations with Messrs. A. D. and M. D. Ezekiel, who spent much time with Madame Blavatsky during her visit at Poona in October, 1883, and from the written statement of Mr. N. D. Khandalvala, in whose house she stayed, that the actual circumstances during her stay there were quite consistent with the letter. Secondly, I have been unable to obtain any trustworthy evidence for the existence of such a person as Ramalinga Deb, who was represented by Madame Blavatsky as a Chela, residing in Madras, of the Mahatma with whom she professed to be in occult communication. Thirdly, a careful comparison of Madame Blavatsky's attempt to disprove the genuineness of

this letter (see Appendix I.) with the statements of Messrs. Ezekiel and Khandalvala appears to me to strengthen the case against her; for it leads us to the conclusion that she must have made a specific pre-arrangement for a conversation, the whole point of which was that its subject should have arisen *extempore.*

I proceed to extracts (2) (3) and (4).

The Coulombs assert that a certain *saucer* was, according to agreement between Madame Blavatsky and Madame Coulomb, to be "accidentally" broken and the pieces placed in the Shrine, arrangements being made for the substitution, through the secret back of the Shrine, of another similar saucer, unbroken, in lieu of the broken pieces. (2) (3) and (4) they say, referred to this; letter (3) enclosed a slip provided for the occasion, and (4) suggests that the phenomenon should occur for the edification of General Morgan.

Now, it is not disputed that the so-called "saucer phenomenon" did occur in the presence of General Morgan. The only question is whether it was pre-arranged, and if so, how it was performed. Here is General Morgan's own account of it, published in the Supplement to the *Theosophist* for December, 1883.

In the month of August, having occasion to come to Madras in the absence of Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, I visited the head-quarters of the Theosophical Society to see a wonderful painting of the Mahatma Koot Hoomi kept there in a Shrine and daily attended to by the Chelas. On arrival at the house I was told that the lady, Madame Coulomb, who had charge of the keys of the Shrine, was absent, so I awaited her return. She came home in about an hour, and we proceeded up stairs to open the Shrine and inspect the picture. Madame Coulomb advanced quickly to unlock the double doors of the hanging cupboard, and hurriedly threw them open. In so doing she had failed to observe that a china tray inside was on the edge of the Shrine and leaning against one of the doors, and when they were opened, down fell the china tray, smashed to pieces on the hard chunam floor. Whilst Madame Coulomb was wringing her hands and lamenting this unfortunate accident to a valuable article of Madame Blavatsky's, and her husband was on his knees collecting the *débris*, I remarked it would be necessary to obtain some china cement and thus try to restore the fragments. Thereupon M. Coulomb was despatched for the same. The broken pieces were carefully collected and placed, tied in a cloth, within the Shrine, and the doors locked. Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, the Joint Recording Secretary of the Society, was opposite the Shrine, seated on a chair, about 10 feet away from it, when, after some conversation, an idea occurred to me to which I immediately gave expression. I remarked that if the Brothers considered it of sufficient importance, they would easily restore the broken article; if not, they would leave it to the culprits to do so, the best way they could. Five minutes had scarcely elapsed after this remark when Mr. Damodar, who during this time seemed wrapped in a reverie—exclaimed, "I think there is an answer." The doors were opened, and sure enough, a small note was found on the shelf

of the Shrine—on opening which we read "To the small audience present. Madame Coulomb has occasion to assure herself that the devil is neither so black nor so wicked as he is generally represented; the mischief is easily repaired."

On opening the cloth the china tray was found to be whole and perfect; not a trace of the breakage to be found on it! I at once wrote across the note, stating that I was present when the tray was broken and immediately restored, dated and signed it, so there should be no mistake in the matter. It may be here observed that Madame Coulomb believes that the many things of a wonderful nature that occur at the headquarters, may be the work of the devil—hence the playful remark of the Mahatma who came to her rescue.*

It will be seen that there is nothing in this account inconsistent with Madame Coulomb's assertion. Moreover, it is a very suspicious circumstance that the china tray should have been "leaning against one of the doors." This is not the position *naturally* assumed by a saucer put into a cupboard in the ordinary way through the doors.

The whole "saucer" found in the Shrine was shown to me at Adyar at my request. I examined it carefully, and I also examined carefully the broken pieces of the saucer which Madame Coulomb exhibited as those for which the whole saucer had been substituted. The two "saucers" manifestly formed a pair. The incident happened in August, 1883. Madame Coulomb alleged that she purchased the pair of so-called "saucers" at a shop† in Madras for 2 rupees 8 annas each. On inquiry I found that "two porcelain pin trays" (words which properly describe the so-called "saucers") were purchased at this shop by cash sale on July 3rd, 1883, and that Madame Coulomb had made purchases at the shop on that date. If taken as referring to this purchase there was one slight inaccuracy in Madame Coulomb's account; inasmuch as she said the "trays" cost 2 rupees 8 annnas each, instead of 2 rupees 8 annas the pair.

An incident somewhat similar to the foregoing is related in Appendix III.

It will be seen that in order to explain the "saucer phenomenon" by ordinary human agency, we require to suppose that there was a secret opening at the back of the Shrine. It was important, therefore, to ascertain what ground there was for this supposition, apart from the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters, in which its existence is clearly implied. I now proceed to give the result of my investigations in this direction.

THE SHRINE (*see Plan, following p.* 380).

On my arrival at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society, on December 18th, 1884, I was informed by Mr. Damodar that he could

* A later and longer account, intended by General Morgan to prove that there could have been no deception, will be found in Appendix II.

† M. Faciole and Co., Popham's Broadway.

not allow me to inspect the so-called Occult Room or the Shrine until the return of Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. Colonel Olcott had left the headquarters some days previously in order to meet Madame Blavatsky at Ceylon on her return from Europe. Two days later Madame Blavatsky had reached Adyar, and I again requested permission to examine the Shrine. Madame Blavatsky professed ignorance on the subject, saying she had been unable to discover what had been done with the Shrine. Mr. Damodar and Dr. Hartmann both denied having any knowledge of it, and it was only after repeated and urgent requests to be told what had happened that I learnt from the halting account given by Mr. Damodar and Dr. Hartmann that the Shrine had been moved from the Occult Room (see Plan) into Mr. Damodar's room at about mid-day of September 20th, that on the following morning, at 9 o'clock, they found the Shrine had been taken away, and they had not seen it since. They threw out suggestions implying that the Coulombs or the missionaries might have stolen it.

Moreover, the Occult Room, when I first received permission to inspect it, had been considerably altered; its walls were covered with fresh plaster, and I was informed by Mr. Damodar that all traces of the alleged "machinations" of the Coulombs in connection with the Shrine had been obliterated. This was not true, for the bricked frame and the aperture into the recess still existed (see p. 228). However, under the circumstances it was impossible for me to test the accuracy of much of the description given by Theosophists of the Occult Room and the Shrine at the time of the "exposure" by the Coulombs. But by analysing and comparing the evidence given by various witnesses, I was able to put together the following history of the Shrine and its surroundings.*

On December 19th, 1882, Adyar became the headquarters of the Theosophical Society. One large upper room of the main bungalow was used by Madame Blavatsky (see Plan). The Occult Room was built later, against the west side of Madame Blavatsky's room. The north window on this side was removed, and a layer of bricks and plaster covered the aperture on the side of the Occult Room—a recess about 15in. deep being left on the east side. The south window was transformed into a doorway leading from Madame Blavatsky's room into the Occult Room. Madame Blavatsky's large room was divided into two by curtains and a screen; that adjoining the Occult Room being used by Madame Blavatsky as her bedroom, and at the end of 1883 as her dining-room also. The accompanying rough sketch made from measurements of my own shows the positions, the Occult Room being about 2ft. lower than Madame Blavatsky's room. The general entrance to the Occult

* For the evidence on which this account is based, see Appendix IV.

Room was through Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room. The Shrine, as I gather from comparing the accounts of different Theosophists, was a wooden cupboard between 3ft. and 4ft. in width and height, and 1ft. or 15in. in depth, with a drawer below the cupboard portion, and with corner brackets. The Shrine was made with three sliding panels at the back.* It was placed against that portion of the wall in the Occult Room where the north window of Madame Blavatsky's room had previously existed (see Plan), covering most of that portion, a most unfortunate position to choose for it if there was no fraudulent intention. It rested below on a plank or shelf, but its chief support consisted of two thick iron wires which were attached to two hooks near the ceiling. A certain space round the Shrine was enclosed by muslin curtains, which were drawn aside from the front when any one wished to approach the Shrine. These curtains were about 7ft. high on the sides, but on the wall behind the Shrine extended nearly to the ceiling. The wall immediately behind the Shrine was covered by white glazed calico, tacked to the wall. Two widths of the calico met in a vertical line passing behind the centre of the Shrine. The remaining part of the walls of the Occult Room was covered with red-and-white striped calico tacked to the wall. The upper part of the Shrine was as close to the wall itself as the muslin and calico behind it would allow. The lower part of the Shrine was near to the wall, at a distance from it differently estimated by different witnesses, but which must have been somewhere between ¼in. and 1½in., and was probably very little, if at all, more than ½in. The Shrine and its appurtenances were fixed in February or March, 1883. Shortly afterwards a four-panelled wooden boarding was placed in Madame Blavatsky's room, at the back of the recess. For some time an almirah (cupboard) stood in front of this recess. The exact dates of the placing of the boarding and almirah and of the removal of the almirah I have not been able to ascertain. The almirah, and afterwards the recess, were used by Madame Blavatsky as a closet for hanging clothes. The above is put together from the statements of Theosophic witnesses.

M. Coulomb states that he removed the Shrine just after it was originally placed against the wall, sawed the middle panel in two, and attached a piece of leather behind to serve as a handle, so that the top portion could be easily pulled up. The junction between the two

* This was admitted to me by Madame Blavatsky herself, who alleged that the Shrine was so made in order that it might be more easily taken to pieces and packed in case of removal. But the rest of the Shrine appears to have been of solid construction, and it is difficult to see what great convenience for travelling purposes there could have been in merely taking out portions of the back.

halves of the panel was, he says, hidden from those looking at the inside of the Shrine, by a mirror which just covered it. Behind this sliding panel a hole was made in the wall. A sliding panel was also made in the wardrobe which stood in front of the recess in Madame Blavatsky's bedroom, and one of the panels of the teak-wood boarding was also made to slide about 10 inches, so that easy communication existed between Madame Blavatsky's bedroom and the Shrine. The panels in the wardrobe and in the teak-wood door were shown by M. Coulomb to the Board of Control when he gave up the keys of Madame Blavatsky's rooms in May, 1884. The hole in the wall, he said, had been blocked up in January, before Madame Blavatsky departed for Europe. He states also that the two portions of the middle panel of the Shrine were replaced by a new single panel, and that these changes were made at the request of Madame Blavatsky, who was afraid that some examination might be made of the Shrine during her absence in Europe. M. Coulomb's statement as to the half panel cannot of course be verified, and must be taken for what it is worth. What evidence there is in support of his other statements will be seen from the remainder of my narrative, derived from other sources.

At the end of October or beginning of November, 1883, Madame Blavatsky, in consequence of a doubt expressed by Mr. G.——* concerning the panelled boarding connected with the Shrine, ordered it to be removed, † and the front part of the recess, that towards Madame Blavatsky's bedroom, to be blocked up. The panelled boarding was placed on the outside of the north-east opening into Madame Blavatsky's drawing-room, and formed the back of a shelf, and there it was certainly found to have a sliding panel in it when examined by the Theosophists in May, 1884. ‡ A wooden frame of about 8ft. by 4ft. was made, with cross-pieces, so as to fit the front of the recess. A single layer of half-size bricks was placed in this frame, and the front then covered with plaster, so that it was flush with the adjoining wall. The hollow left in the wall between Madame Blavatsky's room and the Occult Room, was about 1ft. deep. The whole wall was then papered over, the work being completed about the middle of December, 1883, or perhaps several days later. Directly afterwards a sideboard, about 3ft. high and 34in. wide, was placed close against the bricked frame forming part of the papered wall. It covered the lowest north partition of the frame, and it was found on the expulsion of the Coulombs in May, 1884, that the bricks from this partition had been taken out, so that there was communication through the sideboard (in the back

* See Appendix V.

† See Mrs. Morgan's evidence in Appendix IV.

‡ For a case where this panel seems to have been used in the new position, see Appendix VI.

of which was a hinged panel) with the hollow space. M. Coulomb states that he removed the bricks as soon as the sideboard was in position in December, 1883. However this may be, the sideboard remained there during the time of the anniversary celebration in 1883; and Shrine-phenomena, which were in abeyance during these alterations, began again immediately after their completion. They ceased altogether, with two exceptions to be afterwards dealt with (see p. 248), about or shortly before the middle of January, 1884. On May 17th or 18th, M. Coulomb gave up the keys, and the various contrivances for trickery were investigated. The sliding panel in the almirah, the sliding panel in the boarding, the hinged panel at the back of the sideboard, the opening behind it where the bricks had been removed, and the hollow space of the recess were all inspected. Mr. St. George Lane-Fox then examined the west side of the party-wall behind the Shrine, but was unable at that time to find any traces of the hole which, according to M. Coulomb, had previously existed between the hollow space and the Shrine. He also examined the sideboard, and found that he could discover no signs *from without* of the aperture which led into the hollow space, showing that this aperture would remain undetected unless examination of the sideboard were made from within. The Theosophists contended that the structures for trickery revealed by the Coulombs, who had had exclusive charge of Madame Blavatsky's rooms during her absence, had been made after she had left; that they had never been and could not be used in the production of phenomena;* that the hollow space and the aperture leading to it were too small to be utilised in any connection with the Shrine, and moreover that M. Coulomb's work was interrupted before he had time to make a hole through the wall between the hollow space and the Shrine itself.

To establish these points, the Theosophical Board of Control sent round a circular inquiry in August, 1884, to various Theosophists who had been at headquarters, requesting them to state what they knew of the condition of the Shrine, adjoining walls, &c., prior to and after the expulsion of the Coulombs. I was allowed by Dr. Hartmann to read the packet of replies to this inquiry. I also questioned in detail all the important witnesses who professed to have made an examination of the Shrine and its surroundings;—the result being that if we except Madame Blavatsky and the Coulombs, Madame Blavatsky's native servant Babula, and Colonel Olcott (whose statement on this point I distrust for reasons given in Appendix IV. where it is quoted), there

* One ground given for this opinion was that the sliding panels worked stiffly, as if new and unused. Disuse for a few months, or a little grit, would, I think, account for this fact. See comments on the evidence of Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, Appendix IV.

is no evidence to show that any person ever removed the Shrine from the wall or saw it removed from the wall after it was first placed there, until the expulsion of the Coulombs ; that, therefore, no careful examination could ever have been made of the back of the Shrine or of the wall in immediate juxtaposition. Further, that no such examination was ever made of the east side of the party-wall as would have sufficed to discover the sliding panels and apertures. I must add that the testimony offered appeared to me to be characterised by much mal-observation, sometimes implying a ludicrous lack of ordinary intelligence, and much equivocation sometimes amounting to absolute dishonesty. Several of the original statements of the witnesses are given in Appendix IV., together with modifications of their testimony produced by my questioning, and further comments of my own.

The ultimate fate of the Shrine, according to a statement made by Dr. Hartmann to Mr. and Mrs. Cooper-Oakley, Mr. Hume, and myself, was as follows. After the expulsion of the Coulombs, Mr. Judge, an American Theosophist, then residing at the headquarters of the Society, was desirous of examining the Shrine. Mr. Damodar, who possessed the keys of the Occult Room, avoided this examination several times on one pretext or another; but, eventually, a party of Theosophists proceeded to the inspection of the Shrine. The Shrine was removed from the wall and its doors were opened. Mr. T. Vigiaraghava Charloo, (commonly called Ananda) a Theosophist residing in an official position at the headquarters, struck the back of the Shrine with his hand, exclaiming, "You see, the back is quite solid," when, to the surprise of most of those who were present, the middle panel of the Shrine flew up. It seemed undesirable to some of the witnesses of this phenomenon that the discovery should be made public, and they resolved accordingly to destroy the Shrine. To do this they considered that the Shrine must be surreptitiously removed, but such removal was inconvenient from the Occult Room. The Shrine was therefore first removed openly to Mr. Damodar's room, and, on the following night, was thence removed secretly by three Theosophists, concealed in the compound, afterwards broken up, and the fragments burned piecemeal during the following week. Dr. Hartmann had only retained two portions of the back of the Shrine, which he had enveloped in brown paper and kept carefully concealed in his room,—substantial pieces of cedar wood, black-lacked. It was of such wood, according to a previous statement of M. Coulomb, that the back of the Shrine was made.

Dr. Hartmann has since furnished me with a statement in writing which is of interest as affording evidence respecting the hole between the recess and the Shrine. That this hole had manifestly existed and had been blocked up, I had been assured by another Theosophist who is particularly observant, and who discovered

its traces independently of Dr. Hartmann. The following is an extract from Dr. Hartmann's written account :—

At what time the hole in the wall was made is as much a mystery to me as it is to you ; but from a consideration of all the circumstances as laid down in my pamphlet, I came to the conclusion, and *am still of the opinion*, that they were made by M. Coulomb after H. P. Blavatsky went to Europe, and I am now inclined to believe that M. Coulomb made them to ingratiate himself with Madame Blavatsky to facilitate her supposed tricks. All the traps are too clumsy, and it would tax the utmost credulity to believe that such phenomena as I know of could have been made by their means. In fact I do not know of a single phenomena [*sic*] *that happened in my presence* where they would have been of the slightest use.

Of the existence of a movable back to the Shrine and a filled-up aperture in the wall, none of us knew anything, and although superficial examinations were made, they divulged nothing ; because to make a thorough examination, it would have been necessary to take the Shrine down, and we were prevented from doing this by the superstitious awe with which Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar regarded the Shrine, and who looked upon every European who dared to touch or handle the "sacred" Shrine as a desecration.

At about the time when Major-General Morgan sent his invitation to Mr. Patterson to come to headquarters, that examination was made, and it was found that the back of the Shrine could be removed, and on moistening the wall behind the Shrine with a wet cloth, it was found that an aperture had existed, which had been plastered up.

Why these discoveries should have thrown any discredit on Madame Blavatsky I cannot see, because they as well as the other traps were the work of M. Coulomb, and there was no indication whatever that H. P. Blavatsky knew anything of their existence, and moreover the testimonials of such as claimed to have examined the Shrine went to show that they were of recent origin.

Nevertheless, I must confess that it seemed to me that if at that inopportune moment this *new discovery*, to which I then alluded in the papers (see *Madras Mail)*, would have been made public, it would have had a bad effect on the public mind. If I had been here as a delegate of the Society for Psychical Research, or as a detective of the missionaries, I would, perhaps, not have hesitated to state the exact nature of the *new discovery* ; but in my position I had to look out for the interests of Madame Blavatsky, and I did not, therefore, consider it prudent to speak of this discovery ; neither was I authorised to do so, neither did I (as I then stated) feel justified in letting the enemies of H. P. Blavatsky invade her private rooms without her consent.

A gentleman who was present, and who shared my opinions, was of the opinion that the *Shrine* had been too much desecrated to be of any more use, and he burned the Shrine in my presence. . . . I never told Colonel Olcott nor Madame Blavatsky, nor any one else at headquarters up to that time, what had become of the Shrine. But when you and Mr. Hume, besides a lot of other absurd theories, also asserted your conviction, that Madame Blavatsky had sent her servant, Baboola, for the purpose of doing

away with the Shrine, and that he had done so by her orders, I thought it about time to show you that even a member of the Society for Psychical Research may err in his judgment.

We learn from Dr. Hartmann that any thorough examination of the Shrine was prevented by the "superstitious awe" with which Mr. Damodar regarded it. Dr. Hartmann's assertion is corroborated by the testimony of Mr. Lane-Fox, who has also very emphatically expressed to me his conviction that no examination of the Shrine by native witnesses can be considered as of the smallest value, in consequence of the exceeding reverence in which it was universally held. But it will be observed that in one part of his account Dr. Hartmann appears to lay some stress on "the testimonials of such as claimed to have examined the Shrine." Dr. Hartmann himself, indeed, was one of those "who claimed to have examined the Shrine" before the exposure; he gave me, on different occasions, accounts of his examinations, and these accounts, besides being inconsistent with one another, are inconsistent with his final statements,—as he at once cheerfully admitted, retracting all his previous utterances on the subject.

It seems clear from all I have said (1) that the position selected for the Shrine was peculiarly convenient for obtaining secret access to it from the back; and that none of the changes from time to time made in Madame Blavatsky's bedroom behind the Shrine, though made with the ostensible object of removing all suspicion of trickery, tended to diminish this convenience; (2) that there undoubtedly were all the necessary apertures for access to the Shrine from the back, at some period before the Coulombs left; (3) that there is no trustworthy evidence whatever to show that this access did not exist during the whole time from the moment the Shrine was put up till Madame Blavatsky left for Europe, in February, 1884, except during the alterations connected with putting up the bricked frame, when Mrs. Morgan saw the whole wall papered over; and there is no evidence of the occurrence of any Shrine phenomena during those alterations.

These results—altogether apart from the Blavatsky-Coulomb correspondence—would prevent the whole mass of testimony to Shrine-marvels from having any scientific value; taken along with this correspondence, they can, I think, leave no doubt in the mind of any impartial reader, as to the mode of production of these marvels.

Mr. Damodar's Evidence.

I now come to the question as to what weight can be attached to the statements of Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar. This is a fundamentally important question, not only because he is one of the few persons

besides Madame Blavatsky who testify to having seen the Mahatmas in Thibet, and in a way which precludes the possibility of his having been deceived, but also because Mr. Damodar himself is said to have the power of travelling in the "astral form," and the reality of these astral journeys of his depends mainly on his own statements. My own conclusion, as I have said, is decidedly unfavourable to the trustworthiness of Mr. Damodar. It is not in my power to reproduce here the whole of my grounds for forming this conclusion, but I think that a mere analysis of his statements regarding the Shrine will go far to justify it.

Babula, the native servant of Madame Blavatsky, had reached Adyar on his return from Europe at 9 p.m., on September 20th, as I found from a written entry in the Visitors' Book. My original conjecture as to the disappearance of the Shrine was that Babula had concealed or destroyed it in compliance with instructions from Madame Blavatsky, as it was on the night of September 20th that the removal of the Shrine had been effected. This appears also to have been the opinion of Mr. Subba Row, pleader in the High Court of Madras, at that time and still a leading Theosophist, who vainly questioned and threatened Babula in the hope of inducing a confession. I am disposed to think that this was also the opinion of Mr. Damodar, and that it was in order to prevent me from drawing the same conclusion, that in reply to my inquiries at an early stage of the investigation, he endeavoured to conceal the fact that Babula had arrived on the evening of September 20th; saying that he had arrived on the morning of September 21st, and had immediately requested that he might inspect the rooms, when, to the surprise of all (not, apparently, excluding the three Theosophists who, according to Dr. Hartmann,* had been concerned in its removal), the Shrine could not be found. Mr. Damodar also asserted that marks were discerned on the partition of the room where the Shrine had been placed, as though the Shrine had been lifted over the side, and that statements to this effect were in the deposition made at the time by those Theosophists who discovered that the Shrine had disappeared. Inquiring of another Theosophist who had been present, I was assured by him that no such marks were observed, and that in fact none had been looked for. The deposition, of which I have a copy, contains not the slightest allusion to any such marks.

* Dr. Hartmann stated that Mr. Damodar was not one of these three. That they should not take him into confidence in the matter is natural, as they probably sincerely believed in the "superstitious awe" with which he regarded the Shrine, and thought that it would lead him to disapprove of their proceedings.

Turning now to the specific statements of Mr. Damodar, quoted in Appendix IV., we find that he makes the following assertions :—

1. That the sideboard aperture leading to the recess, and the recess itself, were so small that he could enter the hole with difficulty, and when once inside, "could only stand abreast, without being able to move either way an inch, or to lift up" his hand.
2. That there was no sliding-panel to the frame of the Shrine.
3. That he was present on several occasions when various witnesses to the phenomena "had scrutinised carefully, in every possible way, the Shrine, and had satisfied themselves that it was intact, and had no *panels* or anything of the kind."
4. That he well remembers Mr. Subba Row and himself "very carefully examining the *Shrine* and the *Wall*," and that they were "both satisfied that they were intact."
5. That the keys of the Shrine and the Occult Room were in his charge while Madame Blavatsky was at Ootacamund, in 1883: and again
6. That the keys of Madame Blavatsky's rooms and of the Shrine were in the charge of Madame Coulomb, while Madame Blavatsky was at Ootacamund in 1883.
7. That the sideboard did not come into existence till January, 1884, when the phenomena were no longer produced in the Shrine.

(1) Now, with respect to the sideboard aperture and the recess, these were, as I afterwards found, still in existence when I arrived at Adyar, though Mr. Damodar stated to me that the recess had been blocked up. This last statement of Mr. Damodar's I can regard only as a deliberate misrepresentation. Had I known that the recess still existed, I should of course myself have endeavoured to enter, and should at once have discovered the untruth of Mr. Damodar's account of his own entrance. I was afterwards informed by another Theosophist that he regarded the aperture and the recess as quite large enough to be used by a person of ordinary size for the production of the Shrine phenomena, and in the meantime I had tested the accuracy, or rather, inaccuracy of Mr. Damodar's account, by constructing for myself an aperture and a recess smaller than those connected with the Shrine. Dr. Hartmann, in his pamphlet, gave the dimensions of the aperture as 27in. high by 14in. wide, and these dimensions are as nearly as possible correct. This I was subsequently able to ascertain for myself, as the frame had been stowed away in the compound,

and was shown to me by another Theosophist. The recess was alleged by Dr. Hartmann to be about 12in. deep, and about 5ft. high; the depth given is about correct, but the height was more nearly 8ft.—as I found by measurement. I have myself entered a space through a hole the dimensions of both of which were at least an inch less than the dimensions given by Dr. Hartmann. The hole I made for the purpose measured less than 13in. by 26in., and the space into which it led, and in which I stood upright, was less than 11in. in depth. In this space I could with ease lift my hand, manipulate objects, and utilise the position generally in the way demanded for the production of the Shrine phenomena. Mr. Damodar draws attention in his account to his own thinness and leanness, and certainly my own organism is considerably larger than Mr. Damodar's, and I believe also than M. Coulomb's or Babula's.

(2) Mr. Damodar's next assertion, that there was no sliding panel to the frame of the Shrine, we have already seen to be untrue. Had this statement stood alone, however, it could not have been regarded as implicating Mr. Damodar in any falsehood, but would merely have appeared to be a hasty inference from his experience, as the assertion was made before the discovery of the sliding panel by Ananda, as described above.

(3) The careful scrutiny of the Shrine "in every possible way," which he asserts was made in his presence, was never made. In no single instance was the Shrine moved in the least degree from the wall by any of these various witnesses to whom he refers. Not only so, but Mr. Damodar afterwards admitted that he never examined the back of the Shrine himself, and was never present when any such examination was made. This appeared in connection with his statement that Mr. Subba Row and himself "very carefully" examined the Shrine and the wall.

(4) I took an opportunity in Mr. Damodar's presence of questioning Mr. Subba Row concerning this alleged examination. Mr. Subba Row denied that he had ever made any examination of the Shrine. Mr. Damodar then made a similar denial, and both again united in affirming that they had never seen the Shrine removed. Yet this imaginary examination by Mr Subba Row and himself, Mr. Damodar declared in a previous written statement that he well remembered.

(5) and (6) The next marked contradiction in Mr. Damodar's statements, is that when Madame Blavatsky was at Ootacamund in 1883, the keys of the Shrine and the Occult Room were in his charge, and yet were in the charge of Madame Coulomb. This contradiction is not easily resolved, but an explanation of it can be suggested. The first statement was made on August 19th, 1884, when Mr. Damodar probably deemed it to be of capital import-

ance that he should prove that there was no panel in the Shrine before the middle of September, 1883. The second statement was made on September 19th, 1884, and on September 10th the *Madras Christian College Magazine* had appeared, in which various Blavatsky-Coulomb letters were published. An attempt was then made on the side of the Theosophists to show from circumstantial evidenee that these letters must be forgeries. Of these letters, two very important ones referred respectively to the Adyar Saucer and to a Shrine letter received by Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao. In General Morgan's previously published account of the former, he had stated that Madame Coulomb had charge of the keys of the Shrine, and the strength of Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao's case for the genuineness of his phenomenon rested upon his statement that he had asked Madame Coulomb to be allowed to see the Shrine, had managed to do so on the following evening, and that Madame Coulomb could not in the interval have written to Madame Blavatsky, and received a Mahatma letter in time for his visit, which had occurred while Madame Blavatsky was at Ootacamund ; and it was impossible to give any consistent account of these incidents without its clearly appearing that Madame Coulomb had eharge of the keys during Madame Blavatsky's absence, as was no doubt actually the case. It is difficult to suppose that the first of Mr. Damodar's conflicting written statements was not a wilful and deliberate falsehood.

(7) Mr. Damodar states that the sideboard did not come into existence till January, 1884, when the phenomena were no longer produced in the Shrine. Dr. Hartmann in his pamphlet of September, 1884, wrote that on the suggestion of M. Coulomb "a heavy cupboard was eonstructed according to his [M. Coulomb's] plan, and under his supervision, in the month of December, 1883, and the said cupboard was placed against the said wall on the said side opposite to that on which hung the 'Shrine';" and in reply to my inquiry he stated that this cupboard [the sideboard] in which M. Coulomb showed the movable back, was against the east side of the wall behind the Shrine during the anniversary [December 27th]. Its presence at that time is also certified to by Mrs. Morgan, Mr. Subba Row, Judge P. Sreenevas Rao, and various other witnesses. (See Appendix IV.) Mr. Damodar therefore is in disagreement with very important Theosophical witnesses, and his own statement looks as if it was made because he realised the cardinal necessity of establishing the falsehood that the sideboard was not in its position during the anniversary celebration of December, 1883 (when Shrine-phenomena occurred), if the allegations made by the Coulombs were to be disproved. I had reason to think that he forced the evidence of several minor witnesses on this point. I found that in more than one instance he had instructed the witness

beforehand as to what replies should be given to my questions. I naturally endeavoured to preclude this preliminary arrangement, and on one occasion, having unexpectedly paid a visit to Mr. Rathnavelu, a witness whose written statement had come into my possession, I was greeted by the significant remark, "Damodar didn't tell me you were coming." This gentleman admitted, though with manifest reluctance, that the sideboard was in its position at the time of the anniversary in 1883. The witnesses who state the contrary are all of them, I think, persons whom there are independent reasons for regarding as unreliable.

These contradictions and false assertions as regards the Shrine, constitute by themselves, I think, a sufficient ground for regarding Mr. Damodar as for our purposes an untrustworthy witness.

Mr. Damodar's "Astral" Journeys.

I shall now proceed to show that there is nothing in the circumstances connected with Mr. Damodar's "astral" journeys which renders it difficult to suppose a pre-arrangement between him and Madame Blavatsky to make it appear that he took them; and even that some of the circumstances suggest a suspicion of such an arrangement. Colonel Olcott is of opinion that such a pre-arrangement was not possible, but I do not think that any one who reads his evidence will agree with him, especially if they take his statements in connection with some additional information which I have since acquired. The following is the evidence given by Colonel Olcott before the Committee as to one of these "astral" journeys:—

At Moradabad, N.W.P., India, being on an official tour from Bombay to Cashmere and back, I was very strongly importuned by a gentleman named Shankar Singh, a Government official, and not then a Theosophist, to undertake the cure of two lads, aged 12 and 14 years respectively, who had each on arriving at the age of 10 years become paralysed. It is known, I believe, to many here that I have the power of healing the sick by the voluntary transference of vitality. I refused in this instance, having already within the previous year done too much of it for my health. The gentleman urged me again. I again refused. He spent, perhaps, 10 or 15 minutes in trying to persuade me and endeavouring to shake my resolution; but, as I still refused, he went to Mr. Damodar, who was travelling with me in his official capacity. Shankar Singh represented the case, and appealed to Mr. Damodar's sympathies, and at last persuaded him to go in the double, or phantasm, to the headquarters of our Society at Madras, and try to enlist the goodwill of Madame Blavatsky.

Mr. Stack: What is the distance of Moradabad from Madras?

Colonel Olcott: The distance, approximately, by telegraph line is, I should say, 2,200 miles.

Mr. Myers: Was it known at headquarters that you were at Moradabad on that day?

Colonel Olcott: It was not known that I was at Moradabad, for, owing to the rapid spread of our movement in India, I, while on a tour, was constantly obliged to interrupt the previously settled programme, and go hither and thither to found new branches. All the elements are against any procurement. To understand the present case, you must know that it is the rule in those Eastern schools of mystical research that the pupils are not permitted to seek intercourse with Teachers other than their own. Hence, Mr. Damodar, who is the pupil—the Sanskrit word is *chela*—of the Mahatma Koot Hoomi, could not himself approach my own Teacher, who is another person. (Colonel Olcott here exhibited the portrait of his own Teacher, but preferred to withhold the name from publicity, though he mentioned it to the Committee.) Madame Blavatsky and I are pupils of the same Master, and hence she was at liberty to communicate with him on this subject. Mr. Damodar, preparatory to taking his aërial flight, then sent Mr. Shankar Singh out of the room and closed the door. A few minutes later he returned to his visitor, who was waiting just outside in the verandah. They came in together to the part of the house where I was sitting with a number of Hindu gentlemen and one European, and told me what had happened in consequence of my refusal to heal the boys. Mr. Damodar said that he had been in the double to headquarters (Madras), and had talked with Madame Blavatsky, who had refused to interfere. But while they were conversing together, both heard a voice, which they recognised as that of my Teacher.

Mr. Stack: Not of Mahatma Koot Hoomi?

Colonel Olcott: No, that of my own Teacher. Mahatma Koot Hoomi had nothing to do with me in this affair. While they were talking they heard this voice, which gave a message, and Mr. Damodar remarked that, if I would take pencil and paper, he would dictate from memory the message. I did so.

Mr. Myers: You have the paper?

Colonel Olcott: Yes. Shankar Singh then, in the presence of all, sat down and wrote a brief statement of the circumstances, and it was endorsed by 12 persons, including myself.

* * * * * *

The memorandum states that Mr. Damodar added, after repeating the message which he had received from headquarters, that he had asked Madame Blavatsky to confirm the thing to me by sending a telegram repeating the message or its substance, either to himself or to Shankar Singh. The next morning the expected telegram arrived.

* * * * * *

Mr. Myers: You do not know whether Damodar was seen by Madame Blavatsky?

Colonel Olcott: She told me that she had seen him. At the headquarters resides M. Alexis Coulomb, Librarian of the Society. He was at the time of Damodar's alleged visit engaged at some work in the room adjoining the writing bureau, where Madame Blavatsky was. Suddenly he came into the room and asked Madame Blavatsky where Mr. Damodar was as he had heard his voice in conversation with her.

Mr. Myers: From whom did you hear this?

Colonel Olcott: From M. Coulomb himself. He said, "I have just heard his voice distinctly." Madame Blavatsky said, "He has not returned." M. Coulomb seemed surprised: he thought Mr. Damodar had unexpectedly returned, and could hardly be persuaded that he had not been in the room talking to Madame Blavatsky.

The following is the message:—

Received by D. K. M. and delivered to Colonel Olcott at Moradabad at 4.50 p.m., 10th November, 1883.

"Henry can try the parties* once, leaving strongly mesmerised. Cajapati oil to rub in three times daily to relieve sufferers. Karma cannot be interfered with."

The evidence of various witnesses shown to us by Colonel Olcott establishes the delivery of the message by Mr. Damodar, and the receipt of the genuine corresponding telegram from Madame Blavatsky.

In order to show the little probability there was of any conspiracy between *Mr. Shankar Singh* and Mr. Damodar, Colonel Olcott stated:—

Notice had been put into *The Theosophist* some months before that I was going to make such and such official tours throughout India, and that persons who had sick friends to be treated might, within certain hours on the second day of my visit to each station, bring them to me to be healed. Shankar Singh had written to me long before my coming to Moradabad, asking me to undertake the cure of these boys, and offering to bring them to Madras to me. I refused to see anybody there, but told him that he could bring the boys to me when I came to Moradabad, in the course of my tour; and it was in pursuance of that authorisation that he came and importuned me so. He said, "Here is something that you are, in a way, pledged to undertake," and that is what made him so urgent.

Now in dealing with the real sequence of events, this last statement should be considered first. It appears that before Colonel Olcott started on his tour it was known at headquarters that when he reached Moradabad, Mr. Shankar Singh would expect him to fulfil his promise and mesmerise the boys. But what were the peculiar circumstances which would compel Colonel Olcott to resist the importuning of Mr. Shankar Singh? Before starting on the tour, Colonel Olcott had endeavoured to heal certain sick persons at Poona "by the voluntary transference of vitality." I was informed by a Poona Theosophist that some 200 patients were assembled, and that Colonel Olcott had

* The use of the word "parties" seems to me a suspicious circumstance. Why should this general and rather odd word be used if it were not to cover possible but unforeseen contingencies? The word "boys" would have been shorter and more natural.

striven mesmerically with about 50 of them, the result being *nil*, whereupon the Poona Theosophists drew up a protest against Colonel Olcott's disgracing the Theosophical Society by professing to produce cures in the face of such conspicuous failure. Notwithstanding this, however, Colonel Olcott might have been persuaded by Mr. Shankar Singh to the redeeming of his promise ; it was, perhaps, for this reason that a special injunction against his undertaking any cure was issued in the form of a Mahatma document, which reached him through Mr. Damodar.

"October 19th.—Through D. K. M. got an order from the Chohans not to heal any more until further orders."—(*Colonel Olcott's diary*, 1883.)

In this way Colonel Olcott's refusal was ensured. It may be observed that this important fact is not disclosed in Colonel Olcott's deposition. The reason there given by him for his refusal was that he had "already within the previous year done too much of it [healing] for his health." That the order referred to in his diary was the cause of his refusal, whatever the alleged cause of the order itself, is confirmed by Mr. Brown's statement (*Some Experiences in India*, pp. 14, 15)

> Colonel Olcott . . . had been ordered by his *Guru* to desist from treating patients until further notice, and, when application was made to him by Mr. Shankar Singh, of Moradabad, on behalf of two orphan children, he was under the necessity of refusing the request. Damodar, however, became interested in the matter, and said that he would ask for permission to be granted for this special case.

But the most crucial point of the incident turned upon Madame Blavatsky's ignorance or knowledge that the travellers were at Moradabad, and in reply to the definite question put by Mr. Myers, Colonel Olcott declared that it was not known at headquarters that he was at Moradabad. Now, some time after my arrival at Adyar, I took the opportunity, when Colonel Olcott was examining his diary, of requesting him to furnish me with the dates on which he visited the various towns included in his tour of 1883. He replied that I could get them from the programme of the tour antecedently published in *The Theosophist*, as the programme had been carried out. To my remark that I had understood from his deposition that the previously settled programme was interrupted, he answered that it had been somewhat altered in consequence of his founding new branches not anticipated, and he then proceeded to quote the dates from his diary. I afterwards compared these with the previously published programme, which bears the date of October 17th. Twelve towns were mentioned in the programme, which extended over the dates from October 22nd to November 18th, and the dates corresponded in every case but one with those of Colonel

Olcott's diary, the discrepancy in that case being probably apparent only, and not real. (According to the diary Cawnpore was reached on November 2nd, and the time given in the programme was 12.24 a.m. on November 3rd.)

It appeared from the programme, then, that Moradabad was to be reached on November 9th, and left on November 11th (and it appears from Colonel Olcott's diary that it *was* reached on November 9th, and left on November 11th), so that it was known long previously at head-quarters that Colonel Olcott would be at Moradabad on November 10th, when the incident occurred, if the programme were not interrupted. Colonel Olcott's reason for asserting that it was not known at head-quarters that he was at Moradabad appears to be that, on the course of his tours generally, he was constantly obliged to interrupt the previously-settled programme, and that therefore, apparently, no certain reliance could be placed on the programme for this particular tour. This at least is the most favourable interpretation of the evidence which he gave before our Committee. I may note, however, that the following special proviso was attached to the list antecedently published in *The Theosophist*: "This programme will be as strictly adhered to as possible. Any change, necessitated by unforeseen contingencies, will be signified by telegram." (Thus in case of change of programme, Mr. Damodar would have had an adequate reason for visiting the telegraph office, and might have sent a warning telegram to Madame Blavatsky without exciting any suspicion.) But the programme, as we have seen above, was closely kept, and the circumstances throughout were admirably adapted for a pre-arrangement.

Yet Colonel Olcott, after asserting that it was not known at head-quarters that he was at Moradabad, and giving a general reason for supposing that it could not be known, adds: "All the elements are against any procurement." His promise to the waiting Shankar Singh, the "Chohans'" emphatic prohibition bestowed upon him by Damodar, the programme which pointed with a steady finger to Moradabad on November 10th, the easy opportunity afforded to Mr. Damodar of guarding against a *fiasco* in case of any unforeseen contingency—"all the elements are against any procurement"!

I may notice here that M. Coulomb has stated to me that he told Colonel Olcott a falsehood at the request of Madame Blavatsky; and I may recall the fact, which we felt bound to mention in our First Report (p. 40, note), that when Colonel Olcott quoted to us M. Coulomb's testimony as that of a trustworthy witness, he was aware that M. Coulomb had been charged with making trap-doors and other apparatus for trick manifestations. Further, when Colonel Olcott received the proof-sheets of his deposition, he must have been aware that the Coulombs had been expelled from the Theosophical Society.

Colonel Olcott also referred to M. Coulomb as a witness in the only other instance of Mr. Damodar's alleged astral journeys which came within the scope of my investigations in India.*

This case Colonel Olcott described as follows :—

"The second case is one of a similar character On the night of the 17th of November, 1883—to wit, seven days later—I was in the train on my way from Meerut, N.W.P., to Lahore. Two persons were in the carriage with me—Mr. Damodar, and another Hindu named Narain Swamy Naidu, who were asleep on their beds at either side of the saloon compartment. I myself was reading a book by the light of the lamp. Damodar had been moving upon his bed from time to time, showing that he was not physically asleep, as the other one was. Presently Damodar came to me and asked what time it was. I told him that it was a few minutes to 6 p.m. He said, 'I have just been to headquarters'—meaning in the double—'and an accident has happened to Madame Blavatsky.' I inquired if it was anything serious. He said that he could not tell me : but she had tripped her foot in the carpet, he thought, and fallen heavily upon her right knee. . . . . I thereupon tore a piece of paper out of some book, and on the spot made a memorandum, which was signed by myself and the second Hindu."

The memorandum runs as follows :—

"In train at Nagul Station, S.P. and D. Railway, at 5.55 p.m., 17/11/83. D. K. M. says he has just been (in Sukshma Sarira) to headquarters. H.P.B. has just tripped in carpet and hurt right knee. Had just taken K. H.'s portrait from Shrine. Heard her mention names of General and Mrs. Morgan. Thinks they are there. Saw nobody but H. P. B., but *felt* several others."

"The next station reached by the train was Saharanpur, where a halt of half-an-hour for supper occurred. I went directly to the telegraph office, and sent a despatch to Madame Blavatsky as near as I can remember in the following words : 'What accident happened at headquarters at about 6 o clock ? Answer to Lahore.'"

To this Madame Blavatsky telegraphed in reply :—

"Nearly broke right leg, tumbling from bishop's chair, dragging Coulomb, frightening Morgans. Damodar startled us."

Colonel Olcott added :—

"The presence of General and Mrs. Morgan at headquarters is confirmed by this telegram, and before that we travellers had no knowledge of their having come down from the Nilgiris."

And to this remark Madame Blavatsky made the following note

* Some remarks on the alleged appearances of Mr. Damodar in London will be found at p. 388.

when she looked over Colonel Olcott's deposition before the Committee in proof :—

"They had just arrived from Nilgherry Hills.—H. P. Blavatsky."

It seemed, then, that in this case the testimony of General and Mrs. Morgan might afford very important evidence disproving the possibility of pre-arrangement between Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar. For it might have proved (1) that their presence at headquarters could not be known to Mr. Damodar; and (2) that the accident to Madame Blavatsky was a genuine one, and occurred at the hour named. I learnt, however, from General and Mrs. Morgan that they had been at headquarters a week; that they had been specially summoned thither by a Mahatma letter; and even then were not direct witnesses of the accident. Thus every obstacle to a pre-arrangement vanishes. Indeed, the summoning of the Morgans to headquarters, taken in connection with the way their names are dragged into Madame Blavatsky's telegram, and Madame Blavatsky's own note as to their having just arrived, becomes a very suspicious circumstance.

On the whole, then, when I consider the probability from what we otherwise know of Madame Blavatsky, that any marvel in which she plays a part is spurious rather than genuine; the untruthfulness of Mr. Damodar as displayed in his testimony about the Shrine; the absence of any evidence for these marvellous communications except that of Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar; the circumstances favouring pre-arrangement between the two; and the minor points that I have noted which positively suggest such pre-arrangement; the conclusion that these "astral" journeys were fabulous appears to me to be irresistible. And from this conclusion it further follows that no importance can be attached to any other accounts of apparent marvels which can be explained by attributing them to the agency of Mr. Damodar. The full significance of this inference will be seen later on, when I come to discuss the accounts of Mahatma letters received in Madame Blavatsky's absence.

Colonel Olcott's Evidence.

I have already dwelt more fully on Mr. Damodar's "astral" journeys than was demanded merely to show how easy was pre-arrangement between Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar. I have done so partly in order to show how worthless Colonel Olcott's statements and inferences are seen to be when placed side by side with the record of events as they actually occurred. I will give another instance of the same unreliability.

In replying to a question put by Mr. Myers in connection with

Colonel Olcott's account of the alleged "astral" form of a Mahatma which appeared to him in New York, Colonel Olcott stated :—

"I never saw a living Hindu before I arrived in London on my way to India. I had had no correspondence with anybody until then, and had no knowledge of any living Hindu who could have visited me in America."

Now Colonel Olcott arrived in London on his way to India in 1879. The Theosophical Society was founded in 1875, and long before this Colonel Olcott had travelled with Hindus from New York to Liverpool. He had made their acquaintance and obtained their portraits, which, as he tells one of them in a letter which I have seen, were hanging on his walls in 1877. During the years 1877 and 1878 he wrote many letters to one of them, Mr. M. T., who became a member of the Theosophical Society, and was intimate with Colonel Olcott in Bombay, but died several years ago.

It seems, then, that Colonel Olcott had been in familiar relations with a Hindu, whom he first met on the passage from America to England, long before he reached London on his way to India, and even long before the "astral figure" in question appeared to him in New York. Moreover, it was M. T. who first began the Theosophical Society in Bombay, antecedent to the removal of headquarters from America to India. What, then, is the explanation of Colonel Olcott's statement to the Committee in his deposition? After it had been pointed out to Colonel Olcott that this statement was quite irreconcilable with fact, as could be easily proved from letters of his which I had examined, he admitted that he had met M. T. long previously, and he showed a remarkably clear recollection of the circumstances—at least of the circumstances which were referred to in his letters to M. T. He accounted for his statement to the Committee by urging that his attention at the time was being specially directed to the possibility of personation of the Mahatma's "astral form," and that he momentarily forgot his experiences* with M. T. and other Hindus. I do not, of course, deny this to be the case, though part of Colonel Olcott's statement in his deposition was quite uncalled for, and appears to me to render his lapse of memory somewhat singular. He seems to have volunteered the odd remark that he "had had no correspondence with anybody until then," whereas he had written numerous letters to M. T. and other Hindus, and had started the Theosophical Society of India by means of such correspondence. And it must be remem-

* It may also be urged in Colonel Olcott's favour that his later experiences with M. T. in Bombay would tend to obscure their earlier relations; but against this again we must place the fact that Colonel Olcott appears from his letters to have regarded these earlier relations as very specially memorable.

bered that Colonel Olcott had the opportunity of correcting his statement in proof, when he could not have been affected by that momentary forgetfulness which overcame him in the presence of the pointed question propounded by Mr. Myers.

Other instances of the unreliability of Colonel Olcott's statements, due either to peculiar lapses of memory or to extreme deficiency in the faculty of observation, will be found on pp. 253, 309, and 365.

I cannot, therefore, regard Colonel Olcott's testimony as of any scientific value. In particular, his testimony to the alleged "astral" appearance in New York proves, in my opinion, no more than that he saw some one in his room, who may have been an ordinary Hindu, or some other person, disguised as a Mahatma for the purpose, and acting for Madame Blavatsky. And the same may be said of all his testimony to apparitions of Mahatmas.

Evidence of Mr. Mohini M. Chatterjee.

The testimony of another gentleman, Mr. Mohini M. Chatterjee, who gave evidence as to the apparitions of Mahatmas, is open to a similar charge of lamentable want of accuracy; but in his case it must be said that he always professed that he had never paid any great attention to phenomena. Moreover, his testimony never appeared to us to be of special importance in the way of establishing the genuineness of the supposed marvellous events related by him, because we never thought it impossible that he might have been deceived. We thought, however, that a further acquaintance with the localities where the apparitions occurred, and the examination of other witnesses, might strengthen his evidence; but the reverse has proved to be the case. (See Appendix VII.) After considering the statements of the other witnesses, and examining the places where the alleged events occurred, the probability that the witnesses were imposed upon becomes much more manifest than appears from a reading of Mr. Mohini's evidence alone. Indeed, Mr. Mohini's description of the spots where the alleged "astral" apparitions appeared is more than merely imperfect; it is almost ludicrous.

For instance, in describing the second alleged "astral" apparition, Mr. Mohini stated :—

> "We were sitting on the ground—on the rock, outside the house in Bombay, when a figure appeared a short distance away."

All the other witnesses appear to be agreed that the party were sitting in the verandah, and not upon what some of them described as the *rock;* they gave this name to the irregular summit of the hill upon the side of which the house (Crow's Nest Bungalow) was situated. There are five terrace-fields or gardens on the side of the hill, and the verandah

where the party were sitting was on the same level as the topmost of these. Above and beyond rose the summit of the hill like a high bank, to which there was easy access from the farther side, not visible from the terrace-garden or the verandah; and it was upon this summit that the "figure" appeared. Having pointed this out to Mr. Mohini in a personal interview, I learn that he attributes the inaccuracy of his account to his defective knowledge of the English language, and that by "rock," he meant the ground of the top terrace just outside the bungalow; the use of the word "rock" in this sense is certainly inappropriate; the spot is elsewhere * described as the "garden of the upper terrace." Mr. Mohini also pleads his defective knowledge of the English language in explanation of certain other inconsistencies—to which I drew his attention—between his statements and those of the other witnesses.

Again, in the case of the first alleged "astral" apparition, we had been led by Mr. Mohini's deposition to suppose that not only himself but the other witnesses had recognised the figure. Being asked whether all agreed that it could not be a real man walking in the way described, Mr. Mohini replied :—

"Certainly. It seemed to us to be the apparition of the original of the portrait in Colonel Olcott's room, and which is associated with one of the Mahatmas."

In reply to Mr. Stack's question, whether he could distinguish the features, Mr. Mohini replied : "Oh, yes, and the dress, the turban, and everything," but afterwards, in reply to Mr. Gurney's question whether, if he had seen the face alone, he would have recognised it, he replied that he did not know, that it was the whole thing taken together which produced on him the impression that it was the apparition of the original of the portrait in Colonel Olcott's room.

Now, not one of the other witnesses whom I examined recognised the features; they could not even tell whether the figure had a beard or not, with the exception of Mr. Ghosal, who "saw something like a beard, but not very distinctly."

Nor are the witnesses by any means agreed about other points to which Mr. Mohini refers. For instance, Mr. Mohini said the figure "seemed to melt away." Mr. Ghosal said, "It appeared to me, and a few of those present were of the same opinion, that the figure walked over one of the trees and suddenly disappeared." Mr. Mohini now explains that when he said the figure *seemed to melt away*, he meant merely that the figure disappeared. [In his deposition before the Committee Mr. Mohini said that the figure disappeared, and when Mr

* "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," p. 99.

Myers asked, "In what way did it disappear?" Mr. Mohini replied, "It seemed to melt away."] Another witness described the figure as walking to and fro below the balcony on the third terrace field, and appeared to think it could not have been an ordinary person, because it would have been difficult for a man to walk freely in that place, which he alleged to be full of thorny trees. But I found when I inspected the old headquarters in Bombay that this description also was inaccurate, and that it was perfectly easy for any one, even though disguised in flowing robes, to walk freely over any of the terraces. And I took care to ascertain that the terraces had not been altered in the interval.

In short, after my examination of the locality, I was left without any doubt that the appearances might have been well produced by M. Coulomb in disguise. I have seen M. Coulomb disguised as a Mahatma, and can understand that the figure may have been very impressive. A dummy head (with shoulders), like that of a Hindu, with beard, &c. and fehta, is worn on the top of the head of the person disguised. A long flowing muslin garment falls down in front, and by holding the folds very slightly apart, the wearer is enabled to see, and to speak also, if necessary. I do not think it in the least degree likely that any of the witnesses in the above cases would have penetrated this disguise had the figure been even much nearer than it was, and the light much better.

I was unable to estimate the precise distance of the figure in the second case, but in the first case the figure must, from an examination of the locality, have been certainly more than 40 yards from the spectators. We can hardly attach any importance to the supposed recognition, and from a portrait only, of a figure at this distance, even in bright moonlight. Moreover, a good view of the figure must have been almost impossible in consequence of the trees and shrubs in the neighbourhood.

The third case mentioned by Mr. Mohini, that of an alleged "astral" apparition at Adyar, possesses, if possible, still less evidential value than the foregoing, especially after Mr. Mohini's later accounts to myself. It appears from Mr. Mohini's deposition that the figure disappeared on one side of the balcony * [terrace], at the edge of the balcony, above a flight of steps.

Mr. Mohini: After a while I said that as I should not see him for a long time, on account of my going to Europe, I begged he would leave some tangible mark of his visit. The figure then raised his hands and seemed to throw something at us. The next moment we found a shower of roses

* This is the flat roof above the ground floor of the bungalow, marked on the Plan as *Terrace*. Only a portion of it is represented within the limits of the Plan.

falling over us in the room—roses of a kind that could not have been procured on the premises. We requested the figure to disappear from that side of the balcony where there was no exit. There was a tree on the other side, and it was in order to prevent all suspicion that it might be something that had got down the tree, or anything of that kind, that we requested him to disappear from the side where there was no exit. The figure went over to that spot and then disappeared.

MR. MYERS: You saw its disappearance?

MR. MOHINI: Oh yes, it passed us slowly until it came to the edge of the balcony, and then it was not to be seen any more.

MR. MYERS: The disappearance being sudden?

MR. MOHINI: Yes.

MR. GURNEY: Was the height of the balcony such that any one could have jumped down from it?

MR. MOHINI: The height was 15 or 20 feet, and, moreover, there were people downstairs and all over the house, so that it would have been impossible for a person to have jumped down without being noticed. Just below the balcony there is an open lawn. There were several persons looking at the moment, and my own idea is that it would have been perfectly impossible for a person to have jumped down.

MR. STACK: Why?

MR. MOHINI: There is a small flight of steps just below the balcony, and if a man had jumped from the balcony he must have fallen upon the steps and broken his legs. When the figure passed and re-passed us we heard nothing of any footsteps. Besides myself, Damodar and Madame Blavatsky were in the room at the time.

Mr. Damodar, whom I questioned, declared that the figure disappeared at a spot which he pointed out to me; this spot was not near the edge of the balcony, and was just opposite and close to the door of the Occult Room which opens on the balcony. (See Plan.) I thought, at the time, that the disagreement between this account and Mr. Mohini's might be due to a desire on Mr. Damodar's part to convince me that Madame Coulomb was not acquainted with the circumstances of the case.

Mr. Mohini, in the later account which he gave to me in our first interview after my return from India, described the figure as disappearing at a spot which to a great extent approximates to that pointed out by Mr. Damodar, but is nevertheless not quite in agreement; and I feel bound to say, after careful consideration, that had it been in complete agreement, Mr. Mohini's later account would have involved a clear and absolute stultification of his earlier one; and even as it is, Mr. Mohini's two accounts are fundamentally at variance. Instead of the figure's disappearing, as was stated in his original deposition, *on one side of the balcony* and *above a flight of steps*, the figure is now made to disappear at a spot which should be described rather as the *front of the balcony*, and where there were *no steps below*. I cannot attribute

any evidential value to these conflicting statements: nor does the case seem to me improved by the explanation given to me by Mr. Mohini in our last interview that he had not examined the place to see whether there were any steps below, and that it was only when the question was put by Mr. Stack as to why it was impossible for the figure to have jumped down [Mr. Mohini having made the statement, and Mr. Stack having asked *why?*] that he thought he remembered there were steps under the balcony in that spot (*i.e.*, the spot described in his later account). In Mr. Mohini's earlier account the point of disappearance of the figure was determined by the side of the balcony, the position of the tree on the other side, the edge of the balcony, and the flight of steps. Mr. Mohini's later account contradicts his earlier one in three out of these four determining conditions.

I may now say that the passage quoted above from Mr. Mohini's deposition to the Committee, which was made before anything was known here publicly of the charges brought by the Coulombs, agrees entirely, so far as it goes, both as to the movements of the figure and as to the place of its disappearance, with the account furnished to me *independently* (that is, without any opportunity, as I believe, of knowing what Mr. Mohini had said) by Madame Coulomb, who alleges that she acted as the Mahatma on this occasion. The spot where she described herself as finally escaping from view was at the edge of the balcony on one side of the balcony; a flight of steps was just below, and a tree was near the other side of the balcony. Her account was that, after disguising herself as a Mahatma in the bath-room—now Mr. Damodar's room (see Plan)—she passed through the cupboard with the secret double back into the Occult Room, and thence through the door leading out upon the terrace, where she passed along close to the wall in a stooping attitude until she came opposite the middle window of the sitting-room, when she slowly rose to full height (the dummy head and shoulders being added to her own stature). The spectators in the room, she declared, saluted with profound respect. She was provided, she said, with flowers, which were concealed in the folds of her muslin robe, and which she threw over Mr. Mohini; and after walking up and down on the terrace several times, she finally passed away at the east side of the balcony, departing into the new room, which was then in process of construction, and thence by the north side of the terrace back into the bath-room. She alleged also that she had taken off her shoes in order to move silently, and that it was so dark that she hurt her feet against some nails on the terrace; she said that she had received the flowers that she had thrown over Mr. Mohini from a certain Madame de Wailly, dressmaker, who had since left Madras and is now living in Colombo, in Ceylon. I

called upon Madame de Wailly in Colombo, and found that she recollected having received several bunches of flowers near the beginning of 1884, and having given some to Madame Coulomb. There was one slight difference, however, between the statement of Madame Coulomb and that of Madame de Wailly. The former was under the impression that the flowers given to her by Madame de Wailly had come from Bangalore, a hill station, whereas Madame de Wailly was inclined to think that she had received them from a friend living on the outskirts of Madras, who had presented her with a bouquet of magnificent roses. She believed that it was these roses which she had given to Madame Coulomb.

Madame Coulomb stated that the night was dark, and in reply to my special inquiry, said that there was no moonlight. Mr. Mohini, however, had said in reply to a question put by Mr. Myers, that there was moonlight on the balcony. On reference to the calendar it appears that there was no moonlight. Mr. Mohini now conjectures that he may have mistaken the "fading lamp-light" on the limit of the balcony for moonlight.

I do not myself feel quite certain about the existence of much lamp-light on the balcony; but it may be desirable to add here that, in any case, large portions of the terrace must have remained in darkness, and that although the reader of Mr. Mohini's evidence given to the Committee might almost suppose that the only exit from the terrace was by means of a "tree, or anything of that kind," there are various ways in which an ordinary person disguised might have made his escape. The spectators were in the sitting-room looking from the middle window, and a reference to the Plan will show that certain portions of the terrace on both sides, east and west, were entirely hidden from their observation. The terrace might have been easily left not only by the help of trees, but by proceeding in the direction of the new room, or by mounting the roof,—not to speak of the door of the Occult Room, and the double-backed cupboard; or, considering that it was 11 p.m., and that there was no moonlight, by a ladder from the terrace to the ground. Indeed, I have myself often, as a lad, performed a greater "drop" feat than would be required for leaving the terrace without the help even of a ladder.

I ought to mention that Mr. Mohini had not the opportunity of seeing the proof-sheets of his deposition and correcting any errors that might have been made in our First Report. On June 1st, 1885, he wrote to Mr. Myers remarking on this fact, and stating that he had been looking over the record of his testimony given before the Committee, and he makes a correction in one particular. I need hardly say that I have not used the statement which Mr. Mohini thus corrects in my criticism of Mr. Mohini's evidence. Mr. Mohini, however, omitted to

correct another error, the discovery of which contributes to destroy the interest of another marvel described by him (see Appendix VII.); namely, the case of an alleged phenomenal letter which appeared on the table of Mr. Keightley, a member of the Theosophical Society, in Paris, and which referred to the "*friends*" of Mr. Mohini. The question was asked by Mr. Myers :—

"Could the letter have been written some days before, and the allusion as to taking your friends into the country inserted afterwards?"

Mr. Mohini is represented in the deposition as replying :—

"No, because Mr. Keightley and Mr. Oakley only came to the house by accident that morning."

Mr. Oakley has told me that he went frequently to the Paris apartments and might be expected to call. Mr. Keightley has told me that he was unaware that Mr. Oakley was even in Paris, and that Mr. Oakley had called unexpectedly. But both Mr. Keightley and Mr. Oakley are agreed that Mr. Keightley himself was living in the rooms at the time with Mr. Mohini. After this discrepancy had been pointed out, Mr. Mohini declared that the reply he is represented as giving he did not give, and that the shorthand reporter, who took down the evidence given before the Committee, must have made a mistake. But the reader may himself compare Mr. Mohini's evidence with that of the other witnesses (see Appendix VII.), and he will see how much more marvellous the incidents in question have become under the constructive and destructive action of Mr. Mohini's memory. For example, in the case just referred to, of the letter found on Mr. Keightley's table, it would appear from Mr. Mohini's account that he had gone with Mr. Keightley into Mr. Oakley's room, that Mr. Oakley and Babula were together, and that both Mr. Mohini and Babula were in Mr. Keightley's sight while the latter was absent from his room. Under these circumstances it was not easy to see who could have placed the letter on the table in the interval; but when we find that, according to Mr. Oakley and Mr. Keightley, Mr. Mohini did not enter Mr. Oakley's room at all, that Babula was not with Mr. Oakley, that there was probably a short interval of time during which both Mr. Mohini and Babula were out of the sight of Mr. Keightley, and also of Mr. Oakley, the incident ceases to present any difficulty in the way of an ordinary explanation.

Remaining Evidence for Appearances of Mahatmas.

I need not here say much on the other alleged appearances of Mahatmas, in either their ordinary physical or their "astral" bodies. A confederate in disguise is generally an easy and sufficient explanation of them. I have, I think, shown, in Appendix VIII., that the o real

difficulty in applying this explanation even to the case of Mr. Ramaswamier, whose account of his experience has made so much impression on Mr. Sinnett. I have dealt similarly with other appearances in Appendices IX. and X. The statements in Mr. Brown's pamphlet, *Some Experiences in India*, concerning which he was unwilling to give me any further details, need not detain us long. The only time he saw "Mahatma Koot Hoomi" in broad daylight, the figure was at a distance. Mr. Brown says: "On the morning of the 20th he came to my tent, and said, 'Now you see me before you in the flesh; look and assure yourself that it is I,' and left a letter of instructions and silk handkerchief, both of which are now in my possession." This incident happened, it appears, at about 2 a.m., and Mr. Brown's particular reason for thinking the figure was "Koot Hoomi" seemed to be only that the letter given to him was in the same handwriting as that of letters "phenomenally" received at headquarters from "Koot Hoomi".

The chief persons who testify from personal experience to the actual existence of the Brotherhood in Thibet are (besides Madame Blavatsky) Mr. Damodar and Mr. Babajee Dharbagiri Nath. Of the value of Mr. Damodar's evidence I have already said enough. With regard to Mr. Babajee D. Nath, it is shown in Appendix I. that he has involved himself in the attempted attack by Madame Blavatsky on the "Sassoon Telegram" letter, and a reference to Appendix IV. will show that he has made statements which I cannot but regard as wilfully false concerning matters connected with the Shrine. Again, he stated to me that he had lived with the Brothers only during certain months out of a specific period of *two* years which immediately followed his leaving, in 1878, the position of private secretary to a deputy-collector in the Kurnool district, although he had previously stated to Mr. Sinnett ("The Occult World," pp. 154, 155, Fourth Edition) that he had been living with Koot Hoomi for *ten* years. Further, it was, he said, only a few months after the lapse of these two years that he joined the Theosophical Society in Bombay, and thenceforward he has been continuously at the headquarters of the Society, except when he paid two visits to the North, one to Thibet, and the other to the borders of Thibet. Now, from this account it is clear that Mr. Babajee must have joined the Theosophical Society in Bombay at least as early as 1881, and remained some time at the headquarters in that year. But he does not seem to have made his first appearance as Babajee Dharbagiri Nath until towards the end of 1882, at about which time he visited Mr. Sinnett. When, later, he joined the headquarters of the Society, he was recognised by Theosophists as Gwala K. Deb, who had been there before. The assertion made by Madame Coulomb in her pamphlet, * and

* "Some Account of my Intercourse with Madame Blavatsky," pp. 48-50.

repeated more explicitly to myself, that Mr. Babajee D. Nath is the same person who was previously known in the headquarters at Bombay as Gwala K. Deb, is confirmed by the testimony of Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Tookaram Tatya, Mr. Bal Nilaji Pitale, and Mr. Ezekiel; and it seems to be the only explanation of the above statements made to me by Mr. Babajee himself. Mr. Babajee indeed affirms that he never passed under the name of Gwala K. Deb, but it is by no means likely that all these witnesses should mistake another person for Mr. Babajee, for he is very small, and his voice has a very peculiar *timbre*. Moreover, he seems to have no objection to assuming different characters, since at this very time he represents two persons in the last Official Annual Report issued by the Theosophical Society; that is to say, he appears under two different names. On p. 8 he appears as the delegate of the Vizianagram Branch under the name of *Babajee D. Nath* (otherwise written on pp. 83, 117, 120, as *Mr. Dharbagiri Nath*, in connection with the Anniversary Hall Committee), and on p. 131—Appendix A. of the Theosophical Society's Report—he appears as one of the Assistant Recording Secretaries under the name of *S. Krishnaswami*. Yet Babajee Dharbagiri Nath is the same person as S. Krishnaswami, the latter being Mr. Babajee's real name, according to his own account to myself. I think that all will agree that the mere assertion of a person who has made false and contradictory statements, and has appeared under different *aliases*, is insufficient to prove him "the Chela of Koot Hoomi that he declares himself to be," though it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that "if he is anything else," to use Mr. Sinnett's words, "he, of course, must be a false witness, invented to prop up Madame Blavatsky's vast imposture." Additional evidence of this will be found in Part II. I may add that Mr. Babajee, if I may judge from the account (perhaps not very reliable) which he has given me of his changeful life, appears to be almost isolated and entirely homeless apart from the Theosophical Society, and is, I think, eagerly ready, out of gratitude for sheltering kindness received from Madame Blavatsky, to dispense on her behalf most freely with the truth.

Rama Sourindro Gargya Deva, from whose alleged letter to Madame Blavatsky, asserting his intimacy with the Masters (published in *The Theosophist* for December, 1883), an extract was quoted in our First Report, cannot be regarded as an independent witness; seeing that his own existence is even more problematical than that of the Mahatmas, the only evidence for it being the statement of Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Babajee, and Mr. Damodar, that they know him. And Mr. Mirza Moorad Alee Beg, whose assertions (published in *The Theosophist* for August, 1881) committed him, as we thought, nearly as fully as Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar are committed, to the existence and powers of the Mahatmas, turns out according to the statements

of various Theosophists, to be altogether untrustworthy and to have shown evident marks of insanity. He is said to have practised Black Magic [!] before his connection with the Theosophical Society, which he left long ago, and became a Roman Catholic; he is now a Mussulman. I must conclude, then, that the strongest apparent evidence for the existence of the Mahatmas comes to nothing at all.

Alleged Precipitated Writing, &c.

I now pass to the consideration of alleged phenomenal occurrences other than apparitions, especially those connected with phenomenal letters and the alleged precipitated writing.

I will first draw attention to the statement made by both Mr. Damodar and Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao, that Shrine phenomena occurred even after Madame Blavatsky left Madras, and therefore after the hole in the party wall had been blocked up, according to M. Coulomb's own statements.

In reply to my inquiries it was admitted by Mr. Damodar and Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao, that the only instances of these later Shrine phenomena are the two given in Appendix XI. It will be noticed by the reader, on reference to the Appendix, that in the second case, where a letter apparently requiring a specific reply is placed in the Shrine, a considerable interval elapses, and is probably necessary, before the answer appears. In the first case no letter is placed in the Shrine, no specific communication is required, and a Shrine letter can be, and is, produced without delay. It will be obvious to the reader what part Mr. Damodar may have played in the proceedings; and that for these particular phenomena an opening in the back of the Shrine would have been unnecessary.

It had been alleged, indeed, that when Madame Blavatsky was at Madras, instantaneous replies to mental queries had been found in the Shrine, that envelopes containing questions were returned absolutely intact to the senders, and that when they were opened replies were found within in the handwriting of a Mahatma. After numerous inquiries I found that in all the cases I could hear of, the mental query was such as might easily have been anticipated by Madame Blavatsky; indeed, the query generally was whether the questioner would meet with any success in his endeavour to become a pupil of the Mahatma, and the answer was frequently of the indefinite and oracular sort. In some cases the envelope inserted in the Shrine was one which had been previously sent to headquarters for that purpose, so that the envelope might have been opened and the answer written therein before it was placed in the Shrine at all. Where sufficient care was taken in the preparation of the inquiry, either no specific answer was

given or the answer was delayed. Mr. Ezekiel, Theosophist of Poona, has described to me the details of a case where he received a Mahatma communication intended to be a reply to a specific question which he had asked. These details entirely corroborate my conclusion concerning Madame Blavatsky, but Mr. Ezekiel is unwilling that they should be published; he has given me permission, however, to state that the following passage which occurs in Madame Coulomb's pamphlet (p. 73) is quite justified.

"There is another phenomenon which I must mention, because it took place in the presence of Mr. Ezekiel, whom I shall have to mention again later. At the time of the Anniversary, among the many delegates that came on this occasion was the above gentleman. He was in company with others in Madame's apartment when a letter fell from the ceiling. Mr. Ezekiel formed the natural supposition that it must have been pulled down by some contrivance, so he went and unburdened his heart to several Fellows of the Society, giving this as a great secret. However, although a secret, it came to Madame's ears and she immediately asked my husband to take out the screw-rings through which the string had passed, and stop the holes with a little paint to remove all traces; this done, she called some one to show how ridiculous the accusation had been."

This letter fell in Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room, and was probably arranged in the same way as the "phenomenal" letter prepared for me by the Coulombs, which was described in the April number of the *Journal*, in the words of a letter written by me from India, as follows:—

Madras, January 9th, 1885.

This morning I called upon the Coulombs, who are living at the house of Mrs. Dyer in St. Thomé. I conversed a short time with M. Coulomb before Madame Coulomb appeared. In the course of the conversation that followed I remarked, concerning certain cases of premonition, that I had no satisfactory theory at present to account for them. At this moment something white appeared, touching my hair, and fell on the floor. It was a letter. I picked it up. It was addressed to myself. M. and Madame Coulomb were sitting near me and in front of me. I had observed no motion on their part which could account for the appearance of the letter. Examining the ceiling as I stood I could detect no flaw; it appeared intact. On opening the letter, I found it referred to the conversation which had just taken place. I transcribe the words:—

"Because the existing cause of to-day foretells the effect of to-morrow —a bud assures us beforehand the full-blown rose of to-morrow; on seeing fine field of corn in which are buried eggs of locusts, we are to foresee that that corn will never enter the granary; by the appearance of consumptive father and scrofulous mother a sickly child can be foretold. Now all these causes, which bring to us these effects, have in their turn their effects them-

selves, and so, *ad infinitum;* and as nothing is lost in Nature, but remains impressed in the *akasa*, so the acute perception of the seer beginning at the source arrives at the result with exactitude.

"THE NEW ADEPT, COLUMBUS."

M. Coulomb then described the origin of the letter.

A large beam supported the ceiling, and resting on this, at right angles to it, was a series of small beams with spaces between them. These spaces were filled with blocks of wood, with mortar to keep them in place. Part of this mortar had been scraped out on the top of the large beam and between two smaller ones, so that a letter could be inserted and lie flat on the top of the large beam. Round the letter was twice passed a piece of thread of the same colour as the ceiling. One end of the thread remained loose on the letter, the other end was in the hand of a person outside the room. The thread ran from the letter, close to the ceiling, passed outside and hung down. I was sitting under the main beam. The subject of conversation was led up to, and at the given signal (a call to the dog) the confederate in the verandah beyond pulled the thread and the letter fell. The confederate drew the thread entirely away and left the spot. The crevice for the letter might, in a few moments, have been stopped up and covered with dust, so that no aperture whatever appeared in the neighbourhood of the ceiling.

The ceiling of Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room was constructed in the same way as the one here described, and would, therefore, be suited for the occurrence of similar phenomena. Besides the letter received by Mr. Ezekiel, the letter mentioned in Appendix V. also fell in this room. I examined the beam, and observed a crevice well suited for the production of the phenomenon; this crevice was still in existence when I left Madras.

In connection with phenomenal incidents various envelopes have been shown to me by Theosophists which were supposed to have been completely fastened, but from all of these the contents might have been in my opinion even more easily abstracted than from the sealed envelope described in detail in Appendix V., which presented clear traces of having been surreptitiously opened by the withdrawal of the right flap, which had just escaped being securely held, if held at all, by the wax. In the case of one large sealed envelope shown to me by a prominent native Theosophist, the wax held the upper and lower flaps only, and hardly came within a quarter of an inch of the side flaps; the crumpling suggested that the right flap here also had been withdrawn.

After Madame Blavatsky's departure for Europe the Mahatma communications—with the two exceptions already mentioned—were found, not in the Shrine, but in various other places about the house, chiefly the office-room. The accounts of many cases of this kind were published in our First Report. I made careful inquiries concerning

all of them, and found that in every instance the letter might have been easily placed by Mr. Damodar.

In one case mentioned by Mr. Babajee, where he found a letter upon his desk in the office-room, he wrote :—

"On approaching my desk, I saw *distinctly* an envelope and paper *forming* themselves." In his account to me, however, he says only that "the letter appeared to increase in size as he approached his desk"!

There are, I think, only two instances among those given in our First Report, where the *modus operandi*, if Mr. Damodar were the agent, will not be obvious, and I shall briefly describe these.

Our evidence for them is an account written by Mr. Babajee and forwarded through Dr. Hartmann to Mr. Myers for the Committee, and after what I have said as to the value of Mr. Babajee's evidence, it may seem unnecessary to investigate them further. Still, as they seem to me—the second especially—to form an interesting sample of the kind of evidence which is apparently thought at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society to be valuable, I will give them. The first is as follows :—

"On or about the 1st August, 1884, I was examining whether the wrappers addressed to subscribers (to *The Theosophist*) were correct, sitting in the room next to our office-room ; on a large camp table were spread the addressed wrappers. With some noise fell a heavy packet (with a covering letter to me) on the wrappers. The letter contained some wholesome and timely advice to me, and directed me to hand over the packet to Mr. St. George Lane-Fox. I accordingly gave it, and found that in the packet was a Chinese envelope and letter addressed both to Dr. F. Hartmann and to Mr. Lane-Fox. When the packet fell on my table, there was nobody then in the room or in the office-room. I was alone. The letter and contents were in the well-known handwritings of Mahatma Koot Hoomi and of B.D.S."

I found from Mr. Babajee that Mr. Damodar was reclining on a couch outside the office-room, and adjoining its door. Mr. Babajee was sitting with his back turned partly towards the direction of the spot occupied by Mr. Damodar, in such a position that no movement of Mr. Damodar's need have been observed by him. The two rooms are divided by a partition about seven feet high, the lower part o which is zinc, the upper part being formed of wire trellis-work. The rooms are twice as high as the partition. An object might easily be thrown from the office-room entrance so as to fall on the table.

The other case is the following :—

"M. R. Ry. G. Sreenivas Row Garu, Sule Registrar of Cumbum, Kurnool District, India, wrote a letter, dated 15th January, 1884, to the address of Damodar, who gave it to me for reply. Early in the morning, at 7 a.m., I arranged all the papers to be answered on my desk, with which

nobody ever interferes. I put this letter of Sreenivas Row in a prominent place on the table, and then after locking the office-room and taking the key with myself, I went out to take a bath; at about 8 a.m. I returned and opened the office door; on approaching my table, what do I find? Endorsement on Sreenivas Row's letter in blue pencil, in the handwriting of Mahatma K.H., ordering me to answer the letter. There is not the least possibility of doubt in this case."

After reading this, what was my surprise to find that the room which I have just described, next to the office-room, and divided from it only by the partition reaching half-way to the ceiling, was never locked, and that there is no lock to the door, while a child might climb from the table over the partition into the office-room! Truly "there is not the least possibility of doubt in this case" that the phenomenon might have been produced by normal means.

Various other letter-phenomena which were mentioned in our First Report, had occurred at the headquarters in Bombay. Several letters had fallen in the guest-chamber, which adjoined Madame Blavatsky's bedroom, in Crow's Nest Bungalow. Among these were the phenomena recounted by Professor Smith, Mr. Shroff, and Mr. Bal Nilaji Pitale (see "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy"), and that described by Mr. Sinnett in "The Occult World," fourth edition, p. 120. The ceiling of this room is boarded, not plastered; and the remark which we made in our First Report, that all accounts of letters falling in such places must be regarded with suspicion, I found to be quite justified. In Mr. Shroff's account it is stated that the wooden ceiling of the room was perfectly intact. Mr. Shroff informed me that the account was drawn up in the first instance by himself, and that afterwards some passages were added and alterations made at the suggestion of others present. He did not appear to have made any "examination"; he said that he had "looked up at the ceiling," that he had been positive beforehand about the genuineness of the phenomena, and that he did not care to scrutinise with the eye of a critic.

M. Coulomb asserted, before I went to Bombay, that in a garret above this room a trap was fixed with a string running from it into another room. The letter was placed in the trap just above one of the interstices between the boards of the ceiling, and on a given signal, the string was pulled and the letter fell. On one occasion, when Judge Gadgill was present, the trap would not work, and M. Coulomb had himself ascended the garret and pushed the letter down. He described the garret particularly, the entrance to which is through a trap-door in the ceiling of Madame Blavatsky's bedroom. The trap, he asserted, was taken away when Judge Gadgill desired to inspect the garret. The case where Judge Gadgill was present is mentioned by

Colonel Olcott in his deposition, but as there given, is likely to be very misleading. He said :—

"Judge Gadgill, and one or two others, knowing that they had to deal with some very difficult sceptics at Baroda, who would demand if they had taken the precaution to examine the premises and see if the letter could have been delivered by any mechanical device, thereupon made a search of the place, and even got a ladder and went upon the tiled roof. He will tell you that the examination made then, and a subsequent and more careful one, which was made in my own presence and with my assistance—for I held the ladder—left no ground for suspicion of bad faith."

Now the tiled roof spoken of was above the garret, and there is not the slightest trace of any suspicious circumstance discoverable from there. Moreover, part of the hill very closely adjoins the bungalow, so that it is but a short step from the bank to the tiled roof, and to speak of getting a ladder and going upon the tiled roof is quite as absurd as to speak of getting a ladder and going upon the sofa.

According to M. Coulomb, when Mr. Gadgill requested to examine the garret Madame Blavatsky ordered the only available ladder to be hidden, so that Mr. Gadgill was unable to examine the garret at the time; and before he made his "subsequent and more careful" examination, having obtained a ladder for the purpose, M. Coulomb had removed the trap, filled the interstices with bits of bamboo and stick and dust, and endeavoured to make the garret look as though it had been entirely undisturbed for a long time.

After my return from Bombay, Colonel Olcott gave me another account of the incident,* in which he said that he was not at Bombay when the letter fell; that he was told that Judge Gadgill went on the tiled roof; that it was a week or so later when Judge Gadgill examined the garret; that he (Colonel Olcott) held the ladder to steady it, as it was placed on a table to enable the trap-door to be reached, and that he told Judge Gadgill to first look at the joinings of the boards and see if they were not choked with cobwebs, dust, &c., thus showing that they

* Another statement made by Colonel Olcott in his deposition concerning the above incident is worthy of remark. He said: "One of those present suddenly called attention to a collection of vapour that had that instant appeared in the air up towards the corner of the room; and all present, looking, saw this take the form of a letter." The letter which fell was addressed, "To Tookaram and Others," according to the account given to me by Mr. Tookaram Tatya himself ("merchant and commission-agent, and the active member working at the Homœopathic Charitable Dispensary established at Bombay under the auspices of the Theosophical Society, and practising mesmerism in its curative branch both at home and at the dispensary"). Concerning the fal of the letter, Mr. Tookaram states: "The grandson of Iyalu Naidu said saw a flash of light near the ceiling, which contracted into a letter, and fel fluttering on the floor. I saw the letter just as it struck the floor."

How a little dust can blind one's eyes!

could not have been used for pushing letters through. I neglected to ask Colonel Olcott whether this suggestion originated from himself or from Madame Blavatsky.

I examined carefully, when I was at Bombay, the room and the garret, the entrance to which is through a trap-door in the ceiling of what was Madame Blavatsky's bedroom. The appearance of the garret corresponded so accurately with M. Coulomb's detailed description as to convince me that he was familiar with it. Some of the interstices in the ceiling were open; others had evidently been carefully filled with bits of stick and dust, and I dropped several pieces of bamboo which I found in the garret, and which were more than a quarter of an inch thick, through one of the interstices. A copy of our *Proceedings* might easily have been pushed through, and interstices were plainly visible in the ceiling from below. I was unfortunately unable to see Judge Gadgill himself, but after my examination of the room I felt that he could probably have added little important evidence.

There were also instances of objects falling in a room roofed by a ceiling-cloth, which was occupied by Colonel Olcott in another house; one of these (from "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy") was given in our First Report. I did not see this room, but Colonel Olcott, in reply to my inquiries, informed me that no examination of the ceiling-cloth was made, so that Madame Coulomb's statement that the card which came fluttering down was pushed from above through a slit made in the ceiling-cloth is very probably correct.

But cases had occurred, not only of the appearance, but of the disappearance of letters. Chief among these was the disappearance of the packet in the *Vega* case. This incident is described in "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy." It was alleged that a letter was conveyed by a Mahatma from Mr. Eglinton on the steamship *Vega*, between Colombo and Aden, to Madame Blavatsky at Bombay, and again from Bombay to Mrs. Gordon at Howrah. It is clear from the account of this occurrence, as we pointed out in our First Report, that there was no proof whatever of identity between the letter received at Bombay and that shown on the *Vega*. The fall of the letter in Bombay is somewhat strangely described in the following certificate. (See "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy.")

"At 8 p.m. (Bombay time), on Friday, the 24th March, 1882, we were spending our time with Madame Blavatsky in the room as the wind was blowing powerfully outside. Madame told us that she felt that something would occur. The whole party, consisting of 7 persons, then adjourned on the terrace, and within a few minutes after our being there we saw a letter drop as if from under the roof above. Some of us saw the letter coming slanting from one direction and drop quite opposite to where it came from. The letter, on being opened, was found to contain a closed envelope

to the address of Mrs. Gordon, Howrah; on the reverse side were three crosses ††† in pencil. The envelope was of bluish colour and thin. The open letter written in red pencil contained certain instructions to Madame Blavatsky, and accordingly she put the envelope, together with three visiting cards, and strung them all with a blue thread of silk and put the packet as directed on a bookcase, and within 5 minutes after it was put there it evaporated, to our no small surprise.

"K. M. Shroff,
"*Vice-President Bombay T. S.*
"Gwala K. Deb, F.T.S.
"Damodar K. Mavalankar, F.T.S.
"Martandrew B. Nagnath, F.T.S.
"Dorab H. Bharucha, F.T.S.
"Bhavani Shankar, F.T.S."

"The packet was taken away from the bookcase at 21 minutes past 8 p.m. (9, Madras time). A letter from Mr. Eglinton to myself was also received by me. In it he confesses to a firm belief in the 'Brothers.' Speaks of Koot Hoomi having visited him two nights ago (the 22nd) on the *Vega*, &c.

"H. P. Blavatsky."

Mr. Martandrao B. Nagnath and Mr. Bhavani Shankar, whom I questioned at Madras, could give but little additional information. Mr. Martandrao said that he first saw the letter in the air at about 10 feet from the floor. Mr. Bhavani (concerning whom see p. 261 and Appendix IX.) said that he first saw the letter as it struck the floor of the verandah, that it contained an enclosure to Madame Blavatsky beginning "Old woman get up," and ordering her to get some cards of her own, and sew them up with the letter with green thread, and put the packet on the top of a large cupboard; that the packet was placed there as directed, and in about one minute afterwards it had disappeared. Mr. Shroff, whom I saw in Bombay, was unable at first to recollect the incident at all, and when he did recollect it, was unable to give me any details.

Mr. Dorab H. Bharucha, medical student, whom I also saw in Bombay, said, in reply to my inquiries, that he saw the letter in the air, that when he first saw the letter it was close to the branches of a neighbouring tree, and that it came in such a way that it might have been thrown from the tree. It should be noticed that no opportunity was given to any of the witnesses to place any test marks on the packet.*

* It is the more important to notice this, because in describing the incident in "The Occult World," 4th ed., p. 132, Mr. Sinnett says the cards were "written on by them at the time," an expression which certainly suggests that some one besides Madame Blavatsky had written on them. That this was not the case may be inferred from the above accounts. Moreover, Mrs. Gordon describes the writing on the cards received at Howrah, but makes no allusion to any except that of Madame Blavatsky and Mahatmas Koot Hoomi and M., so that if others *did* write on them at Bombay there was a want of correspondence between the cards seen at Bombay, and those seen at Howrah.

It was to Madame Blavatsky herself that the instructions were given in "the open letter written in red pencil." Mr. Bharucha has given me further details which throw some light upon the evaporation of the packet. The whole party entered Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room after the letter was taken up; and when Madame Blavatsky had fulfilled her (own) instructions, and placed the packet on the bookcase, the whole party left the room. Several minutes elapsed before they returned to the room, and when they returned the packet had disappeared. Mr. Bharucha described the position of the bookcase where the letter was placed, giving me a pencil sketch of the room. He did not know that any opening existed on that side of the room where the bookcase was situated, and was unaware that the bookcase stood immediately in front of a double venetianed door, which communicates with a sort of alley, part of which formed Babula's room. That this was so I had ascertained by my own examination of the room at Crow's Nest Bungalow. Probably the top portion of the venetianed door may have been by some means concealed from view. M. Coulomb asserts that it was hidden by a piece of carpeting, and this would account for Mr. Bharucha's not noticing it. The venetian spaces of this door are very wide and allow the hand and most of the forearm to be thrust through. I presume, therefore, that the evaporation which astonished the witnesses—I should perhaps say the non-witnesses—was due not so much to the volatile nature of the packet itself, as to the protrusile capacity of Babula's hand. As to the fall of what purported to be the same letter at Howrah, in the presence of Colonel Olcott and Colonel and Mrs. Gordon, in the room which had been occupied by Mr. Eglinton, it may of course have been accomplished by a confederate, in one of the ways already described.

Other instances of "phenomenal" letters will be found mentioned in Appendices XII., XIII. and XIV. It remains only to add here that in those cases where the immediately previous subject of conversation was referred to in the Mahatma communication, there is no difficulty in supposing that the special topic was led up to by Madame Blavatsky.

"The Occult World" Phenomena.

The phenomena described by Mr. Sinnett in "The Occult World" now demand consideration. And first I shall deal with several cases selected by Mr. Sinnett in his deposition to the Committee, as these were presumably thought by him to be of special importance. The first case described by Mr. Sinnett to the Committee was that of a letter which he had written to Koot Hoomi.

"Having completed the note, I put it into an envelope, and took it to Madame Blavatsky, who was sitting in the drawing-room with my wife. I

said to her, 'Will you get that taken, if you can, and get me an answer?' She put the letter into her pocket, and rose to go to her room. All the windows were open, as is usual in India. As she passed out I walked to the drawing-room door. She was out of my sight but for an instant of time, when she cried out, 'Oh, he has taken it from me now.' I will undertake to say that she was not out of my sight for 10 seconds. Having uttered that exclamation, she returned to the drawing-room, and we then proceeded together to my office at the back of my house. I went on with what I was doing, and she simply lay on the sofa in my full view. She remained there, perhaps, for between 5 or 10 minutes, when, suddenly lifting her head from the pillow, she pointed to it and said, 'There is your letter.' I should mention, as a little fact which may bear upon occult physics, that the moment before I distinctly heard a peculiar rushing sound through the air. It was, I think, the only occasion on which I had heard such a sound, and she asked me afterwards if I had heard it. The letter lay on the pillow, the name which I had written on the envelope being scratched out, and my own name written immediately above it. The envelope was unopened, and in precisely the same state, with the difference I have mentioned, as when I gave it to Madame Blavatsky. I cut the envelope open, and found inside an answer to the question which I had asked the Mahatma."

From this account it appears that Madame Blavatsky was not out of Mr. Sinnett's sight for *ten seconds*, but in the account given in "The Occult World" (pp. 96-97) Mr. Sinnett undertakes to say only that she had not been away to her own room *thirty seconds*, admitting that she was also out of his sight *for a minute or two* in Mrs. Sinnett's room. After this I cannot feel certain that Madame Blavatsky may not have been absent in her own room considerably more than 30 seconds, nor do I feel certain that Madame Blavatsky may not have retired to some other room during the interval of "a few minutes" which Mr. Sinnett assigns to her conversation with Mrs. Sinnett in the adjoining room. Even apart from this uncertainty, I cannot attach any importance to the case after finding that on my second trial I could open a firmly closed ordinary adhesive envelope under such conditions as are described by Mr. Sinnett, read the enclosed note and reply to it, the question and the reply being as long as those of Mr. Sinnett's, and re-close the envelope, leaving it apparently in the same condition as before, in one minute; and it appears to me quite possible that Madame Blavatsky, with her probably superior skill and practice, might have easily performed the task in 30 seconds. I do not suppose that Mr. Sinnett would wish to maintain that the "peculiar rushing sound through the air" could not have been produced by ordinary means at the disposal of Madame Blavatsky.

The next case mentioned by Mr. Sinnett was the fall of a letter in the guest-room at Crow's Nest Bungalow, and is thus described in his deposition.

"I had been expecting a letter from Koot Hoomi, but on my arrival at Bombay I did not find one awaiting me at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society there. I had written, asking him several questions. I had got in late at night, and on the following morning I was walking about the verandah talking to Madame Blavatsky. We went into a room which I had occupied as a bedroom during the night—a big room, with a large table in the middle of it. I sat down while we were talking, and she occupied another chair at a considerable distance from me. I said, 'Why on earth have I not had a letter in answer to mine?' She replied, 'Perhaps he will send it to you. Try to exercise your will-power; try to appeal to him. Ask him to send it to you.' I retorted, 'No, I will wait his time; he will send sooner or later, no doubt.' At that moment a packet fell before me on the table. It was a large envelope containing at least 30 pages of manuscript—heavy draft paper. The packet only came into view a few feet—two perhaps—above the table, though I do not attach much importance to the precise distance, as in a case of that sort the eye cannot be certain to a foot. The room was brilliantly light, this being in the morning.

Mr. Gurney: Did Madame Blavatsky know that you had written a letter and were expecting an answer, before this conversation with her?

Mr. Sinnett: Certainly; but the point to which I attach importance in this case is that the thing happened in broad daylight in a room which I had myself occupied the previous night, and which I had been in and out of during the whole of the morning. Everything occurred fully before my eyes. It is impossible that Madame Blavatsky could have thrown the letter with her hand. All the circumstances are incompatible with that. I was not writing at the time, but talking to her, so that the idea that she could have thrown the letter is simply preposterous. (See "The Occult World," p. 120.)

It might be suggested that the remarks made by Madame Blavatsky were calculated to render this phenomenon more striking than it actually was if Mr. Sinnett could have been prevailed upon to "exercise his will power," and it is to be inferred from Mr. Sinnett's accounts that he made no examination whatever of the ceiling either from the room below or from the garret above. According to M. Coulomb the packet had been arranged in the trap in the garret before the arrival of Mr. Sinnett on the previous evening, but as Mr. Sinnett was late in arriving, the phenomenon was deferred until the following morning. The room where the letter fell has already been described (p. 254), and the incident needs no further comment.

The third case was that of a sealed envelope, a case which Mr. Sinnett seems to have regarded as "quite complete," in his deposition to the Committee. (See "The Occult World," pp. 95-96.) This envelope, which contained a letter for the Brothers, and which Mr. Sinnett, after gumming and sealing, had given to Madame Blavatsky, was in Madame Blavatsky's possession for several hours, and when it was returned to Mr. Sinnett, he found it "absolutely intact, its very complete fastenings having remained just as" he had arranged them. Cutting

the envelope open, Mr. Sinnett found inside, not only the letter it had previously contained, but also another, from Koot Hoomi. Mr. Sinnett showed me the envelope. The fastenings were not by any means what I should call complete ; so far was this from being the case, that owing to the length of the flap, which was only sealed at its lower extremity, the letter might have been abstracted, and re-inserted with other letters, without even steaming the envelope, or loosening the adhesion of the gum by any other process ; and if the gum had been loosened, say by careful steaming, the abstraction and re-insertion would have been superlatively easy.

The last case given by Mr. Sinnett in his deposition to the Committee, and emphasised by him as a "phenomenal test," is the alleged instantaneous transportation of a piece of plaster *plaque* from Bombay to Allahabad. ("The Occult World," pp. 126-131.) The important facts are briefly these. Colonel Olcott, accompanied by Mr. Bhavani Rao (now Inspector of the N.W. Theosophical branches), was on his way from Bombay to Calcutta, and was staying with Mr. Sinnett at Allahabad on the route. One evening, on his return home, Mr. Sinnett found, in one of several telegram envelopes awaiting him, a note from Mahatma M., telling him to search in his writing-room for "a fragment of a plaster bas-relief that M. had just transported instantaneously from Bombay." Mr. Sinnett found the fragment in the drawer of his writing-table. A document signed at Bombay shows that somewhere about the same time as Mr. Sinnett got this note a loud noise, as of something falling and breaking, was heard by several persons as they sat in the verandah adjoining Madame Blavatsky's writing-room. A search was immediately made in this room, which proved to be empty, but a certain plaster mould was found lying in pieces on the floor. On fitting the pieces together, it was found that one fragment was missing. Shortly afterwards Madame Blavatsky went into her other room and shut the door. After a minute's interval, she called Mr. Tookaram Tatya and showed him a paper containing the handwriting of "Mahatma M.," which informed them that the missing piece had been taken to Allahabad. The remaining pieces were sent a few days later to Mr. Sinnett, and he found that his piece "fitted in perfectly." Of course, the weak point of the case is that there is no proof whatever that the piece of plaster received by Mr. Sinnett was in Bombay when the peculiar breakage occurred, for it appears from the statement of the witnesses at Bombay (shown to us by Mr. Sinnett, but not printed complete in "The Occult World") that the only evidence for the previously unbroken condition of the plaster mould is that "Madame Blavatsky on inquiry ascertained [!] from the servants that all the furniture had been cleaned and dusted two days before, and the portrait was intact then."

What arrangements would be necessary for the phenomenon if it was a trick? Madame Blavatsky, we may suppose, begins by breaking off a corner of the plaster mould, and in so doing breaks the mould into several pieces. After some difficulties, M. Coulomb fits the pieces together—all but one—and keeps them in place by a strip of cardboard frame fastened in such a manner that it can be jerked away by a string pulled from outside the room where the mould was suspended. The cardboard strip containing the mould is arranged on the nail. As M. Coulomb is going with Madame Coulomb to Poona, he instructs Babula how to pull the string.* The fragment of plaster withheld is given (or sent) to some confederate to be placed in Mr. Sinnett's drawer, together with a note in the handwriting of "Mahatma M.," which is to be placed, if possible, in some "closed" envelope at Mr. Sinnett's house; an hour is agreed upon, say 7 p.m., March 11th, Bombay time, and at the appointed hour, Babula pulls the string, the plaster falls with a crash, and witnesses are there to hear the noise and fit the fragments together. Madame Blavatsky enters her inner room alone and provides a Mahatma note. Meanwhile, the confederate has succeeded in inserting the note in a telegram envelope (possibly by careful manipulation of the eyelets which are used to fasten telegram envelopes in India; possibly by substituting eyelets slightly larger, so as to cover any flaws made in the paper of the envelope).

To the same confederate may have been confided the two Koot Hoomi notes received by Mr. Sinnett while Mr. Bhavani Rao was at Allahabad. There is most assuredly nothing in those portions of the first of these which Mr. Sinnett quotes ("Occult World," p. 130) which might not have been written beforehand, and the second might well, so far as appears from Mr. Sinnett's account of its contents, have been prepared in anticipation of Mr. Sinnett's suggestions. It simply said, Mr. Sinnett tells us, "that what I proposed was impossible, and that he [Koot Hoomi] would write more fully through Bombay."† This

* M. Coulomb declares that the arrangements were as here described.

† From a contemporary account of the occurrence sent by Mr. Sinnett to Mr. Hume, on March 14th, and from the copy of a contemporary letter written by Colonel Olcott to Madame Blavatsky on March 12th, it would appear that on March 11th Mr. Sinnett put a note addressed to *Mahatma M.* into his drawer, from which on March 12th it had disappeared. But there is no mention of any note to *Koot Hoomi* except the one given to Mr. Bhavani Rao on the 13th, and it is implied in a copy of a letter from Mr. Bhavani Rao to Mr. Damodar on March 14th, that this was the first letter which he had received for "transmission" to a "Brother." Is it possible that there is a mistake in "The Occult World," and that by the first note to Koot Hoomi is really meant the note to M. put into the drawer? The documents which I have mentioned point clearly to this conclusion. What *seems* to have happened during Mr. Bhavani Rao's visit is that Mr. Sinnett wrote a note to *Mahatma M.* on March 11th, and not

is curiously like the *en cas* which was provided by Madame Blavatsky for General Morgan in connection with the Adyar Saucer phenomenon, and which, as General Morgan did not ask any questions, remained in possession of the Coulombs (see p. 213). If it be objected to my explanation of these Allahabad phenomena that the only possible confederate was Mr. Bhavani Rao himself, I must reply that I cannot regard this objection as an important one. I have already shown grounds for believing that Madame Blavatsky has obtained sufficient influence over two educated young natives to induce them to join her in tricks, and from what I know of Mr. Bhavani Rao, or, as he is more generally called, Bhavani Shankar, whose acquaintance I made while I was in India, I can find no improbability in the supposition of his being a third. I have given in Appendix IX., and in Part II, p. 297, what I regard as instances of deliberate misrepresentation on his part.

I pass now to the remaining phenomena mentioned by Mr. Sinnett in "The Occult World." We may first take the "raps" and the "astral bells," which Mr. Sinnett seems to regard as constituting important test phenomena. I may here quote a passage from "The Occult World," p. 35 :—

"With such a mighty problem at stake as the trustworthiness of the fundamental theories of modern physical science, it is impossible

only did he get no reply whatever at the time to this note, but it led to no communication of any sort at the time from *Mahatma M.*; he received, however, a *K. H. communication* on March 12th, and on March 13th addressed a letter to Koot Hoomi in which he suggested that certain other things should be done, and which he gave to Mr. Bhavani Rao to be "transmitted." On March 14th, he received from Mr. Bhavani Rao a K.H. communication which merely said, "impossible; no power; will write through Bombay." The latest form of this incident as published by Mr. Sinnett occurs in the Appendix to the fourth edition of "The Occult World," p.155, where, referring to Mr. Bhavani Rao, he writes: "During the visit I speak of, he was enabled to pass a letter of mine to the Master, to receive back his reply, to get off a second note of mine, and to receive back a little note of a few words in reply again." I find it impossible to reconcile this account with the documents which I have mentioned, and it appears also to differ slightly from the account which Mr. Sinnett gives on p. 130, from which I infer that the note which he says he wrote to Koot Hoomi and gave to Mr. Bhavani Rao on March 11th, was not *answered* by the Koot Hoomi note presented by Mr. Bhavani Rao on March 12th. If I am right in this inference I may venture to make another, and that is that Mr. Sinnett was himself dissatisfied at not receiving, in Koot Hoomi's communication of March 12th, a reply to his letter of March 11th, and that when he wrote the words that he did, *after all*, exchange letters with Koot Hoomi, it was with the feeling that his dissatisfaction had been partly if not altogether removed by the final Koot Hoomi note. Does Mr. Sinnett think that this final note referred so specially to his own suggestions that it could not have been prepared before his own letter was written? In this case it would be interesting to know the exact words of *both* documents, and to examine the handwriting of the Koot Hoomi reply.

to proceed by any other but scientific modes of investigation. In any experiments I have tried I have always been careful to exclude, not merely the probability, but the possibility of trickery; and where it has been impossible to secure the proper conditions, I have not allowed the results of the experiments to enter into the sum total of my conclusions."

That Mr. Sinnett looks upon the cases we have just considered in detail as instances of the passage of matter through matter or of its pre-precipitation or reintegration, forces me to the opinion that his modes of investigation have not been what I should call "scientific," and that the same lack of due caution probably characterised his observation of test-conditions in those instances which I have not been able to investigate personally, as in those instances where I have had the opportunity of examining the conditions applied. Thus, for example, I have not taken part in forming a pile of hands such as Mr. Sinnett describes on p. 33, but I cannot attribute any importance to his confident statement concerning this and similar incidents, now that I have examined some of the possibilities in other cases about which he speaks with equal, if not greater, confidence. The raps occurring when Madame Blavatsky places her hands upon the patient's head, I have, however, experienced, —though, as Madame Blavatsky sat behind me and placed her hands upon the back of my head, I was unable to watch her fingers. She had not informed me what she intended doing, and I conjectured that she was attempting to "mesmerise" me; the so-called "shocks" which I felt impressed me simply as movements of impatience on the part of Madame Blavatsky. My attention being then drawn to them as "phenomena," they were repeated, but I found them not at all like the "shocks" experienced when taking off sparks from the conductor of an electrical machine, as Mr. Sinnett describes them. The sharp thrilling or tingling feeling was quite absent. Unfortunately, I am unable to gently crack any of the joints of my fingers, I can but clumsily and undisguisedly crack one of the joints of my thumbs, yet I find that the *quality* of the feeling produced when I thus crack my thumb-joint against my head exactly resembles that which I perceived under the supple hands of Madame Blavatsky. The explanation which accounts satisfactorily for my own experience I do not pretend to offer as an assured explanation of the experiments made by Mr. Sinnett, though I do not by any means feel certain that it may not be sufficient. It is true that Mr. Sinnett regards the hypothesis as "idiotic" ("Occult World," p. 33); but then he regarded the suggestion that the letter he described as "materialised, or reintegrated in the air," was an outcome of any concealed apparatus, as "grotesquely absurd" (p. 120), notwithstanding the facts that the phenomenon occurred at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society, that the ceiling of the room abounded with interstices, and that the garret above might have been crammed up to

the tiled roof with all sorts of conjuring devices for aught he knew to the contrary. Mr. Sinnett treats with scorn the supposition that Madame Blavatsky could have produced either the "raps" or the "astral bells" by means of any machine concealed about her person; but I cannot help thinking that the latter sounds at least might have been produced in this way. Madame Coulomb asserts that they were actually so produced, by the use of a small musical-box, constructed on the same principle as the machine employed in connection with the trick known under the name "Is your watch a repeater?" and she produced garments which she asserted had belonged to Madame Blavatsky, and showed me stains resembling iron-mould on the right side, slightly above the waist, which she affirmed had been caused by contact with the metal of the machine. She declares also that the machine was sometimes carried by Babula, on the roof or in the various rooms of the house or outside, and when used by Madame Blavatsky herself was worked by a slight pressure of the arm against the side, which would have been imperceptible to the persons present. I think the "astral bells" may be thus accounted for, and I must remind the reader of an important consideration which Mr. Sinnett seems to have overlooked—namely, the great uncertainty in all localisation of sounds of which the cause and mode of production are unknown, especially pure tones such as he describes the "astral bell" sound to be, and the great ease of inducing by trifling indications the adoption of an altogether erroneous opinion concerning the position where the sonorous disturbance originates. Further, we may suppose, without any extravagance of hypothesis, that Madame Blavatsky may possess more than one of these machines alluded to, so that the sounds may be heard in different places at the same time. Yet the possibility that if Madame Blavatsky had one such machine she might have had two does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Sinnett, if I may judge from his argument on p. 41.

"Managed a little better, the occurrence now to be dealt with would have been a beautiful test" ("Occult World," p. 43); for a certain class of readers it is told "not as a proof but as an incident," and it is worth a brief consideration from this point of view. Mrs. Sinnett "went one afternoon with Madame Blavatsky to the top of a neighbouring hill. They were only accompanied by one other friend." While there Madame Blavatsky asked Mrs. Sinnett "what was her heart's desire." As Mr. Sinnett's correspondence with "Koot Hoomi" appears to have begun about this time,* it is probable that much interest was excited by the idea of receiving communications from the "Adepts," and it cannot, therefore, be regarded as at all unlikely that Mrs. Sinnett

* Whether he had received his first Koot Hoomi note is not manifest; he had certainly not received his second.

should ask as she did "for a note from one of the Brothers." Moreover, it does not appear that Madame Blavatsky guaranteed the fulfilment of Mrs. Sinnett's "heart's desire" until she knew what the desire was, any more than she guaranteed the fulfilment of Mrs. Sinnett's wish that the note should "come fluttering down into her lap," and this last wish was not granted. "Some conversation ensued as to whether this would be the best way to get it, and ultimately it was decided that she should find it in a certain tree." Mr. Sinnett does not lay any stress upon the identity of the paper folded up by Madame Blavatsky with the paper of the pink note received by Mrs. Sinnett, nor will any person experienced in strawberry hunts, or familiar with leafy trees, be in the least degree surprised that Mrs. Sinnett did not at once perceive the "little pink note" upon the "twig immediately before her face." The note was "stuck on to the stalk of a leaf that had been quite freshly torn off, for the stalk was still green and moist—not withered as it would have been if the leaf had been torn off for any length of time." "Length of time" is vague.

The incident ought to be instructive. Colonel Olcott was the friend who accompanied Mrs. Sinnett and Madame Blavatsky to the top of the hill, where, according to his diary, they had seen on the previous day, "through a field-glass, a man in white making signals" to them. The "man in white" may account for the expedition to the hill; he may also account for the pink note in the tree. We are unlikely to discover how many of Madame Blavatsky's pre-arrangements were never carried out, owing to the complete failure of her anticipations; but the case before us clearly illustrates a partial failure. If Mrs. Sinnett had made some other answer than the one she actually made to the question, put "in a joking way" by Madame Blavatsky, we should probably have never heard of the conversation or the expedition at all. Mr. Sinnett has not told us definitely whether it was Madame Blavatsky or Colonel Olcott (whose name is not mentioned by Mr. Sinnett at all in connection with the incident) who objected to Mrs. Sinnett's request that the letter should "come fluttering down into her lap," nor has he told us what the exact objection was.* It is implied, however, that Madame Blavatsky pointed out the tree supposed to be chosen by the "Brother." Why did she first point out the wrong tree? Perhaps she anticipated that Mrs. Sinnett might, for her own satisfaction, suggest

* I have seen a newspaper account in which it was said that Madame Blavatsky expressed the "Adept's" opinion that if the note were to drop into Mrs. Sinnett's lap, it might be urged afterwards that Madame Blavatsky had managed the phenomenon by sleight of hand, and that therefore he (the Adept) proposed putting the note into a certain tree. This objection was not made in cases where the witnesses happened to be sitting under creviced beams or intersticed ceilings.

the other tree; or perhaps there may have been a mistake between herself and the "man in white." The note said, "I have been asked to leave a note here for you, what can I do for you?" The words are not remarkably relevant; according to the account given by Mr. Sinnett, the "Brother" had chosen the spot himself.

We "come now to the incidents of a very remarkable day," ("Occult World," pp. 44-59), that of the Simla picnic, October 3rd, 1880—the day of the cup and saucer, diploma, bottle of water, and Mrs. Hume's brooch. The account given by Colonel Olcott, dated October 4th, 1880, and sent round at the time as a circular to the Fellows of the Theosophical Society, throws a remarkable light upon Mr. Sinnett's narrative. Thus, whereas from Mr. Sinnett's description of the events, it would seem that Madame Blavatsky had no share in the choice of the spot chosen for luncheon, almost the reverse of this appears from the opening sentences of Colonel Olcott's account:—

"Great day yesterday for Madame's phenomena. In the morning she, with Mr. and Mrs. Sinnett, Major ——, Mr. S. M., Mrs. R., and myself went on a picnic. Although she had never been at Simla before, she directed us where to go, describing a certain small mill which the Sinnetts, Major —— and even the *jampanis (palki-wallahs)* affirmed, did not exist. She also mentioned a small Tibetan temple as being near it. We *reached the spot she* had described and *found the mill* at about 10 a.m.; and sat in the shade and had the servants spread a collation."

I received from Colonel Olcott, not only a copy of the circular from which the above extract is taken, but a transcript from his diary-account, and also further oral explanations. From these last it would appear that Madame Blavatsky and X. were in front of the others, and that Madame Blavatsky described the road which they should take; that it was Madame Blavatsky and X. who together chose provisionally the spot for the picnic encampment; and that Mr. Sinnett and X. then walked on further to see if a better spot could be chosen, and decided to remain at the place where the halt had already been made.

As this place appears in Mr. Sinnett's account as a place they "were not likely to go to" (p. 49) we cannot attach much weight to his opinion that the cup and saucer were of a kind they "were not likely to take."

Probably Madame Blavatsky's native servant Babula, an active young fellow, who, I am assured on good authority, had formerly been in the service of a French conjurer, could throw even more light upon the day's proceedings than Colonel Olcott's account. The previous abstraction of the cup and saucer, their burial in the early morning, the description of the spot to Madame Blavatsky, the choice of the particular service taken, are deeds which lie easily within the accomplishment of Babula's powers. Concerning a later period of the day, when

the party had shifted their quarters to another part of the wood, Mr Sinnett writes, on p. 51: "X. and one of the other gentlemen had wandered off." From Colonel Olcott's accounts it appears that they had gone back to the previous encampment in order to ascertain if there were any traces of a tunnel by which the cup and saucer might have been previously buried in an ordinary way, and that when they returned they expressed their conviction that the cup and saucer might have been so buried, but that the ground about the spot had been so disturbed by the digging and throwing of earth, that evidence of such a tunnel could not be found. Before the party returned from the picnic it was known that three of them, viz., Mrs. R., Mr. S. M., and Major —— (mentioned by Mr. Sinnett as X.), were dissatisfied with the "phenomenon"; the three who came away believing, were Mr. and Mrs. Sinnett and Colonel Olcott,—all of whom seem to have previously fully attained the conviction of Madame Blavatsky's good faith. Shortly afterwards Major Henderson wrote a letter to the *Times of India*, in which he stated: "On the day in question, I declared the saucer to be an incomplete and unsatisfactory manifestation, as not fulfilling proper test conditions. My reasonable doubt was construed as a personal insult, and I soon discovered that a sceptical frame of mind in the inquirer is not favourable to the manifestation of the marvels of Theosophy . . . . I am not a Theosophist nor a believer in the phenomena, which I entirely discredit, nor have I any intention of furthering the objects of the Society in any way."

The concealment of the diploma and the management of the bottle of water would have been still easier tasks for Babula than the burying of the cup and saucer in the rooted bank. Against Mr. Sinnett's account of the finding of the diploma by X., I have to set Colonel Olcott's statement that the particular shrub where the diploma was found was pointed out to X. by Madame Blavatsky, this statement being made in connection with the passage in Colonel Olcott's diary: "She points to a bit of ground, and tells him to search there. He finds his diploma . . . under a low cedar-tree." In continuation Colonel Olcott writes: "Later, we are out of water, and she fills a bottle with pure water by putting the bottle up her sleeve." In connection with this incident Mr. Sinnett has much to suggest about the abnormal stupidity of a certain coolie who had been sent with empty bottles to a brewery with a pencil note asking for water, and who, finding no European at the brewery to receive the note, had brought back the "empty" bottles. It was—apparently—one of these "empty" bottles thus brought back that Madame Blavatsky took for her experiment. Who was this abnormally stupid coolie? Surely not Madame Blavatsky's personal servant Babula? It is difficult to suppose that Mr. Sinnett would speak of Babula as a coolie, and he could hardly

make a greater mistake than to attribute abnormal stupidity to Babula rather than abnormal cleverness. And yet Babula was in some way concerned. Colonel Olcott wrote, after saying that wanting some tea they found they were out of water :—

"Servants were sent in various directions but could get none. While Babula was off on a second search Madame quietly went to the lunch-baskets, took an empty water-bottle, put it in the loose sleeve of her gown, and came straight to where we were sitting on the grass. *The bottle was full of clearest and softest water*, of which we all partook."

Granted that Babula was present, the fact that all the bottles became empty, and that afterwards one of them became full, may be easily accounted for without the necessity of supposing that there was anything more substantial than a smile in Madame Blavatsky's sleeve. It is curious how much Babula has been kept in the background of Mr. Sinnett's account ; carelessly, no doubt, and not carefully ; but then, if carelessly, Mr. Sinnett must be charged with a grievous lack of ordinary perspicacity.

Finally, came the "celebrated brooch incident." ("Occult World," pp. 54-59.) Of this it will suffice to say that the *brooch* formed one of several articles of jewellery which Mrs. Hume had given to a person who had again parted with them to another who had "allowed them to pass out of their possession." It is an admitted fact that many of these articles, parted with at the same time as the brooch, did actually pass through Colonel Olcott's hands very soon afterwards Colonel Olcott does not remember seeing the brooch ; but that Madame Blavatsky may at that time have had an opportunity, which she seized, of obtaining possession of it, is obviously highly probable, though there is no absolute proof of this. It is at any rate certain that she entrusted a brooch, which needed some slight repair, to Mr. Hormusji S. Seervai, of Bombay, who shortly afterwards returned it to Madame Blavatsky. When the "brooch incident" occurred later, and the account of it was published containing a description of the brooch, Mr. Hormusji found that the description exactly fitted the brooch which had been entrusted to him for repair by Madame Blavatsky. For these facts I rely chiefly on statements made to me personally by Mr. Hume and Mr. Hormusji, though, indeed, the first links of the chain had been previously published in various forms, and were never challenged; and I may add that Mr. Hormusji's testimony is confirmed by that of two other witnesses who remember his immediate recognition of the description given in the account of the "brooch incident" as that of the brooch Madame Blavatsky had given him to be repaired. The above outline is, I think, specific enough to lead the reader to a right conclusion. The fact that Mrs. Hume chose the lost brooch as the object to

be brought to her by the "Brother," Mr. Hume is inclined to explain as a case of thought-transference to Mrs. Hume from Madame Blavatsky, who was probably willing intensely that Mrs. Hume should think of the brooch. I do not dispute this opinion, though I cannot regard the case as a proven instance of telepathy; Madame Blavatsky may have had enough knowledge of the history of the brooch and enough practical acquaintance with the laws of association, to make it easy for her to suggest that family relic to the thoughts of Mrs. Hume, without exciting the suspicion of the persons present, who, by Mr. Sinnett's account, seem to have been as far as possible from attempting to realise what a special chain of reminiscence may have been quickened into vivid life by Madame Blavatsky's words.

It must not be forgotten, in dealing with these cases, that we do not know how many "phenomenal tests" may have been arranged by Madame Blavatsky which did not succeed. She may have failed in leading to the needful topic of conversation; she may have been asked for objects she had not obtained, or could not obtain, and so refused on one pretext or another to comply with some request made; she may have offered an answer to a letter neither she nor any confederate was able to read, and failed in her Mahatma-reply to make any reference whatever to the specific question asked in the undecipherable document; she may have been requested to produce phenomena in a way different from that already prepared; she may not have provided for contingencies such as the absence of the persons required for the experiment, and so on. There are samples of these several kinds of failures, which would, I presume, be regarded by Mr. Sinnett merely as interesting "incidents." A notable incident of this kind may be given as it is closely related to the next group of "proofs" to which we pass in Mr. Sinnett's "Occult World." It appears that Madame Blavatsky, for the benefit of Captain Maitland, had professed to send a cigarette tied up with her hair to a place under the horn of the unicorn on the coat of arms under the statue of the Prince of Wales, opposite Watson's Hotel in Bombay. Captain Maitland telegraphed (from Simla) to Mr. Grant in Bombay, asking him to look immediately for the cigarette. Mr. Grant found no cigarette in the place described. Madame Coulomb asserts that she was the person who was to have put the cigarette there, but that she "never went near the place." ("Some Account," &c., by Madame Coulomb, pp. 16-18.) Hence the failure, not mentioned by Mr. Sinnett. The Blavatsky-Coulomb documents sufficiently discredit the cigarette phenomena, and it can be seen at once that those quoted by Mr. Sinnett might have been arranged with perfect ease by Madame Blavatsky. In the first case, that of Mrs. Gordon, the "place indicated" as the place where the cigarette would be found is not stated. In the two other instances given, the cigarettes were found in places where they would probably remain un-

discovered for some time, unless particular search for them were made, and Madame Blavatsky—or, by her instructions, Babula—might have deposited them there previously. Mr. Sinnett says that "for persons who have not actually seen Madame Blavatsky do one of her cigarette feats it may be useless to point out that she does not do them as a conjurer would," and certainly it is difficult for such persons to understand the profound conviction which Mr. Sinnett displays ("Occult World," p. 63) concerning the identity of the corner of the paper torn off with the corner given to the percipient, in the face of such sleight-of-hand performances as he himself describes :—

"You take two pieces of paper, and tear off a corner of both together, so that the jags of both are the same. You make a cigarette with one piece, and put it in the place where you mean to have it ultimately found. You then hold the other piece underneath the one you tear in presence of the spectator, slip in one of the already torn corners into his hand instead of that he sees you tear, make your cigarette with the other part of the original piece, dispose of that anyhow you please, and allow the prepared cigarette to be found. Other variations of the system may be readily imagined."

Mr. Sinnett's *naïve* remark that the certainty of the spectator would be enhanced by the pencil-marks drawn upon the cigarette paper before his eyes, compels me to suppose that his experience in conjuring must be very limited. For it appears that the pencil-marks were chosen and drawn by Madame Blavatsky herself ; she *declined to let Captain Maitland* "mark or tear the papers"; otherwise there might have been no apparent similarity between the paper marked and that which had already been deftly rolled by Madame Blavatsky's fingers, and was lying snugly on a shelf inside the piano, or in the covered cup on the bracket.

Mr. Sinnett's confidence that the cigarette feats are not conjuring performances will appear still more singular to persons who have practised palming, as I have myself done, and who read the following sentences from the accounts given on p. 62 :—

"The cigarettes being finished, Madame Blavatsky stood up, and took them between her hands, which she rubbed together. After about 20 or 30 seconds, the grating noise of the paper, at first distinctly audible, ceased."

"With the remainder of the paper she prepared a cigarette in the ordinary manner, and in a few moments caused this cigarette to disappear from her hands."

In short, if Madame Blavatsky does not do her cigarette feats as a conjurer would, the descriptions quoted by Mr. Sinnett, pp. 60-63, must be fundamentally erroneous.

The next case for our consideration is the Pillow Incident. ("Occult

World," pp. 75-79.) Mr. Sinnett's "subjective impressions" of the previous night appear to be in close relation with the incident, if not to form part of it; but as they are not exactly described, I am unable, of course, to deal with them. If they were neither hallucination nor extreme illusion suffered by Mr. Sinnett, they may have been due to Madame Blavatsky's boldness and cleverness, in which case the cushion may have been manipulated *before* Mr. Sinnett spoke of his impressions that morning. And here again appears the invaluable Babula, who was probably the "Brother" who inserted the brooch and the note provided by Madame Blavatsky, in the jampan cushion. Was it a remarkable fact that this particular cushion was chosen? There may, indeed, have been a second object, and a note in some adjoining tree in case a tree had been chosen, and there may have been a third buried in the ground; though I think it unlikely that Madame Blavatsky would have taken any trouble to provide for these contingencies, even if there were other objects which might have "hinged on" to Mr. Sinnett's subjective impressions. Simply because such places as the ground and the tree had been chosen before, they were not likely to be chosen again; it was not so exceedingly improbable that the firmly-made "usual jampan cushion" which Mrs. Sinnett might certainly be expected to take with her should be selected. Madame Blavatsky's intimate acquaintance with Mr. Sinnett may have enabled her to anticipate with considerable confidence that he would choose the cushion. Besides, if it should unfortunately not be chosen, some conversation might ensue as to whether the place fixed upon was the best, and ultimately it might be decided that they should look for it in one of the cushions. If any mistake were made about the cushion, Madame Blavatsky might again get into communication with Koot Hoomi, and ascertain that it was in Mrs. Sinnett's cushion that the object was being placed, as in the case of the "incident" discussed above, p. 264.

But Mr. Sinnett gave a note to Madame Blavatsky, apparently just before starting out, for Koot Hoomi. This note is said to have disappeared when they were about half way to their destination, yet no reference to this was made in the Koot Hoomi note found in the cushion. Let us suppose, allowing the picnic-spot to be only half an hour's distance, that this involved only a quarter of an hour's interval between the disappearance of the note and the choice of the cushion, followed by the preparation of the "currents." What happened during this quarter of an hour? We read in other places of *instantaneous* transportations of solid objects, instantaneous precipitations of answers to questions, &c. I suppose this quarter of an hour would be accounted for by the blundering of a *Chela*, the *Chela* being Madame Blavatsky. It will hardly be pleaded that "the currents for the production of the

pillow *dak*" had been set ready some time before the pillow had been chosen, unless it is intended to take refuge in the surrejoinder that Koot Hoomi knew that Mr. Sinnett would be certain to choose the pillow, and could, therefore, pre-arrange the "currents," but that Koot Hoomi did not know, when he thus pre-arranged the currents, what Mr. Sinnett had written, or even that Mr. Sinnett had written a letter at all. All this ignorance on the part of Koot Hoomi, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Sinnett's letter was in answer to a Koot Hoomi note, and that Koot Hoomi was supposed to be busy with phenomena for Mr. Sinnett's behoof! Mr. Sinnett's faith, however, does not seem to have been affected by this little hiatus of time, though it seems to have been stimulated by the underlining of a "k" in the Koot Hoomi cushion note, as on the previous evening "Madame Blavatsky had been saying that Koot Hoomi's spelling of 'Skepticism' with a 'k' was not an Americanism in his case, but due to a philological whim of his." (This "philological whim" is not always remembered; I have myself seen "sceptic" spelt with a "c" in a Koot Hoomi document.) That the note found in the cushion bore reference throughout to the conversation (we will suppose, not led up to) of the previous evening, but contained not the slightest allusion to Mr. Sinnett's note of the following morning, leads me to the inference that the said Koot Hoomi note was inserted in the cushion in the interval—and, as I have stated, by Babula.

The Jhelum telegram case might be explained in a variety of ways, but Mr. Sinnett has not given us the detail necessary to enable us to form any conclusion. The incident was briefly as follows. ("Occult World," pp. 80-83). Mr. Sinnett, before leaving Simla for Allahabad, wrote a letter to Koot Hoomi which he sent to Madame Blavatsky, who was at Amritsur. This letter was written on October 24th, 1880. The envelope of this letter was returned to Mr. Sinnett by Madame Blavatsky, and bore, as I understand, the afternoon postmark of October 27th. On October 27th, Mr. Sinnett, then at Allahabad, received a telegram from Jhelum sent on October 27th. This telegram contained a specific reply to his letter. Afterwards Mr. Sinnett was requested, through Madame Blavatsky, to see the original* of the Jhelum

* I may here mention a curious document which was unintentionally lent to me for several days by Mr. Damodar. I had with some difficulty obtained several specimens of Mahatma writing, and in an envelope enclosing some of these I afterwards found a slip of paper, which had not—as I concluded when later I discovered that it was not enumerated among those lent to me—been observed in the envelope when Mr. Damodar gave me permission to take the specimens away. This document was a single small fragment of thin paper, undated and unsigned. On one side of it were written the following words in red ink, and the writing resembles that attributed to Mahatma M.:

telegram. This he succeeded in doing, and found the writing to be that of Koot Hoomi.

Let us suppose that Madame Blavatsky did not forge the "evidential" postmark; that post-office peons were none of them bribed to mark* or deliver a letter otherwise than in due course; that the letter enclosed by Mr. Sinnett in the envelope was actually despatched in that envelope; that previous to its despatch the contents were known to no one but Mr. Sinnett, and that no one acquired any knowledge of the contents before the letter reached Madame Blavatsky's hands. Under these circumstances it would still have been possible for Madame Blavatsky to have read the letter, and to have telegraphed the right reply to a confederate in Jhelum, who might then have penned or pencilled the telegram to Mr Sinnett in sufficiently close imitation of the Koot Hoomi handwriting ordinarily produced by Madame Blavatsky, to have deceived Mr. Sinnett I have made all the above suppositions for the purpose of drawing the reader's notice to the fact that, presuming that the Jhelum telegram document, afterwards inspected by Mr. Sinnett, was actually the document handed in as the message to be despatched to him, we should require some further evidence of the identity of its handwriting with that of Mr. Sinnett's Koot Hoomi documents generally, than that furnished by the examination of Mr. Sinnett himself, who appears not to have observed the numerous traces of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork in the earliest Koot Hoomi letters he received.

I think it probable, however, that the document in question was, as a matter of fact, written by Madame Blavatsky herself, and that Mr. Sinnett's letter reached her, either in the envelope in which he enclosed it, *or in another*, before the 27th. It surprised me considerably to find that Amritsur was only 21 hours† from Simla, and Jhelum only 8 hours from Amritsur. Madame Blavatsky is said to have received Mr. Sinnett's envelope not earlier than the afternoon of October 27th, so that, if the Amritsur postmark was *bonâ fide*, it probably left Simla on October 26th. Mr. Sinnett's letter was written on October 24th. This large hiatus of time is not alluded to in Mr. Sinnett's account, which is remarkable for the scantiness of its detail concerning the most impor-

"Send this by copying telegram and original telegram to A.P.S. Charge to my account and send bill. Let Deb study more carefully his part." Whether this document had anything to do with the above incident I can of course only conjecture. The relation between Gwala K. Deb and Mr. Babajee has been already considered (p. 247).

* While at Madras I was informed of a recent case where the defendant had secured an elaborate misuse of the post-office stamps for the purpose of falsely proving an *alibi*.

† Simla to Umballa, 94 miles—horse conveyance—12 hours. Umballa to Amritsur, 155 miles—train—9 hours. Amritsur to Jhelum, 135 miles—train—8 hours.

tant conditioning elements. He does not explicitly mention either when he wrote his letter (the date appears on p. 83 in the Koot Hoomi quotation) or when or by whom the letter was posted. He does not mention the Simla post-mark, nor does he make any suggestion, for the benefit of the English reader, as to the distances between Simla, Amritsur, and Jhelum. Yet Mr. Sinnett seems to have regarded this fragmentary evidence as likely to appeal to other minds besides his own ("Occult World," p. 80); no doubt it may do so if they take for granted that the details neglected contribute to the marvellousness of the phenomenon.

With reference to the portraits drawn in Mr. Sinnett's house ("Occult World," pp. 137-139), it is not necessary to say any more, considering the exiguity of Mr. Sinnett's account, than that Madame Blavatsky is exceedingly skilful in the use of both pencil and brush. I have seen specimens of her handiwork, not only in certain playing-cards, which Colonel Olcott showed me—each card being a clever, humorous sketch, —but in drawings, precisely similar to that mentioned by Mr. Sinnett, where the face on the white paper was defined by contrast with "cloudy blue shading."*

On the whole, then, I think I am justified in saying that the phenomena relied upon by Mr. Sinnett in "The Occult World" can be accounted for much more satisfactorily than can the performances of any ordinary professional conjurer by the uninitiated observer, however acute; that the additional details which I have been enabled to furnish in connection with some of the incidents Mr. Sinnett has recorded, clearly show that he has not been in the habit of exercising due caution for the exclusion of trickery; and that he has not proceeded in accordance with those "scientific modes of investigation" which he explicitly declares ("Occult World," p. 35) he regarded as necessary for the task he attempted.

Evidence of Mr. A. O. Hume
(Late Government Secretary of India).

As Mr. Hume took a prominent part in the early development of the Theosophical Society in India, and even published two pamphlets on the subject, "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," Nos. 1 and 2, it seems to me desirable to draw special attention to the considerable change which has taken place in his opinion concerning the phenomena

* Blue pencil is a favoured instrument at the Theosophical headquarters. I possessed a specially convenient form of a patent blue pencil, and having handed this to Mr. Babajee for the purpose of enabling him to write a name and address which he wished to give me, he remarked, as he regarded it with spontaneous admiration, "Oh! this would do well for ——," the Koot Hoomi scriptures, thought I, but my spoken comment was different; Mr. Babajee's head was bowed, his tongue was dumb, and the sentence was never completed.

connected with Madame Blavatsky. I enjoyed, while in India, the opportunity of having various long interviews with Mr. Hume, and have already referred to his conclusion (reached after a most careful inquiry) in connection with the incident of the recovery of Mrs. Hume's brooch, that Madame Blavatsky may very well have obtained the brooch previously by ordinary methods. Long before the publication of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters in the *Christian College Magazine*, Mr. Hume had discovered that some of Madame Blavatsky's phenomena were fraudulent, and that some of the professed Mahatma writing was the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky herself. Once or twice he had seen notes on some philosophic question which had been made by Mr. Subba Row (Vakil of the High Court, Madras), a leading native Theosophist. The substance of these notes appeared afterwards worked up into a Mahatma document (received by either himself or Mr. Sinnett), and worsened in the working. I inquired of Mr. Subba Row, the ablest native Theosophist I have met, whether he was aware of the episodes which Mr. Hume had described. He replied laconically, "It may be so." When the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters were first published Mr. Hume expressed his opinion publicly that Madame Blavatsky was too clever to have thus committed herself; latterly, however, and partly in consequence of the evidence I was able to lay before him, he came to the conviction that the letters in question were actually written by Madame Blavatsky. Further, he had never placed the slightest credence in the Shrine-phenomena, which he had always supposed to be fraudulent. I may state also that his conclusions, reached independently of my own and from different circumstances, concerning the untrustworthiness of Messrs. Damodar, Babajee, and Babula, entirely corroborated those to which I had been forced. Yet Mr. Hume was originally just as fully committed to the genuineness of certain phenomena as Mr. Sinnett himself, as will be manifest from a perusal of his "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," from which some of the narratives quoted in our First Report were taken. His present attitude is an admirable testimony not only to his readiness to accept the truth at the cost of negating so extensively his own past opinions, but also to the systematic pains he has taken in sifting the antecedents of the apparently marvellous phenomena which occurred in close connection with himself. For example, he received a Koot Hoomi communication in a letter coming from a person who had no connection with Theosophy. This may have been the incident referred to by Mr. Sinnett ("Occult World," p. 21), as follows :—

"When this Society [the Simla branch of the Theosophical Society] was formed, many letters passed between Koot Hoomi and ourselves, which were *not* in every case transmitted through Madame Blavatsky. In one case, for

example, Mr. Hume, who became President for the first year of the new Society . . . got a note from Koot Hoomi inside a letter received through the post from a person wholly unconnected with our occult pursuits, who was writing to him in connection with some municipal business."

Mr. Hume has informed me that he himself received the letter, which was large and peculiar in appearance, from the postman's hands. A long time afterwards, when reinvestigating a number of supposed phenomena (not published) which had occurred at his house, he learnt incidentally from one of his servants that just such a letter had been taken by Babula from the postman early one morning, and carried off to Madame, and had been returned to the postman, when the postman came by again, Babula, who said that it was not for Madame but for Mr. Hume. The servant had wondered at the time why Babula had not taken the letter to Mr. Hume himself, and he said that he thought he remembered that Babula had taken and returned letters in the same way on other occasions. We suggested a somewhat similar procedure on the part of Babula in our First Report as an explanation of instances analogous to that of Mr. Hume's. In various cases, which it is unnecessary to reproduce in this Report, it will be seen that Madame Blavatsky may have been enabled in a similar way to tamper with the letters before they actually reached the addressees. It may be instructive here to quote Mr. Hume's testimony to the fact that peculiar envelopes and paper, like those generally used by Madame Blavatsky for the Mahatma communications, are procurable in the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, that they were not used for the earliest Mahatma documents, which appeared before Madame Blavatsky had visited Darjeeling, but were first brought into requisition for that purpose at a time which coincided with her visit to that place. Mr. Hume's position at present is that "despite all the frauds perpetrated, there have been genuine phenomena, and that, though of a low order, Madame [Blavatsky] really had and has Occultists of considerable though limited powers behind her; that K. H. is a real entity, but by no means the powerful and godlike being he has been painted, and that he has had some share, directly or indirectly—though what Mr. Hume does not pretend to say—in the production of the K. H. letters." The reader already knows that I cannot myself discover sufficient evidence for the occurrence of any "occult phenomenon" whatever in connection with the Theosophical Society.

I have thus far postponed the consideration of the handwriting purporting to have been "precipitated." The specimens of such writing which came under my notice in India were of three kinds, and were alleged to have emanated from Mahatma Koot Hoomi, Mahatma M., and the *Chela*, "Bhola Deva Sarma," respectively. I made a minute

and prolonged examination of these and other manuscripts with a view to determining by whose hand the supposed "precipitated" communications were written. The conclusions I reached were such as fully to confirm the results of my investigations in other directions, and they are generally and briefly as follow :—

That the one specimen of the Chela B. D. S. writing which I had the opportunity of carefully examining was the handiwork of Mr. Babajee D. Nath : that the several specimens of Mahatma M. (M. C.) writing which I had the opportunity of carefully examining were the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky : and that of the several specimens of Mahatma Koot Hoomi (K. H.) writing which I had the opportunity of carefully examining, one was the handiwork of Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, the others were the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky.

Since my return to England I have been strengthened in this last conclusion by an examination of a large quantity of K. H. MSS. forwarded to me by Mr. Hume,* a series of K. H. documents entrusted to us by Mr. Sinnett, and a K. H. document sent to us by Mr. Padshah for comparison with other K. H. writings. The K. H. communication belonging to Mr. Padshah is, in my opinion, the handiwork of Mr. Damodar, and the K. H. documents sent by Mr. Hume and Mr. Sinnett the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky. It is probable, therefore, that various K. H. communications received in India during Madame Blavatsky's absence in 1884 were written by Mr. Damodar. Many of these were produced under circumstances which absolutely precluded the possibility that Madame Blavatsky could have written them, but under which it would have been easy for Mr. Damodar to have written them. My justification for the conclusions I have expressed above concerning the authorship of the handwriting will be found in Part II. of this Report, to which I now proceed.

PART II.

The chief questions in which we are aided by caligraphic evidence concern the authorship of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters and the authorship of the Mahatma documents. I do not propose to go into any detail in describing the similarities between Madame Blavatsky's undoubted handwriting and the handwriting of the Blavatsky-Coulomb

* I have now in my hands numerous documents which are concerned with the experiences of Mr. Hume and others in connection with Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society. These documents, including the K. H. MSS. above referred to, did not reach me till August, and my examination of them, particularly of the K. H. MSS., has involved a considerable delay in the production of this Report.

letters.* These letters, before publication in the *Christian College Magazine*, were, as I have said, submitted by the editor to several gentlemen with experience in handwriting, who were unequivocally of opinion that they were written by Madame Blavatsky. The same opinion was also expressed by Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, of Madras, in "A Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence, published in the *Christian College Magazine*." But the most important judgment on this point is that of the expert in handwriting, Mr. F. G. Netherclift, who has no doubt whatever that the disputed letters which were submitted to him were written by Madame Blavatsky. His Report will be found on p. 381. Mr. Sims, of the British Museum, is also of the same opinion.

Under these circumstances I need say little more than that I examined the whole of these documents, and throughout I found those characteristics of Madame Blavatsky's handwriting which were present in the document I used as my chief standard, *viz.*, a letter from Madame Blavatsky to Dr. Hartmann, written from Elberfeld in October, 1884.

I had other undoubted writings † of Madame Blavatsky in my possession, which rendered me some assistance, but, as will appear presently, I was unable to regard these as altogether trustworthy. Further, I found no peculiarity whatever in the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters which is not present in Madame Blavatsky's undoubted handwriting. There were, indeed, a few forms which are not found very often in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting, and which are found often in the Koot Hoomi writings; but this statement applies just as much to Madame Blavatsky's acknowledged handwriting as it does to the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters, and it appears to me to suggest an additional proof of the fact that the letters in question were one and all written by Madame Blavatsky.

In Part I. of this Report I have shown that the circumstantial evidence which I obtained in relation to these disputed letters, adds to the strength of the conclusion reached on grounds of handwriting, that Madame Blavatsky wrote them. I shall show later that there is evidence which confirms yet further the justice of this conclusion. In

* Several of these letters were lent to me for my own examination by the editor of the *Christian College Magazine*. The remaining letters I examined at the house of a gentleman in whose custody they were at the time. Some of them which I selected myself were entrusted to me to be sent to England for the judgment of the best experts obtainable, with the special request that they should be returned as soon as possible, and I found upon my arrival in England that they had already been returned.

† I refer to the *B. Marginal Notes* and the *B. Replies*. (See pp. 282 and 290.)

order to appreciate the considerations which follow, we must first understand the circumstances under which several of the documents demanding our attention appeared. I must therefore briefly describe the course of events at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society after the departure of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott for Europe in February, 1884.

Before this time, according to Dr. Hartmann, if Madame Coulomb "found a willing ear she would never hesitate a moment to insinuate that the whole Society was a humbug, the phenomena produced by fraud, and that 'she could tell many things, if she only wanted to do so.'" After the departure of Madame Blavatsky she apparently began to speak more freely to that effect, and it appeared, moreover, to the officers of the Society, especially Mr. St. George Lane-Fox and Dr. Hartmann, that the Coulombs were wasting its funds. Letters on the subject were written from the headquarters to Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott. In particular, Mr. Damodar wrote to Madame Blavatsky, probably by the mail leaving India on March 12th, which would arrive in Paris about April 1st, informing her that Madame Coulomb was spreading reports that the phenomena were fraudulent. In the meantime Mr. Lane-Fox and Dr. Hartmann resolved "to impeach them [the Coulombs] in a formal manner," and began to draw up the charges. At this stage Mr. Damodar produced a Koot Hoomi letter which he declared that he had received from the "astral form of a *Chela*," and which runs as follows :—

"So long as one has not developed a perfect sense of justice, he should prefer to err rather on the side of mercy than commit the slightest act of injustice. Madame Coulomb is a medium and as such irresponsible for many things she may say or do. At the same time she is kind and charitable. One must know how to act towards her to make her a very good friend. She has her own weaknesses, but their bad effects can be minimised by exercising on her mind a moral influence by a friendly and kindly feeling. Her mediumistic nature is a help in this direction, if proper advantage be taken of the same.

"It is my wish therefore that she shall continue in charge of the household business, the Board of Control of course exercising a proper supervisory control, and seeing, in consultation with her, that no unnecessary expenditure is incurred. A good deal of reform is necessary and can be made rather with the help than the antagonism of Madame Coulomb. Damodar would have told you this but his mind was purposely obscured, without his knowledge, to test your intentions. Show this to Madame Coulomb, so that she may co-operate with you. K. H."

The above letter is docketed as having been received on March 22nd. [I shall refer to this letter afterwards, when I shall give reasons for thinking that it was written by Mr. Damodar, as "K. H. (Y)."] The

effect of it was that "an armistice was concluded with the Coulombs by treating them with greater consideration."

On April 1st, according to Dr. Hartmann's account, Madame Coulomb, Mr. Lane-Fox, and Mr. Damodar went "for a change" to Ootacamund. By this time the letters complaining of the Coulombs had reached Madame Blavatsky, who wrote to the Coulombs a letter which with its threats and its pleadings* speaks for itself to the intelligent reader. Madame Blavatsky no doubt wrote also to Mr. Damodar. Her letters would reach Madras about April 24th, and Ootacamund on April 26th, on which date Mr. Damodar produced a Mahatma M. letter, declaring that it had fallen in his room; it was addressed to Dr. Hartmann, who has published the following portions of it:—

"For some time already the woman has opened communication—a regular diplomatic *pourparlers*—with the enemies of the cause, certain padris. She hopes for more than 2,000 rupees from them if she helps them ruining or at least injuring the Society by injuring the reputation of the founders. Hence hints as to 'trap-doors' and tricks. Moreover *when needed* trap-doors *will be found*, as they have been forthcoming for some time. They are sole masters of the top storey. They alone have full entrance to and control of the premises. 'Monsier' is clever and cunning at every handicraft—good mechanic and carpenter, and good at walls likewise. *Take note of this—ye Theosophists.* They hate you with all the hatred of failure against success; Society, Henry, H. P. B., theosophists, and aye—the very name of theosophy. The * * * are ready to lay out a good sum for the ruin of the Society they hate. * * * Moreover the J * * * of India are in direct understanding with those of London and Paris. * * * Keep all said above in strictest confidence if you would be strongest. Let her not suspect you know it, but if you would have my advice—be prudent, yet act without delay. * * * M.C."

Mr. Damodar was instructed on the outside of the letter to let Dr. Hartmann have it without delay; and Dr. Hartmann was instructed in the document itself to show it to Mr. Lane-Fox. The writer of the letter was evidently unaware that Mr. Lane-Fox was with Mr. Damodar at Ootacamund, and that Dr. Hartmann was at Madras. Mr. Damodar, however, remedied the ignorance of "Mahatma M.", and showed the letter to Mr. Lane-Fox before forwarding it to Dr. Hartmann.

As a consequence of these and other documents and the resulting altercations, immediate action was taken by Mr. Lane-Fox and Dr. Hartmann, which led to the expulsion of Madame Coulomb on May 14th, on the ground that she had spoken evil of the Society. According to Dr. Hartmann, "M. Coulomb was requested to resign, but as he

* See Madame Coulomb's pamphlet "Some Account," &c., pp. 94-104.

could not make up his mind whether he would do so or not, he was expelled likewise."

The reader will remember that the contrivances for trickery were investigated when M. Coulomb gave up the keys of Madame Blavatsky's rooms on May 17th or 18th. Madame Coulomb showed me a telegram sent to her by Madame Blavatsky on May 19th: "What can be done? Telegraph"; and asserted that this telegram was in reply to a letter written by her to Madame Blavatsky at the end of April (which would reach Paris about May 19th), threatening, in case of a rupture, to produce incriminating letters written by the latter. M. Coulomb declares that he showed this telegram to Mr. Damodar, who refused to take any notice of it, and therefore no reply was sent by the Coulombs to Madame Blavatsky.

Some time later Colonel Olcott received, he says, in a "cover post marked Madras," a letter forged in the handwriting of Dr. Hartmann. Writing to Dr. Hartmann on July 10th, Colonel Olcott stated that he had received this document "some little time ago," and had laid it away in his despatch-box, but that in going through his papers that morning (July 10th), "I noticed that the Master had been putting his hand upon the document and while reading his endorsement I heard him tell me to send it to you by to-day's post."

The endorsement—by "Mahatma M."—is in these words: "A clumsy forgery, but good enough to show how much an enterprising enemy can do in this direction. They may call this at Adyar—a pioneer."

The document itself is as follows:—

Private. Adyar, *April 28th*, 1884.

My Dear Madame Coulomb,—I was very glad to receive your kind warning: but I need a new and further explanation before I will beleive in Madame Blavatsky's *innocence*. From the first week of my arrieval I knew she was a *trickster* for I had received intimation to that effect, and had been told so by Mr. Lane-Fox before he went to Ooty (and who added moreover, that he had come from England with this purpose, as he had received secret instructions from the London fellows) and even sayd that he felt sure she was a spy).

She is worse than you think and she lied to me about lots of things; but you may rest assured that she shall not bambuzle *me*.

I hope to tell you more when I see you, upon your return from Ootocamund and show you that Col. Olcott is no better than he should be.

Excuse short letter. I am writing in the dark.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. F. Hartmann.

This forged Hartmann document, and also the endorsement thereon, are, in my opinion, the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky. I think

there can be little doubt that she forged this Hartmann document for the purpose of attributing the forgery to the Coulombs, in order that she might thus prepare the way for her assertion that the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters were also forgeries. The evidence for this will appear later. I must now describe the manner in which various documents used by me in my examination of handwriting in India came into my possession.

Soon after my arrival at Adyar, I asked for a specimen of Madame Blavatsky's undoubted handwriting,—for the purpose of comparison with the disputed documents. Mr. Damodar avoided giving me any before Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott reached headquarters, and after I had had some conversation with them on the subject, Colonel Olcott said that Madame Blavatsky would write me a letter at once, if I wished, which I could use as a test document. I replied that it would be desirable for me to have some manuscript that was written before the appearance of the *Christian College Magazine* in September, whereupon Colonel Olcott said abruptly that he could take no action as to giving me any handwriting of Madame Blavatsky's until their own Committee had met and that Madame Blavatsky was in the hands of the Theosophical Society.

My request, made at the same time, for Mahatma documents for the purpose of submitting them to a caligraphic expert was also refused.

I was afterwards, however, enabled to obtain some documents in the following manner. Mr. Damodar had recounted to me some of his professed experiences, and had shown me several Mahatma documents in connection with them. Most of these, he alleged, were too private to be submitted for my reading throughout, but there were several to which this objection did not apply, and among these were some 16½ pages of the K. H. writing in black ink, which had formed portions of the reply by K. H. to questions which had been raised concerning certain statements in "Esoteric Buddhism." I pointed out to Mr. Damodar that there could be no possible objection to my having these for examination, and he agreed, and allowed me to take them away for a few days for my own inspection only. The 16½pp. referred to I shall speak of as the K. H. 16½pp.

I received also from Dr. Hartmann, for my own inspection only, the letter from Madame Blavatsky, written to him from Elberfeld in October, 1884, the forged Hartmann document, and the K.H. (Y) letter already mentioned.

Further, I had been anxious to know what answer Madame Blavatsky had to make to the pamphlet written by Madame Coulomb, entitled "Some Account," &c., and Madame Blavatsky had taken the trouble to write out her replies to the first portion of this pamphlet, although I had not asked her for a written

statement, and although she made oral statements as well, the important points of which I took down at the time in writing. This written statement by Madame Blavatsky covers about 7½pp. foolscap. I shall speak of it as the *B. Replies.* In addition, Madame Blavatsky wrote various statements in my copy of Madame Coulomb's pamphlet. These I shall speak of as the *B. Marginal Notes.* Other documents came under my notice, which it will suffice to specify further on when I have occasion to refer to them.

I now proceed to consider the authorship of the Mahatma letters, and propose in the first place, and chiefly, to deal with the K. H. series of documents, these being by far the most abundant and the most important of the Mahatma writings. It is upon the K. H. series almost exclusively that Mr. Sinnett has relied for his volume on "Esoteric Buddhism" as well as for certain portions of "The Occult World"; it is to the K. H. series that most of the Mahatma letters written to other persons also belong; and it is portions of the K. H. series alone which we have been able to obtain for the purposes of careful examination.

With the incriminating Blavatsky-Coulomb letters which were submitted to Mr. Netherclift, were also submitted some specimens of the K. H. writing, viz., several small slips which were forwarded from India with the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters proper, a K. H. document in blue ink submitted by Mr. Massey, and a K. H. document in blue pencil submitted by Mr. Myers. Mr. Netherclift, in the first instance, came to the conclusion that these K. H. documents were not written by Madame Blavatsky. I had already expressed my own conclusion, reached after an investigation of K. H. writings in India, that those I had examined were, with the exception of the K. H. (Y), written by Madame Blavatsky, and on my arrival in England I was surprised to find that Mr. Netherclift was of a different opinion concerning the K. H. writings submitted to him. The small slips I had already seen in India; and after examining the K. H. writings submitted by Messrs. Massey and Myers, I concluded that these also were written by Madame Blavatsky. My judgment, however, was originally formed upon my examination of the K. H. 16½pp., in which the marks of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork were more patent than in the documents which Mr. Netherclift had had an opportunity of examining. In the meantime we had obtained from Mr. Sinnett eight specimens of the K. H. writing, which represented, some of them at least, consecutive periods of time, beginning with the earliest letter received by Mr. Sinnett. In this, which was received about October, 1880, the traces of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork were numerous and conspicuous, and from this onwards the gradual development of the K. H. conventional characteristics,

and the gradual elimination of many of Madame Blavatsky's peculiarities, were clearly manifest. The K. H. writings which had been submitted to Mr. Netherclift, were written after Madame Blavatsky had had years of practice. I therefore re-submitted to him the K. H. writings belonging to Messrs. Massey and Myers, which we still had in our possession, together with the series forwarded by Mr. Sinnett. The result was that Mr. Netherclift came to the conclusion that the whole of these documents were without doubt written by Madame Blavatsky. Mr. Sims, of the British Museum, who had originally expressed the same conclusion as Mr. Netherclift, similarly changed his opinion after inspection of the documents furnished by Mr. Sinnett.

I may now give some of the results of my own comparison of these documents with the undisputed handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.* At first sight Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting, for the most part small and somewhat irregular, looks very different from the large, bold, round, regular writing of the K. H. documents. It is only when we examine closely the formations of individual letters that the traces of the same handiwork in both become obvious. The little importance that can be attached to the mere general appearance of a written document is well enough known to persons who are at all familiar with the comparisons of handwritings.

I shall now endeavour to show—

I. That there are clear signs of development in the K. H. writing, various strong resemblances to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting having been gradually eliminated.

II. That special forms of letters proper to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, and not proper to the K. H. writing, occasionally appear in the latter.

III. That there are certain very marked peculiarities of Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing which occur throughout the K. H. writing.

I shall specify, under each of these heads, the most important instances that I have observed, but shall not attempt to place before the reader any exhaustive statement of them, as this would be tedious.

I. Facsimiles of the series of K. H. letters lent by Mr. Sinnett would perhaps have been interesting and suggestive to the reader, and would have clearly shown the development of the K. H. hand; but

* In addition to the manuscripts which I have already mentioned as providing me with a knowledge of Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting, I have in my possession various undisputed writings of hers produced between 1877 and 1885, among which are three letters written to a Hindu in 1878, three writings to Mr. Hume about the years 1881-1882, and other more recent letters to Messrs. Massey and Myers.

Mr. Sinnett strongly emphasized his desire that no use whatever should be made of the specimens he submitted except for comparison of handwriting, and the facsimile production of portions of the documents was, of course, impossible without the publication, to some extent, of their substance. I have therefore chosen several small letters, *f*, *g*, *k* and *y*, for the purpose of illustrating the development I have mentioned. The groups of individual letters in Plate I. are copied from tracings of my own made from the original documents, and hence many of them exhibit a tremulous appearance which is not characteristic of the original MSS., and which might have been avoided if the work had been done entirely by the lithographic artist. The letters in the first row of each of the groups of the *f*, *g*, *k*, *y* are taken from undisputed writings of Madame Blavatsky, those to Mr. Hume already mentioned. These letters I shall call (B). The remaining five rows of each group are taken from the first five documents of the K. H. series lent by Mr. Sinnett. These I shall speak of as K. H. No. 1, K. H. No. 2, &c. The numbers do not mean that these were the first five letters received by Mr. Sinnett from "K. H." Mr. Sinnett describes them as follows :—

"No. 1 * * * is the first sheet of the first letter I ever had from him certainly through another hand.

"Nos. 2 and 3 selections from later letters of the old series written before the publication of 'The Occult World.'*

"No. 4 was received by me in London about the time 'Esoteric Buddhism' was published.†

"No. 5 * * is from a letter certainly in K. H.'s own handwriting."

The *f*, it will be observed, in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting (B), is commonly looped only below, and is usually preceded by an up-stroke. It is easy to see the close correspondence between the *f's* in (B) and those in K. H. No 1. Compare, moreover, the second *ff* in (B) with the *ff* in K. H. No. 2; the formation is peculiar and the resemblance striking. The type of the *f* soon changes. In K. H. No. 1, the forms are almost all looped below, but in K. H. No. 2 they are generally looped above, and as we go on through Nos. 3, 4, and 5, Madame Blavatsky's ordinary *f* gradually disappears; though here and there in later K. H. documents a stray *f* looped only below may be discovered, sometimes the upper loop is found to have been added by an afterstroke, and the tendency to make *f's* with a loop below is manifest.

The *g's* in K. H. No. 1. are very various, but yet suggest an effort to introduce a new type. Various as they are, however, I believe that

* "The Occult World" (first edition) was published June 2nd, 1881.

† "Esoteric Buddhism" (first edition) was published June 8th, 1883.

by a careful search I might match almost every form in K. H. No. 1 by a corresponding form from Madame Blavatsky's acknowledged handwriting. Even from the specimens given in (B) it will be perceived that her *g's* vary greatly, and that there are one or two curious forms that find fairly close parallels in K. H. Nos. 1 and 2.

The characteristic K. H. *k*, which is formed quite differently from Madame Blavatsky's, first appears, I think, in K. H. No. 2, but is somewhat narrower in formation than the type it ultimately reaches. Some of the *k's* in the group represent capitals, the capital *k* being formed on the same type as the small *k*. Madame Blavatsky's ordinary *k* is frequently preceded by an upstroke and consists of a main downstroke from the bottom of which the next stroke starts upwards, trending to the right, without the pen's having been taken off the paper. The final stroke is frequently added separately and often not connected with the rest of the letter; but in many cases the whole of the letter appears to be made in one continuous movement. All these habits, together with other little peculiarities of curvature, are clearly visible in the *k's* of K. H. No. 1, and in later K. H. documents the gap between the two last strokes of the *k* continues to be common. The last of the *k's* selected from K. H. No. 3 is particularly noteworthy as exhibiting a *lapsus calami* which has been partially covered with the cloak of the K. H. *k* curvature.

The *y's* in the early K. H. documents, most of which have a nearly straight downstroke, with a little curl to the right, are just as suggestive of Madame Blavatsky as are the *f's*, and they begin to develop nearly as rapidly as the *g's* and in the same direction, the downstroke of both eventually ending in a pronounced curling curve to the left, with the concave side habitually upwards. The letter *j* has developed similarly, and so also apparently has the letter *z*, all of these letters finally exhibiting a similar curve to the left.

In the group of letters (B″), all of which are taken from Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, I have given various forms of her *t*. All these forms are common in the earliest K. H. documents; the first three forms are common in the developed K. H. writing, the peculiarity in the third form being the very small curl to the right at the end of the downstroke. The fourth form occurs occasionally even in some of the latest K. H. writings which I have seen, but in these I have observed no specimen at all of the fifth and sixth forms. The fifth and sixth forms, with the curious loop at the bottom before the stroke runs on to the next letter, abound however in a large portion of the K. H. MSS. in my possession, written about 1880-1882. The sixth form is apparently an offshoot of the fourth form, the fifth being intermediate. The downstroke of the first form of *t* is almost universally non-looped, as represented in the Plate, in

Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writings of 1878; similarly in the earliest K. H. writing; and though in the developed K. H. writing this *t* is commonly looped, the non-looped form is very frequent. The long dashes through or over the *t's*, which are a marked feature of the K. H. writing; may be merely the expansion of a habit of Madame Blavatsky's, in whose ordinary writings these dashes are just as pronounced as they are in the earliest K. H. documents.

Preceding upstrokes, which are prevalent in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting, are far more numerous in the earliest than in the latest K. H. documents.

The German type of *d* may be mentioned as a letter which has been gradually eliminated from the K. H. writing, but I shall have more to say about this further on.

I have now in my hands the Koot Hoomi letter, the greater part of which is quoted by Mr. Sinnett in "The Occult World," pp. 85-95. It bears the date of November 1st (1880), and is signed in full, "Koot Hoomi Lal Sing," by which name it may be designated. The second group of capital letters in the Plate is taken from this document; the first group, which I will call (B′), is taken from undisputed writings of Madame Blavatsky—from the same documents whence the small letters (B) are taken. These capital letters, A, D, F, P, T, require but little comment. The D, F, and T, of the *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing* are especially suggestive of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork, and they soon disappear from the K. H. documents. The hook above, at the end of the roof-stroke of the first Koot Hoomi T, presents a similar appearance to that shown by a form of T which occurs in a letter of Madame Blavatsky's in 1878. The common forms of F and T in the K. H. writings are quite different from Madame Blavatsky's usual forms; the specimens in square brackets represent the type commonly found in the *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing*. The characteristic features which occur in the P's of (B′) and those of *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing* may be noted. The long preliminary upstroke, the crook to the left at the end of the downstroke, seen also in the F's and the T's, the downward curl which begins the umbrella curvature above, the turn to the left which ends it, and the little final scrape downwards. Some of these, as also some of the characteristics of the D, remain throughout the K. H. writing, but others almost completely disappear.

II. We are now to consider letters which are proper to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, and not to the K. H. writing, but which yet occasionally appear in the latter—apparently by mistake. An attempt is often made to remedy the mistake by afterstrokes, transforming the letter into the K. H. type. Such additions, reformations, cloakings and erasures occur in the case both of small and of capital letters; they appear to me to be especially significant, and to place it almost beyond

a doubt that the person who wrote the K. H. MSS. where they occur was in the habit of producing a different handwriting, and that that person was Madame Blavatsky. I find numerous instances throughout the K. H. documents which I have examined, but especially in the earlier ones, and will mention a few of the letters in which these mistakes have been made.

The letter *e* in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing is uniformly made upon the common type which we are all taught in copybooks, but when it begins a word in the K. H. writing, it is formed on the same type as Madame Blavatsky's capital E in her ordinary writing. Yet in the early K. H. documents there are many instances where the initial small *e* was at first well formed in the ordinary way, and then transformed into the other type by the addition of a second curve at the top; there are instances also where the transformation was never made, and the initial *e* of the ordinary type still remains.

Instances occur in the K. H. writings of the form of *k* which is most characteristic of Madame Blavatsky; sometimes the form has been cloaked by an afterstroke, as in the case already mentioned, and sometimes not.

The letter *x* in the K. H. writings is formed even from the first in an entirely different way from that used by Madame Blavatsky in her ordinary writing; a different form would seem to have been deliberately and successfully adopted. Nevertheless, there are one or two cases where Madame Blavatsky's ordinary *x* was first made, and the K. H. *x* superposed; and I have also discovered, in the Koot Hoomi writings now in my hands, two instances—pure and free, undimmed by any cloakings, and untouched by any afterstrokes—of Madame Blavatsky's own *x*. One of these stray *x's* abides near the sheltering presence of a capital Q beginning the word "Quixottes" (*sic.*), which is suggestive of Madame Blavatsky's peculiar form, and which is very different from the Q which I have found oftenest in the K. H. writing. Another Q which I have found in the K. H. writing bears a much closer resemblance to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary Q.

There are several conspicuous instances of alterations in the K. H. capital B, Madame Blavatsky's usual form having been first made either partially or entirely. I have observed two very notable and indubitable specimens of this; an altered capital B, which the reader will find in Plate II., K. H. (I), I regard as a doubtful case.

Madame Blavatsky uses two forms of capital P, the one illustrated in the Plate, and another, perhaps the commoner of the two, which shows a very different type. I have seen a specimen of the latter in the K. H. 16½pp., and there are several very closely resembling it in the K. H. MSS. in my possession.

Many other instances might be given under this head, and something like the counterpart of what I have been pointing out is also true—viz., that forms of letters proper to the K. H. writing, and not to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, occasionally appear in the latter.

This is perhaps the most convenient place to mention the stroke over the *m*. This stroke, which is a peculiar and apparently meaningless feature of the K. H. writing, occurs several times over letters which resemble an English *m* in some Russian writing which I have seen by Madame Blavatsky. There are two Russian letters which resemble the English *m*, and these, I am informed by Mr. W. R. S. Ralston, "being much alike when written carelessly, they are sometimes, but rarely, written" with a stroke above and below respectively. This may suggest the origin of the stroke over the *m* in the Koot Hoomi writings.

III. I shall now proceed to show that there are fundamental peculiarities in some of Madame Blavatsky's formations of certain small letters which are *found throughout all the K. H. writings which I have examined, except those which there are strong positive grounds for attributing to the authorship of Mr. Damodar.*

The evidence which we are now to consider is, in my view, the most important of all in proof of the fact that the K. H. writings in general are the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky. This evidence depends on Madame Blavatsky's formation of the group of letters *a*, *d*, *g*, *o*, and *q*. The peculiarities exhibited in these letters are very striking; they are sufficiently shown in the specimens of *a*, *d*, *o*, and *q*, which I have given in group B″ (all the letters in which are taken from the undoubted writings of Madame Blavatsky), and are apparent also in the different groups of *g's* which I have given as manifesting the evolution of the characteristic K. H. *g*. A properly made "o" formation is uncommon both in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting and in the K. H. writings. If the letter requiring such a formation is initial, or not connected with the preceding letter, the tendency in both handwritings is to produce a formation akin to those shown in the first four *a's*, the first three English *d's*, and the first four *q's*. If the letter is connected with the preceding letter, the tendency is either to begin the "o" formation high up with a loop, as happens most commonly in the case of the *d*, leaving a gap above,—or to begin it low down, in which case the curve is rarely closed by a complete backward stroke,—and a peculiar gap therefore remains on the left-hand side. This last method of formation, which I shall call the *left-gap stroke*, may be clearly seen in some of the *q's* and *o's*, and is yet more noticeable in the *g's* and *a's*, of which last especially *it is the common, conspicuous, and most highly characteristic feature, both in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing and in those K. H. writings*

*which I attribute to her.** It is so peculiar, that were it found but rarely in both sets of writings, or commonly in one and rarely in the other, it would still be a tolerably definite indication of identity of handiwork; but when we find, as we do, that it occurs constantly in both sets of writings, that any other form (except the *initial* forms spoken of) is comparatively rare, and that numerous varieties of the type in the one set of writings can be exactly paralleled in the other, there can, I think, be little doubt that one and the same person wielded the pen throughout. Only a few specimens of these peculiar letters are given in the plate. Sometimes the stroke ends by rolling into the right-hand part of the curve, so that in the case of the *a* the remaining part of the letter, which is commonly made with a new stroke of the pen, appears to be almost or quite continuous with the first stroke. Frequently the second part of the letter is quite unconnected with the first part, and frequently it begins in the heart of the space partially enclosed by the first stroke. Sometimes, again, the first stroke travels farther back to the left than its origin, still leaving a gap, and sometimes, but seldom, it even joins its origin, so as to form a complete enclosure. It must be difficult for any person to trace this *left-gap stroke* throughout a series of Madame Blavatsky's acknowledged writings, and throughout a set of what I believe to be her K. H. writings, comparing in detail all the swirling tricks and fantastic freaks of curvature which it adopts, and at the same time resist the impression that the same person executed them all.

There are two types of *d* given in the plate, which I may speak of as the German *d* (enclosed in square brackets) and the English *d*. It is the English type which is almost universally assumed by the *d* in all but the earliest writings; while the German type is now almost exclusively used by Madame Blavatsky in her ordinary writing. In the early Koot Hoomi writings, however, there are many instances of the German *d*, and in Madame Blavatsky's writings of 1878 and 1879 the English *d* frequently occurs. The first part of the English *d* is formed like the initial *a's*, or with a loop, and there is frequently a wide gap between the loop and the final down stroke of the letter, which is often clipped short, as shown in some of the instances in the Group (B″). This looped *d* with the wide gap and the clipped down stroke I shall call the *clipped loose d*; it is the characteristic form of the developed K. H. writing, and among the English *d's* of Madame Blavatsky's undoubted handwriting it is also of common occurrence. But some persons who possess writings of Madame

* Mr. Gribble, in his pamphlet, "A Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence," &c., has drawn special attention to this left gap-stroke in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, and to the significance of its occurrence in some K. H. writing.

Blavatsky may, perhaps, be unable to find any specimens at all of the English *d* in her writing; and this brings me to the additional evidence which I said at the beginning of this part of my report would be forthcoming in proof of the fact that Madame Blavatsky wrote the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters.

In three letters written by Madame Blavatsky in 1878, the English *d* occurs about 80 times and the German *d* about 340 times. In a letter to Mr. Massey of July, 1879, the English *d* occurs about 130 times and the German *d* about 525 times. In her three writings to Mr. Hume, already mentioned, of about 1881-82, the English *d* occurs 4 times and the German *d* about 674 times. In three letters (and two envelopes) to Mr. Massey in 1884 the English *d* occurs 6 times and the German *d* about 1106 times. In four letters (and two envelopes) to Mr. Myers in 1884 the English *d* occurs 5 times and the German *d* about 400 times. In the Elberfeld letter to Dr. Hartmann, 1884, *d* occurs 39 times, and is always of the German type.

In the *B. Replies* the English *d* occurs about 140 times and the German *d* about 220 times, and in *B. Marginal Notes* the English *d* occurs 6 times and the German *d* about 89 times. These writings were produced in the time covered by the last few days of 1884 and the first few days of 1885, the *Marginal Notes* being for the most part slightly later than the *Replies*.

Now, it can hardly fail to be regarded as singular that the English *d* being thus frequent (about 210 to 865) in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writings in 1878 and 1879, and being thus rare (15 to about 2,200, and 7 out of these 15 occur on envelopes) in Madame Blavatsky's writings from 1881 to 1884, should suddenly be found in such abundance as appears in the *B. Replies*, and I have been able myself to account for this singular fact in only one way. Before Madame Blavatsky's arrival at Adyar at the end of 1884, Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, of Madras, had published "A Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence Published in the *Christian College Magazine*," and in that report he drew special attention, in connection with the Blavatsky-Coulomb letter dated 1st April, 1884, to the uniformity of the small *d* of the German type. Now Madame Blavatsky knew that I was desirous of obtaining a specimen of her undoubted writing for the purpose of testing the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters; and she knew that I would not use a letter *professedly* written to meet my requirement since I had already declined the offer made by Colonel Olcott, I assume at her instigation, that she should write such a letter (see p. 281). Is it not possible that she hoped, nevertheless, that I might use as my standard a document written by her ostensibly with quite another object? Had I used the *B. Replies*, with its numerous English *d's*, as a standard of reference for the Blavatsky-

Coulomb letters, I should have been compelled to conclude that the rarity of the English *d* in the disputed documents was certainly an argument in favour of their having been forged. But a comparison of the *B. Replies* in this respect with other writings of Madame Blavatsky shows that unquestionably this frequency of the English *d* is foreign to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing produced about the same time as the *B. Replies*, or during the four previous years. I cannot help thinking therefore that the use of these English *d's* was deliberate, and that they were inserted for the special purpose of misleading me in one of the most important parts of my investigation. In one or two other minor points Madame Blavatsky has also, I think, in the *B. Replies*, altered her usual handwriting. If I am right in this conclusion it would follow that Madame Blavatsky has resorted to a device which an innocent person would scarcely be likely to adopt; and when I take all the circumstances into consideration, remembering especially that Madame Blavatsky was entirely unaware, as I believe, that I intended to send some of the disputed documents to England for examination—the manuscript in question affords, in my opinion, strong confirmatory evidence of her authorship of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters.

To return to the K. H. writings, it is strongly suggested by the foregoing facts concerning Madame Blavatsky's *d's* that, since the appearance of K. H. writing with the English *d* as the regular form, she has aimed at eliminating the English type from her ordinary handwriting, and using there the German type; but what we have especially to note here is that the very marked peculiarities which characterise the formation of the English *d* in her acknowledged handwriting, also characterise its formation in the K. H. manuscript which I attribute to her.

There are other minor peculiarities common to both sets of writings. One of these, which occurs in the formation of the letter *l*, deserves special mention, and several specimens are given in the Plate (B″). When final, it is frequently clipped very short; not only is the last upstroke frequently wanting, but the main downstroke is often carried no further than its junction with the first upstroke of the letter, so that the letter remains as a mere loop. Moreover, in the case of *ll*, the second *l* is not only frequently clipped short, but it takes a different angle from that of the previous *l* (compare also the *ff*), not rising so high, and presenting the appearance of tumbling over to the right. These forms of *l* are common both in Madame Blavatsky's undoubted writing, and in the K. H. MSS. which I believe to have been written by her.

The peculiar formations in the group of letters *a*, *d*, *g*, *o* and *q*, were entirely absent from the K. H. (Y), but they were present in the other K. H. documents which I had the opportunity of carefully examining in India. In some of these latter documents

there were further traces of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork—*e.g.*, in the K. H. 16½pp. there were various alterations, and the word or letters altered were usually crossed out, but in three places careful *erasures* had been made, and these erasures were just where the K. H. *k* had been afterwards formed. In two of these cases I was unable to determine what the previous formation had been, but in the third I could still trace the outline of Madame Blavatsky's characteristic *k*. In another place in the same MS., the word "Buddhist" had been inserted afterwards in faint lead-pencil; this was written in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting; upon it had been written, in ink, the same word in the K. H. writing, but the pencil marks had not been erased. In the K. H. document alleged by Madame Fadéeff to have been received by her at Odessa from "un messager à figure asiatique, *qui disparut sous mes yeux mêmes*," Madame Blavatsky's characteristic *a* formations were present, and there were also many instances of the after stroke transforming a well-formed copy-book *e* into the Greek type. These were the most noticeable of those features of the document* which struck me in the two or three minutes' inspection of it which I had the opportunity of making.

I have, I think, said enough to justify my conclusion that Madame Blavatsky was the writer of nearly all the K. H. documents which I have seen. And since those which I attribute to her include, among others, the whole of the K. H. manuscript forwarded to me by Mr. Hume, as well as every specimen of the series lent to us by Mr. Sinnett, I think I may assume that by far the greater portion of the K. H. MSS. is the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky.

Different specimens of Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing and

* I think it not improbable that this document was written by Madame Blavatsky in 1879 or 1880 when the idea of corresponding with one of the "Brothers" appears to have been first mooted. In weighing the statement of Madame Fadéeff that she received the document about the year 1870, we should remember that she is a Russian lady, and the aunt of Madame Blavatsky, and that Madame Blavatsky may have been influenced by political motives in the founding of the Theosophical Society (*vid.* p. 314). It may be mentioned here that Madame Blavatsky, when she heard that Mr. Hormusji had given evidence that he had received a brooch from her for repair, which resembled the one afterwards produced at Simla for Mrs. Hume, first alleged (to Mr. Hume) that the brooch Mr. Hormusji had seen was *square*, and a few days later (to myself) that it was *round*, and had, indeed, some resemblance to Mrs. Hume's, that she (Madame Blavatsky) had purchased it for her niece, and that I could obtain confirmation from Madame Fadéeff. Considering Madame Blavatsky's contradictory statements about the brooch, this ready reference to Madame Fadéeff, in connection with it, suggests that she was a convenient person to appeal to when no other corroboration of Madame Blavatsky's assertions could be obtained.

the K. H. writing may be seen in the Plates which accompany this Report, and Mrs. Sidgwick's corroboration of my observations will be found in Appendix XV.

I shall now proceed to give the barest possible outline of the results of my examination of sundry other documents, and begin with the K. H. (Y). It was this letter to which Dr. Hartmann referred when he wrote to us last year that it was "handed to me by Damodar, who received it in my presence from the hands of the *astral form* of a Chela." In his pamphlet, p. 33, he wrote also: "we . . were engaged in drawing up the charges [against the Coulombs] in my room, when the astral body of a Chela appeared, and handed the following letter to Damodar." Madame Blavatsky, in a letter to Mr. C. C. Massey, on May 4th, 1884, wrote, apparently concerning this letter: "When the Council assembled and the Board of Trustees were ready to lay the black charges against her and have her expelled—there falls on the table a letter of Mahatma K. H. to the Board, and *defending her*, speaking with his Christ-like forgiveness and kindness, and saying that she was *a victim and not a culprit*, and that it would one day be proved." I asked Dr. Hartmann about this incident, and he told me that Mr. Damodar had *left the room* (Dr. Hartmann's), where he had been talking with Dr. Hartmann, but had returned almost immediately with the letter in question, saying that he had just received it from the "astral form of a Chela"! Madame Coulomb alleges that she peeped through a small hole which she had previously bored through the wooden partition which formed one side of Mr. Damodar's room, and that she saw him preparing this Mahatma letter; and I certainly found a small hole such as Madame Coulomb described to me, which looked as if it had been made on purpose to serve as a spy-hole.

On comparing the K. H. (Y), in India, with other K. H. MSS. in my hands at the time, I noted that there was a close similarity as regards particular characteristics of the K. H. writing, as in the curls to the left of the downstrokes of *g*, *j* and *y*, the stroke over the *m*, the formation of the initial small *e*, the *x*, *p*, &c. In short, those peculiar forms which I suppose Madame Blavatsky to have deliberately and successfully employed in the developed K. H. writing, and which she would naturally teach as characteristics of the handwriting to any person whom she wished to train in the art of writing it, were strongly marked in the K. H. (Y). There were, however, certain differences between this document and the other K. H. writings with which I compared it.

1. *It contained not a single instance of the "left-gap stroke," or of the clipped loose d.*

2. There was not a single upstroke preceding the words, 31 in number, beginning with *m*, *n*, or *i*.

3. The abbreviated *&* was very different from any specimen in the other K. H. writings.

4. The curl to the left at the end of the downstroke in *g*, *j*, and *y*, was made stiffly, starting abruptly from the end of the downstroke.

5. It showed a habit of strongly looping the main downstrokes of certain letters—a habit which appeared especially in the capital M and the small *d*. This habit is, in the case of these letters, foreign to the ordinary K. H. writings, but is eminently suggestive of Mr. Damodar's handiwork.

6. The capital D was different from either of the two forms usual in the K. H. writings. The final loop of the D touched without passing to the left of the main downstroke. This D was a facsimile of some which I found in Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing.

7. There were six instances of a peculiar small *a*, of which I could not find a single instance in the K. H. 16½pp., but which is very common in Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing.

8. The style was much less flowing than is usual in the K. H. handwritings, but I do not attribute much importance to this fact.

There were other minor differences, and my examination of the document led me to the conclusion that it was certainly not written by Madame Blavatsky, and that it was probably written by Mr. Damodar. This conclusion has been strengthened by my examination of a document, which I shall call K. H. (Z), submitted to us for examination by Mr. B. J. Padshah, who received it last year direct from Adyar, in reply to a letter which he had sent, and who thinks that Madame Blavatsky could not have known anything about the letter, she being at the time in Europe. The letter is about the same length as K. H. (Y), nearly two pages of note-paper.

1. It contains not a single instance of the peculiarities which I have described in the group of letters *a*, *d*, *g*, and *o*. (The letter *q* does not occur.)

2. There is only one case of a preceding upstroke in the 16 words beginning with *i*, and only one very doubtful case of a preceding upstroke in the 18 words beginning with *m* or *n*.

3. It contains an abbreviated *&* of the same formation as that noted in the K. H. (Y).

4. The turns to the left at the end of the downstroke in *g*, *j*, and *y* have an angular corner, and the curvature of the stroke to the left is always concave downwards, never concave upwards.

5. Several of the *d's* have the main downstroke very strongly looped.

6. A capital L on the envelope is different from any L which I have found in what I may now call the Blavatsky K. H. writings.

7. Mr. Damodar's peculiar *a* formation, which I will describe

presently, is obvious in two *a's*, and there are clear traces of it in other *a's*, which are now somewhat blurred. A similar formation occurs in six *g's*, and the tendency to this formation in other instances is manifest.

8. The style is less flowing than is usual in the K. H. handwritings.

9. The main downstroke of the initial *t* [type of the first *t* in the B″ group] of a word is invariably strongly looped; and that of the final *t* [type of the second *t* in the B″ group] is almost invariably looped.

10. The main downstroke of the *b* and the *h* is invariably looped.

Both K. H. (Y) and K. H. (Z) are written in blue pencil, whereas the K. H. documents which I have hitherto discussed are chiefly written in ink. Lest it should be maintained that the differences noted are due to this, I shall now compare this K. H. (Z) with another K. H. letter, also in blue pencil (8pp.), and written approximately at the same time. It was received by Mr. Myers from the hands of Madame Blavatsky when she was in Cambridge last year, and I find—

1. That the Blavatskian peculiarities which I have described in the group of letters *a*, *d*, *g* and *o*, abound throughout.

2. That of the first 16 words (excluding four doubtful cases) beginning with *i*, 10 have a preceding upstroke, and that of the first 18 words beginning with *m* or *n*, 9 have a preceding upstroke.

3. The form of *&* is different from the form in K. H. (Z).

4. The corners of the turns to the left at the end of the downstrokes in *g*, *j* and *y* are almost invariably rounded and the curvature of the stroke to the left is almost invariably concave upwards.

5. There is no instance of a *d* with its main downstroke strongly looped.

6. A capital L which occurs is different from that in K. H. (Z).

7. There is one solitary instance (in the 8pp.) of an *a* formation which resembles those common in Mr. Damodar's writing, but the specimen is somewhat doubtful. There is no tendency to this formation in other instances.

8. The style of handwriting is much freer and swifter than that of the K. H. (Z).

9. The downstroke of the initial *t* is rarely so strongly looped as in K. H. (Z), and is frequently not looped at all; and that of the final *t* is commonly not looped.

10. The main downstroke of the *b* and the *h* is frequently not looped.

There are other points of difference between the two documents, which, however, it is unnecessary to enumerate.

On the importance of (1) I need not dwell any further. The contrast noted in (2) is also true to a certain extent in *j*, *u* and *w*. To none of these letters when beginning a word is there any preceding up

stroke in K. H. (Z). Preceding upstrokes to the letters mentioned are common in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, but except in the cases of *m* and *n*,* comparatively rare in Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing. Thus in a letter of his, written last year, there are 17 initial *i*'s, and only two have the upstroke; there are 31 initial *w*'s, and not one has the upstroke, though there may be a slight doubt in two cases.

The strong looping of the main downstroke of the *d* is characteristic of Mr. Damodar's writing, as may be seen from the instances in Plate I., Group (D). The specimens in this Group are taken from a letter written by Mr. Damodar in August, 1884. The last instance is especially peculiar, where the upstroke touches the initial point of the letter and the main downstroke cuts the initial stroke, which thus divides the extraordinary loop of the *d* into two parts. There is a conspicuous example of exactly this form in the K. H. (Z). It is also particularly to be observed that not only is there no instance of the clipped loose *d*, but there is never the slightest tendency to such a formation. There is not a single instance where the preceding letter runs into the initial stroke of the *d* so as to form a loop with it, and the structure of the letter throughout exactly conforms to the structure of the English *d* found in Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing. Mr. Damodar indeed frequently leaves a gap in his ordinary writing between the beginning of the *d* and the main downstroke; this seems to be partly due to rapid writing, but there is apparently one instance of it in the K. H. (Z), and two other instances may be considered doubtful, though I think myself, after careful examination with a lens, that the appearance of a gap in these two cases is due simply to the attrition of the first part of the pencilled stroke. The other most important trace of Mr. Damodar's handiwork in the K. H. (Z) is the presence of what I shall call the *beaked a* formation, of which several instances are given in the Plate (Group D). The initial point of the letter is considerably farther to the right than the top of the straight downstroke of the letter, which, moreover, does not reach so high as the upper curvature. It is this *beaked a* formation to which I refer above in (7); it is very common in Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing.

My own view is that Mr. Damodar unquestionably wrote the K. H. (Z) as well as the K. H. (Y). Mr. Netherclift has had no opportunity of seeing the K. H. (Y), which was only lent to me for a short time in India, but the K. H. (Z) was submitted to him with the other K. H.

* The initial curve beginning the *m* or *n* strictly forms part of the letter in ordinary writing, but in the K. H. writing these letters are made on the pattern of the letters *i* and *u*, so that the absence of a first upstroke is less curious than it would otherwise be.

documents upon which he was asked to give a second opinion, with the additional light afforded by those lent to us by Mr. Sinnett. Mr. Netherclift, in his second report, stated as his opinion that it was "quite impossible that Damodar could have accommodated his usual style to suit that of K. H.," and although he admitted that he was unable to find in it an instance of what I have called the *left-gap stroke*, and that it was less like Madame Blavatsky's than other of the K. H. documents, he appeared to think that this may have been due to the increased wariness of Madame Blavatsky, and placed it with the others as being unmistakably her handiwork. I then submitted to him my analysis of the document, and he kindly undertook to make a further examination, expressing his confidence that he would prove to me that the conclusion which I had reached was erroneous. The result, however, of a prolonged comparison which he then made was that he frankly confessed that my view was the correct one, saying that in the whole course of his many years' experience as an expert, he had "never met a more puzzling case," but that he was at last "thoroughly convinced that" the K. H. (Z) "was written by Damodar in *close imitation* of the style adopted by Madame Blavatsky in the K. H. papers."

Specimens of the K. H. (Z) and the other K. H. letter with which I have compared it are given in Plate II., and it may be noticed that the K. H. characteristics in the former are almost all rigidly of one variety, as we might expect to find in the work of a copyist adhering to his lesson.

I may here make brief reference to a long account of the professed experiences of a native witness, which was sent to the headquarters of the Theosophical Society while I was in India. Mr. Bhavani Shankar alleged that he was copying this account for me, and that he had already copied a portion of it. At the time I thought it rather odd that I never saw him actually engaged in the copying, and when after the lapse of some days I found that the document was not ready, I doubted whether I should receive it at all. Eventually, however, I did receive it, and with the explicit declaration of Mr. Bhavani Shankar that it was his copy. The pointedness of his assurance that he had made the copy caused me to wonder slightly why he was so anxious to let me have what I should know was a specimen of his handwriting; and the probable explanation did not occur to me till some time afterwards, when I was struck by observing, in the document in question, some peculiarities which I had noticed in the ordinary writing of Mr. Damodar. I then made a careful examination of the document, and found that it had every appearance of having been written by Mr. Damodar, beginning with an elaborate though clumsy attempt at disguise, and ending with what can hardly be called any disguise at all. This incident has confirmed me in my opinion of the untrustworthiness

of both Mr. Damodar and Mr. Bhavani Shankar. But as to why Mr. Bhavani Shankar should have made this attempt to deceive me concerning the characteristics of his handwriting, I have only a conjectural view.

My examination of another document which I saw in India confirmed me in my opinion of the untrustworthiness of Mr. Babajee D. Nath. This document was written in green ink, and purported to be the work of a Chela B. D. S. (Bhola Deva Sarma). The disguise seemed to me to be very puerile, most of the letters being of the copy-book type; one or two of Mr. Babajee's habits being traceable throughout, while the name *Nath*, which occurred in it, was almost a facsimile of a "Nath" which I found in Mr. Babajee's ordinary signature.

The forged Hartmann document (see p. 280), which I believe to have been forged by Madame Blavatsky, for the purpose of attributing it to the Coulombs, was alleged by some Theosophists to have been the work of the Coulombs, on the ground that the sentence, "Excuse short letter. I am writing in the dark," suggested a peculiarity of Madame Coulomb's, that "writing in the dark" meant "writing in a hurry," and in proof of this an old letter of Madame Coulomb's, in which she used a similar expression, was produced *from the possession of Madame Blavatsky*. I saw this letter, and the expression there appeared to me to be meant literally. The forged document may possibly have been intended to bear traces of its forgery on the face of it, though of this I cannot be sure. The imitation of Dr. Hartmann's characteristics is for the most part exceedingly close, and on this point I must differ entirely from Mr. Gribble,* who was evidently unfamiliar with Dr. Hartmann's writing; moreover, bad spelling is noticeable in the document, and bad spelling of a similar character is noticeable also in Dr. Hartmann's writings; but Dr. Hartmann himself asserts that the letter is a forgery, and the fact that it contains *fourteen* remakings of letters is enough to confirm his statement. Although there were 14 remakings of letters, there was only one *erasure*; this was in the *k* of the word *dark*. Dr. Hartmann's *k* is peculiar; so is Madame Blavatsky's; but the erasure had been so thoroughly made that I was unable to trace the

* "A Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence," &c., p. 7. Mr. Gribble says:—"The only instance in which any resemblance to Dr. Hartmann's writing is to be found is in the formation of the capital H," and he mentions the capital letters A and T, and no others, as exhibiting peculiarities which reminded him of "similar letters to be found in Madame B.'s acknowledged writings." The A and T are, in my opinion, not more suggestive of Madame Blavatsky than the A and T of Dr. Hartmann's undoubted ordinary writings. I should say that Mr. Gribble had the opportunity of examining the document only very hastily during a short visit of an hour at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society, when he examined other documents also; and this no doubt accounts for the mistakes which he made in his examination of it.

shape of the letter first formed. I compared the document with writing of M. and Madame Coulomb, and could not find in it any traces of their handiwork; but comparing it with Madame Blavatsky's writings, I found several, and these instances formed the only divergencies which I observed from Dr. Hartmann's formations. I attach importance to the following:—

1. The figure "8" in the dating of the letter was not Dr. Hartmann's, but Madame Blavatsky's.

2. A capital S was not Dr. Hartmann's, but Madame Blavatsky's.

3. A small *z* was very different from Dr. Hartmann's, and was almost a facsimile of the careful *z* in the K. H. writings, which also shows exactly the same type as the careful *z* (very rare) in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, except that the former terminates in the leftward curl, while the latter terminates in the usual copy-book upward stroke, trending to the right, cutting the lower part of the downstroke, and thus forming a closed loop with it.

4. Dr. Hartmann's small *x* is nearly of the common copy-book type, the first half of the letter being formed like a reversed *c*; but it seems that he habitually keeps his pen upon the paper until he has completed the letter, so that from the end of the first part of the letter a diagonal stroke runs up to the beginning of the second part, between the left side of which and the right side of the first part there remains a gap, bridged by the cross stroke; at a first glance, the bridging stroke may escape notice, and the *x* appear to be of the copy-book form. Now *x* occurs three times in the forged Hartmann document. The first of these is formed without the bridge, and the two strokes of the letters touch each other. The second of them is formed like Dr. Hartmann's variety. The third of them, however, which occurs in the last sentence of the letter, *was first formed as Madame Blavatsky's peculiar x, Dr. Hartmann's type being formed over it without any erasure's having been made.* On close inspection this was clear even to the naked eye, and examination with a lens rendered it absolutely unmistakable.

Let us now consider the *Mahatma M. endorsement* on the forged Hartmann document.

1. In five of the seven *r*'s the upper loop has unmistakably been added by an after stroke, and apparently in the other two also. Very heavily crowned *r*'s are characteristic of the M. writing; but Madame Blavatsky in her ordinary writing is frequently obliged to twirl the top of the *r* with an afterstroke. (Mr. Gribble also regarded the *r*'s of this document as suggestive of Madame Blavatsky.)

2. The letter *g* in the words *good* and *forgery* exhibits the peculiar left-gap stroke. The gap in the *g* of *good* has been partly filled by another stroke, and this also occasionally but rarely happens both in Madame

Blavatsky's ordinary writing and in the K. H. writing. (See the final *a* and *o* in the Plate, Group B″.)

3. The letter following the *t* in the word "enterprising" was manifestly first made as Madame Blavatsky's *left-gap stroke a*. The word has apparently been first spelt "entaprising," and the second part of the *a* altered into an *r* by the addition of a very grotesque loop, awkwardly placed in consequence of the little room left for it.

I suppose that Madame Blavatsky, having forged the document in Dr. Hartmann's writing, and enclosed it in a "cover postmarked Madras," in which Colonel Olcott might receive it, afterwards obtained it again surreptitiously (on finding, as I conjecture, that Colonel Olcott was not bringing forward the document and stating that he believed it to be a forgery, as she had intended him to do), wrote the endorsement in her disguised M. handwriting and replaced it in Colonel Olcott's despatch-box. If she had little time at her disposal in which to write the endorsement, this would account for the exceptionally glaring indications of her handiwork which it contains.

Everyone will admit, I think, that the forged Hartmann document must have originated either with the Coulombs or with Madame Blavatsky. If the Coulombs were the authors, it is difficult to see the point of the last sentence about "writing in the dark," and if the phrase really illustrates a peculiarity of Madame Coulomb's, an old letter of hers in the possession of Madame Blavatsky being adduced as proof, the Coulombs would seem to have committed the very curious mistake of inserting a statement for what looks like the specific purpose of indicating themselves as the authors. That they should not only have done this, but have also perpetrated the marvellously subtle fraud of making several slips in the forged document which should be characteristic of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork, is a supposition which, I think, appears in itself somewhat absurd, besides being incompatible with the hypothesis which has been put forward that they forged the letter in order to make mischief between the founders of the Society and Dr. Hartmann and Mr. Lane-Fox; and it is difficult to see what other motive they could possibly have had. In short, the hypothesis that the Coulombs forged the document is fraught with so many great difficulties that I do not imagine any impartial reader will entertain it for a moment, or have any doubt whatever that Madame Blavatsky wrote both the forged document and the Mahatma M. endorsement. Her action in this respect is in harmony with her action throughout, and her object* is not far to

* I have already referred to Madame Coulomb's allegation that at the end of April she wrote to Madame Blavatsky threatening to produce incriminating letters written by the latter.

seek. The remarks in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for October, 1884, p. 302, are entirely justified :—

"What the whole Press and the Indian public has been quick enough to see was not likely to be concealed from Madame Blavatsky, viz., that the only chance of her rehabilitation lies in Madame Coulomb's letters being proved *forgeries*. How would a person of Madame Blavatsky's genius be likely to parry such a thrust? Not by a mere assertion, but by a proof that forgery is in the air—that attacks upon Theosophy are being made through the forger's pen."

She therefore forged a letter which would indubitably be shown to be a forgery, and which, at the same time, should contain evidence apparently pointing to the Coulombs as the authors. This evidence (the aforesaid phrase about "writing in the dark") appears to me to point on the contrary to Madame Blavatsky herself as the author.

I have not had specimens of the M. writing which would have enabled me to make such a full examination as I have made of the K. H. writing, but I have no doubt that all of the few short specimens which I have had the opportunity of carefully examining may have been, and that some of them unquestionably were, written by Madame Blavatsky. It occurred to me that the first M. writing may have been written by Madame Blavatsky with her left hand, and that she afterwards imitated with her right hand the characteristics thus displayed; and on trying the experiment, making some of Madame Blavatsky's characteristic strokes, I found that several of her peculiarities took the roughened form which I have observed in some of the M. writing. But whether all the M. writing was the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky, or whether some of the earliest specimens were written by Babula under the guidance of Madame Blavatsky—as Madame Coulomb asserts—or whether some other person had some share in their production, my limited acquaintance with the MSS. has not provided me with any means of determining. I observed in some specimens which Mr. Ramaswamier allowed me to see, an instance of Madame Blavatsky's characteristic *k*, with another *k* formed over it, an instance of her terminal *r*, and an instance of her peculiar *x*. In perusing the Mahatma M. document which Mr. Damodar alleged had fallen into his room at Ootacamund, on April 26th, 1884 (see p. 279), I observed the following peculiarities :—

1. There were a capital H and a capital P which were varieties of certain H and P types found both in the K. H. and in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writings.

2. Many of the *k*'s exhibited a double stroke which, though not a facsimile of Madame Blavatsky's, was very strongly suggestive of her handiwork.

3. The *a* exhibits new peculiarities in the M. writing, but some of the *a*'s here showed the left-gap formation notwithstanding.

4. Several *g*'s exhibited Madame Blavatsky's ordinary left-gap stroke, and in one case the gap had been partially filled up, so that it presented an eminently peculiar appearance, like that shown in the final *a* and *o* of the Group B″. (See Plate I.)

5. In two words the initial *e* had been first made in the common type, and had afterwards been altered into the Greek form.

6. In at least four cases the top of the *r* had been added by an after stroke.

A complete examination of this document might have revealed more resemblances to Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting, but I think those above enumerated are, considering the circumstances of its appearance, enough to justify me in concluding that Madame Blavatsky was the writer.* The substance of the document is certainly much more suggestive of the cunning combined with the inevitable ignorance of Madame Blavatsky in Paris, than of any divine wisdom or knowledge of the supposed "Mahatma M." in India. The K.H. (Y) of March 22nd, and the Ootacamund M. letter of April 26th are not easily explained, except on the view that Mr. Damodar wrote the former and Madame Blavatsky the latter; for the documents absolutely contradict each other. But they admit of a satisfactory explanation when we find that on March 22nd Mr. Damodar was doing his best to avoid a rupture with the Coulombs, and that Madame Blavatsky, a week or so later, ignorant of the change of position at headquarters, and ignorant that Messrs. Lane-Fox and Damodar were at Ootacamund, while Dr. Hartmann remained at Adyar, was preparing a Mahatma document to serve as a guard against the disclosure of the trick apparatus, just as she afterwards forged the Hartmann document to ward off the blow which fell in the publication of her own incriminating letters in the *Madras Christian College Magazine.*

Even greater ignorance, or a curious standard of morality, is displayed in another Mahatma document, written to Mr. Hume. It contains a reference to a "young man" to whose rapid spiritual development "K. H." enthusiastically draws Mr. Hume's attention. After referring to the growth of this young man's "inner soul-power and moral sense," &c., K. H. continues:—

"I have often watched that silent yet steady progress, and on that day when he was called to take note of the contents of your letter to Mr. Sinnett,

* The following passage occurs in the document: "She hopes for more than 2,000 Rupees from them, if she helps them ruining or at least injuring the Society," &c. Madame Blavatsky writes, in one of her undoubted letters: "I ask you to do this to help me tracing by the emanations the persons," &c.

concerning our humble selves, and the *conditions* you imposed upon us—I have myself learned a lesson. A soul is being breathed into him, a new Spirit let in, and, with every day he is advancing towards a state of higher development. One fine morning the 'Soul' *will find him;* but, unlike your English mystics across the great Sea, it will be under the guidance of the true *living adept*, not under the spasmodic inspirations of his own *untutored* 'Buddhi,' known to you as the 6th principle in man." *

Mr. Hume appends a note that, at the very time the above passage was written, the young man in question "was systematically cheating and swindling me by false contracts, besides directly embezzling my money."

How far the K. H. letters received by Mr. Sinnett, upon which "Esoteric Buddhism" is confessedly founded, emanated from the brain of Madame Blavatsky, how far she was assisted in their production by confederates, how much of their substance was plagiarised from other writers, are questions which lie somewhat outside my present province. In the light of the incident mentioned by Mr. Hume, where matter furnished by an able native had been used in the preparation of Mahatma documents—we may regard it as not improbable that Madame Blavatsky has obtained some direct or indirect assistance from native learning and native familiarity with Hindu Philosophy; and the "Kiddle incident," where the charge of plagiarism has eventually been admitted, and the fraud attributed to a Chela—is enough to show that "K. H." has not been above pilfering the very language of a lecturer on Spiritualism. But apart altogether from such incidents as these, we must remember that Madame Blavatsky appeared in the last decade as the author of "Isis Unveiled." It is not denied that a similarity of style exists between a number of the K. H. documents and portions of "Isis Unveiled"; the inference made by those who accept the statements of Madame Blavatsky is that she wrote neither; I think it much more probable that she wrote both.

Madame Blavatsky at times writes very strange English, or rather a language which can hardly be called English. This, I believe, she frequently does intentionally, and sometimes with good effect. Thus, towards the close of a long passage in her ordinary handwriting, and in her good English style, she says that it was dictated to her by a "greasy Tibetan," and in what follows immediately afterwards, which of course we are to notice is her own, she lapses into a markedly poorer form

* It is noteworthy that in the same K. H. document the following passage occurs: "Nor can I allow you to be under the misapprehension that any adept is unable to read the hidden thoughts of others without first mesmerising them."

of utterance. I have no doubt that she was fully aware* of the importance of convincing adherents like Mr. Sinnett that she was unable to produce the K. H. writings, and that one of her devices to this end was the speaking and writing of purposely deteriorated English. Her best English style appears to me to be essentially like that of the K. H. writings, especially in the cumbrous and wordy form of sentence which so often appears, in the abundance of parenthetical phrases and in the occasional use of almost *outré* metaphors.

There are, indeed, certain oddities in Madame Blavatsky's English which are not feigned—in spelling, in the division of words at the end of a line, and in grammatical structure; but I find that these occur in the K. H. writings also; where the frequency of dashes, underlinings, and expressions like "please," "permit me," &c., is further suggestive of Madame Blavatsky's work. I admit that some of the quotations which have been published by Mr. Sinnett, from the K. H. MSS., attain a standard of style and reflective thought which I should not expect Madame Blavatsky to maintain continuously through a long series of documents, and I am accordingly not surprised to learn from Mr. Hume, who received a large quantity of the K. H. MSS., and who began the writing of "Esoteric Buddhism," that much of the K. H. writing is considerably below the level of those fragments which have been published, and that the task of eliminating the vast mass of rubbish was exceedingly difficult. I conceive myself that it would be impossible for the writer of the K. H. MSS. now in my possession to substantiate any claim to a familiarity with the principles of either Science or Philosophy, and I see no reason why they should not have been written by Madame Blavatsky herself, without any assistance whatever. To speak about "a bacteria," as K. H. does in one of these documents, is to show a knowledge neither of Biology nor of Philology; and to say, as K. H. does in another of these documents, "that man has a better prospect for him after death than that of turning into carbolic *(sic)* acid, water and ammonia" † shows a lamentable ignorance of the constitution of the *Rupa*, the ordinary human organism, the first of the "seven principles."

It would, however, be a tedious and a useless task to analyse these K. H. documents at length, and I shall now simply give a few instances of those points which admit of a brief illustration. I take the following

* This appears, *e.g.*, in the following sentence of hers in a letter to Mr. Hume, of 1882: "You have either to show me as a champion liar, but *cunning, logical* and with a most *phenomenal memory* (instead of my poor failing brains), or admit the theory of the Brothers."

† This reminded me of a passage in the *Contemporary Review* for September, 1876, p. 545: "The man resolves into carbonic acid, water and ammonia, and has no more personal future existence than a consumed candle."

from the *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing:* "Whatever helps restore" [= whatever helps *to* restore]. Also, "You and your colleagues may help furnish the materials." Similarly Madame Blavatsky writes, "to help him publish." The *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing*, as I have already mentioned, is quoted almost in its entirety by Mr. Sinnett, on pp. 85-95 of "The Occult World." But the reader will find that the word *to* is inserted before its verb in Mr. Sinnett's version. I was certainly surprised on finding this, as Mr. Sinnett had written ("The Occult World," p. 69):—

"I shall, of course, throughout my quotations from Koot Hoomi's letters leave out passages which, specially addressed to myself, have no immediate bearing on the public argument. The reader must be careful to remember, however, as I now most unequivocally affirm, that I shall in no case *alter* one syllable of the passages actually quoted. It is important to make this declaration very emphatically, because the more my readers may be acquainted with India, the less they will be willing to believe, except on the most positive testimony, that the letters from Koot Hoomi, as I now publish them, have been written by a native of India."

Yet on comparing the original document, *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing*, with "The Occult World," I find that there are more than *sixty* differences between the two (excluding mistakes of spelling—*her's* and *remarqued*—and excluding also omission of underlinings, changes of punctuation, &c.). Many of these differences consist of words omitted or inserted, others of words changed, and although some of these differences may be resolved into misprints or mis-*copies*, by no means all of them can be explained in this way. For example, in the original document I read: "the difference between the modes of physical (called exact often out of mere politeness) and metaphysical sciences"; but in "The Occult World" (p. 88), *politeness* appears as *compliment*. Again: "Education enthrones skepticism, but imprisons spiritualism"; *spiritualism* in "The Occult World" (p. 94) appears as *spirituality*. *Remarqued* and *politeness* appear to me to be more suggestive of Madame Blavatsky than of the K. H. described to us, whose peculiarities ought to be German rather than French;* and it is curious that Madame Blavatsky, in a letter of last year to Mr. Myers, should have drawn a contrast "between spiritualism and materialism," where *spiritualism* is clearly intended to bear the same meaning as in the passage quoted from the K. H. document. I do not suppose that Mr. Sinnett himself knew anything of these and other alterations, but

* Other mistakes suggesting that the writer was accustomed to French may be found in different K. H. documents; for instance, *montain* for *mountain*, *profond* for *profound*, *vanted* for *vaunted*, *defense* for *defence*, "*you have to beat your iron while it is yet hot.*"

he is certainly chargeable with no ordinary negligence for not having ascertained, after the emphatic and unequivocal declaration which I have quoted, that no copyist or printer's devil or reader had assumed the function of improving Koot Hoomi's English—unless, indeed, we are to suppose that Koot Hoomi *him*(?)self corrected the proof for the press, in which case we ought to have been told that he did so, and how and when it was done. Such exceeding carelessness on the part of Mr. Sinnett has destroyed the confidence which I formerly had that his quotations from Koot Hoomi documents might be regarded as accurately faithful reproductions of the originals.

The following short groups of peculiarities of spelling and mistakes of idiom may be compared :—

Koot Hoomi.	Madame Blavatsky.
Spelling.	
your's, her's	your's
fulfill, dispell	expell
thiefs	thiefs
leasure	deceaved, beseached
quarreling, marshaling	quarreling, quarreled
alloted	cooly (for 'coolly')
in totto	lazzy, lazziness
circumstancial	consciensciously, hypocricy
defense	defense
&c.	&c.
Division of words at the end of a line.	
incessan—tly, direc—tly	recen—tly, hones—tly, perfec—tly
una—equainted	cha—nged
fun—ctions	correc—tness
discer—ning, rea—ding, rea—dily	retur—ning, trea—ting, grea—test
po—werless	po—wers
atmos—phere	
des—pite	
corres—pondence	
En—glishman, En—glish	Beacon—sfields
misunders—tood	
&c.	&c.

Koot Hoomi.	Madame Blavatsky.
Structure.	
'*I* give you an advice'	'to give as impartial an evidence'—'offering advices'
'who, ever since he is here, has been influencing him'	'for 14 or 15 years that I am "preaching the Brothers"'
'we mortals never have and will agree on any subject entirely'	'they have never and never will rush into print'
'one who understands tolerably well English'	'Olcott says you speak very well English'
'you felt impatient and believed having reasons to complain'	'had he but consented becoming a rascal'
'to take care of themselves and of their hereafter the best they know how'—'the best she knew how'	'and left to do the best I knew how'
'that the world will not believe in our philosophy unless it is convinced of it proceeding from reliable'	'there is not a tittle of doubt for it being so'
'there are those, who, rather than to yield to the evidence of fact'	'the chelas would rather be anyday insulted themselves than to hear insulted'
'in a direct course or along hundred of side-furrows'	'the accursed lecture with hundred others'
their active mentality preventing them to receive clear outside impressions'	'the mediums reproached me with preventing by my presence the "spirits" to come'
'provided you consented to wait and did not abuse of the situation'	'I have never written anything against you that I could fear of being shown to you'
'Immutable laws cannot arise since they are eternal and uncreated, propelled in the Eternity and that God himself—if such a thing existed—could never have the power of stopping them'	'since Eastern and Western ideas of morality differ like red and blue and that you . . . may appear to them as, and more immoral perhaps than they do to you'
'So more the pity for him'	'So more the pity for those'
&c.	&c.

It may seem strange that K. H. should be induced by a "philological whim," to spell "skepticism" with a *k* (*vide* p. 271), and yet make such mistakes in spelling and such remarkable divisions of words as I have instanced above. And throughout the K. H. documents in my hands, expressions abound which can hardly be termed *felicitates*,

though they are certainly *curiosæ*, and which appear to me to be eminently Blavatskian.

What the ethics of a real Mahatma would be we perhaps have no means of judging, but those of Madame Blavatsky's Mahatma certainly are, in some points, those which we should expect would commend themselves to a person engaged in producing fraudulent phenomena. There is evidence in one of the K. H. documents that K. H. actually endeavoured to incite the recipient to what I think every honourable Englishman would regard as a falsehood. The moral is tolerably obvious, and the reader will perhaps rather expect the advanced Chelas of "Mahatmas" to be, by virtue of that very position, untrustworthy individuals. That there are persons whose actions are marked by the highest integrity, and who have devoutly and sincerely believed themselves to be acting under the tutelage of a "Mahatma," I do not for a moment question; though there can be little doubt that there are also instances where Madame Blavatsky has endeavoured to persuade natives to pretend falsely that they were Chelas, and in some cases, as I think I have shown, has succeeded, but in other cases has failed. Mr. Hume has stated to me his conviction, founded on their own confessions, that certain natives had been instigated by Madame Blavatsky to fraudulent assertion of their Chelaship, and to the conveyance of "Mahatma" messages in the guise of Chelas; this would appear also from some of the documents forwarded to me by Mr. Hume; and, quite independently of this evidence, I was assured by an educated native with whom I had a personal interview, that Madame Blavatsky had used her powers—not only of persuasion, but of threatening—to induce him to further her objects, as explained to him, and to play the *rôle* of a dawning Adept. It is, in short, quite certain that there are natives who have charged Madame Blavatsky with inciting them to the fraudulent personation of Chelas of "Mahatmas," and she seems to have worked upon patriotic feeling for the purpose of securing their assistance.

I have now dealt with the main points of the evidence for the alleged marvellous phenomena in connection with the Theosophical Society which were directly associated with my investigations in India, and I regard the details which I have given as sufficient to warrant the conclusion which I expressed at the beginning of my Report, that these alleged marvellous phenomena have been fraudulent throughout. The force of the evidence leading to this conclusion will hardly be appreciated except by those who have followed the accounts given in the Appendices, and it certainly cannot be conveyed in a mere summary. Yet I think it well that the reader should be reminded of the most important considerations which have arisen in the course

of the inquiry, and I shall therefore suggest these once more—in as few words as possible. But, before doing so, there are one or two collateral questions which demand some brief reference.

At the time of our First Report, it appeared to us a serious difficulty in the way of adopting the hypothesis of fraud that we should have to suppose Mr. Damodar to have exchanged, within a comparatively short time, the character of a confiding dupe for that of a thorough-going conspirator. This difficulty was impressed upon us all the more strongly by the account of Mr. Damodar which we received from Colonel Olcott, who stated :—

"His father was a wealthy gentleman occupying a high position in the Government secretariat at Bombay; and the son, besides the paternal expectations, had, in his own right, about 50,000 or 60,000 rupees. The father at first gave his consent to the son's breaking caste—a most serious step in India—so as to take up our work. But subsequently, on his death-bed, his orthodox family influenced his mind, and he demanded that his son should revert to his caste, making the usual degrading penance required in such cases. Mr. Damodar, however, refused, saying that he was fully committed to the work, which he considered most important for his country and the world; and he ultimately relinquished his entire property, so that he might be absolutely free."

The impressiveness of this, however, was considerably reduced by further investigation, which revealed that Colonel Olcott's statement conveyed utterly erroneous ideas concerning the actual facts of the case. From evidence I obtained in Bombay from several witnesses, and from a series of documents which I was allowed to peruse by an uncle of Mr. Damodar, and which consisted partly of letters written by Mr. Damodar, it appeared that his father had been a member of the Theosophical Society, but that he had resigned all connection with it in consequence of the conclusion he had reached that the founders of the Society were untrustworthy. It was also in consequence of this conclusion that he so earnestly entreated his son (not to "revert to his caste," but) to give up his connection with Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, or at least to live no longer in the same house with them. It was, moreover, in consequence of the opinion which prevailed among some of Mr. Damodar's acquaintances in Bombay to the effect that Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott had sought to gain power over Mr. Damodar for the purpose of obtaining his money—that Mr. Damodar had expressed his desire to relinquish his property. And, according to the provisions of his father's will, he may yet receive the property on certain conditions, of which the primary one is the severance of his connection with the Theosophical Society. I must add that the correspondence to which I refer, which lasted over some months, afforded ample evidence that

Mr. Damodar's father had been painfully impressed by his want of truthfulness and honourable dealing.

At the time when Mr. Damodar desired to give up all claims to the property, he was, I think, not a confederate. When he first began to suspect fraud, I have no means of ascertaining; but as regards the transition from being a dupe to becoming himself a conspirator, there is this to be said.—There can be little doubt that patriotic feeling—which, I believe, has much more to do with the underworking of the Theosophical Society than the followers of Madame Blavatsky in England commonly imagine—was one of the strongest influences which attracted him to the Society, and which afterwards kept him an active worker in the movement. His bitter antipathy to the "conquering race" was sufficiently obvious in those letters of his which I had the opportunity of perusing. To this we must add the fact that he had espoused the Theosophical cause and the claims of Madame Blavatsky with a burning intensity of antagonism to those who alleged that these claims rested on a foundation of dishonesty. It was not easy to confess to the world that the flaming ardour which resisted the tender and wise advice of his father, and perhaps was fed by the importunate cautions and scoffings of his friends, was but the folly of an aspiring youth, who was not quite clever enough for Madame Blavatsky. And, after all, he might have the honour of posing as a Chela, with rapidly-developing powers, and receiving reverence and glory, not only from his native associates, but from Englishmen themselves. In the face of such considerations as these, the psychological revolution in which Mr. Damodar was transformed from a dupe, capable of deceiving his father, to an impostor in the supposed interests of his country, is perhaps not very difficult to understand. There is no necessity for me to give all the results of my inquiries concerning the personal characters and antecedents of those persons whom I regard as confederates of Madame Blavatsky. As Mr. Damodar is the only one of her followers who has deprived himself of any substantial property by his action in connection with the Theosophical Society, or who, in my opinion, can be said to have sacrificed his worldly prospects, I have thought it desirable to draw special attention to the circumstances under which the sacrifice was made.

After reviewing the instances I have given of the unreliability of Colonel Olcott's testimony, some readers may be inclined to think that Colonel Olcott must himself have taken an active and deliberate part in the fraud, and have been a partner with Madame Blavatsky in the conspiracy. Such, I must emphatically state, is not my own opinion, though I should be unwilling to affirm that Colonel Olcott may not, by carrying out supposed injunctions of his "Master," have improperly contributed, either by word or action, to the marvellousness of certain

phenomena. It is clear, for example, from documents in my possession, that the influence of "K. H." has been exerted unsuccessfully in the case of another gentleman, for the purpose of strengthening the evidence for an alleged "occult" phenomenon, and I can well understand that Colonel Olcott may have been induced by the solemn asseverations of his "Master" that certain events occurred, to remember incidents which never happened at all; and how much may have been exacted from his blind obedience it is impossible to determine. Further, his capacity for estimating evidence, which could never have been very great, was probably seriously injured before the outset of his Theosophical career by his faith in Madame Blavatsky, who herself regarded him as the chief of those "domestic imbeciles" and "familiar muffs" to whom she refers in her letters to Madame Coulomb; and writing about him from America to a Hindu in Bombay, she characterised him as a "psychologised baby," saying that the Yankees thought themselves very smart, and that Colonel Olcott thought he was particularly smart, even for a Yankee, but that he would have to get up much earlier in the morning to be as smart as she was. His candour was shown by his readiness in providing me with extracts from his own diary, and the freedom with which he allowed me to inspect important documents in his possession; and he rendered me every assistance in his power in the way of my acquiring the evidence of the native witnesses. Not only so, but observing, as I thought, that Mr. Damodar was unduly endeavouring to take part in my examination of a witness shortly after I arrived in India, he desired me not to hesitate in taking the witnesses apart for my private examination, and he made special arrangements for my convenience. Not unmindful of the opportunities afforded me for investigation by most of the Theosophists themselves, it is with all the more regret that I now find myself expressing conclusions which must give pain to so many of them. But Colonel Olcott himself would be among the first to admit that the interests of truth must not be stopped or stayed by any merely personal feelings, and although in a letter to Madame Coulomb, he implied that his mind could not "be unsettled by any trivial things"—such as, among others, the making of trap-doors and other apparatus for trick-manifestations by Madame Blavatsky—he wrote also :—

"I do *not* think it right or fair that you should continue to be a member of a Society which you thought flourishing by the aid of trickery and false representation. If I thought my Society *that* I would leave it, and wash my hands of it for ever."

This, however, is a course which probably Colonel Olcott's mind will never be "unsettled" enough to take, and he still apparently continues to believe in the genuineness of the alleged occult phenomena.

CONCLUSION.

I may now draw attention to the main points involved in the foregoing inquiry.

In the first place, a large number of letters produced by M. and Madame Coulomb, formerly Librarian and Assistant Corresponding Secretary respectively of the Theosophical Society, were, in the opinion of the best experts in handwriting, written by Madame Blavatsky. These letters, which extend over the years 1880-1883 inclusive, and some of which were published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for September, 1884, prove that Madame Blavatsky has been engaged in the production of a varied and long-continued series of fraudulent phenomena, in which she has been assisted by the Coulombs. The circumstantial evidence which I was able to obtain concerning the incidents referred to in these letters, corroborates the judgment of the experts in handwriting.

In the second place, apart altogether from either these letters or the statements of the Coulombs, who themselves allege that they were confederates of Madame Blavatsky, it appears from my own inquiries concerning the existence and the powers of the supposed *Adepts* or *Mahatmas*, and the marvellous phenomena alleged to have occurred in connection with the Theosophical Society,

1. That the primary witnesses to the existence of a Brotherhood with occult powers,—viz., Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, Mr. Bhavani Shankar, and Mr. Babajee D. Nath,— have in other matters deliberately made statements which they must have known to be false, and that therefore their assertions cannot establish the existence of the Brotherhood in question.
2. That the comparison of handwritings further tends to show that Koot Hoomi Lal Sing and Mahatma Morya are fictitious personages, and that most of the documents purporting to have emanated from these "personages," and especially from "K. H." (Koot Hoomi Lal Sing), are in the disguised handwriting of Madame Blavatsky herself, who originated the style of the K. H. handwriting; and that some of the K. H. writing is the handiwork of Mr. Damodar in imitation of the writing developed by Madame Blavatsky.
3. That in no single phenomenon which came within the scope of my investigation in India, was the evidence such as would entitle it to be regarded as genuine, the witnesses for the most part being exceedingly inaccurate in observation or memory, and having neglected to exercise due care for the exclusion of fraud; while in the case of some of the witnesses there has been much conscious exaggeration and culpable misstatement

4. That not only was the evidence insufficient to establish the genuineness of the alleged marvels, but that evidence furnished partly by my own inspection, and partly by a large number of witnesses, most of them Theosophists, concerning the structure, position, and environment of the Shrine, concerning "Mahatma" communications received independently of the Shrine, and concerning various other incidents, including many of the phenomena mentioned in "The Occult World," besides the numerous additional suspicious circumstances which I have noted in the course of dealing in detail with the cases considered, renders the conclusion unavoidable that the phenomena in question were actually due to fraudulent arrangement.

The question which will now inevitably arise is—what has induced Madame Blavatsky to live so many laborious days in such a fantastic work of imposture? And although I conceive that my instructions did not require me to make this particular question a province of my investigation, and to explore the hidden motives of Madame Blavatsky, I should consider this Report to be incomplete unless I suggest what I myself believe to be an adequate explanation of her ten years' toil on behalf of the Theosophical Society. It may be supposed by some who are unfamiliar with her deficiencies and capacities that the Theosophical Society is but the aloe-blossom of a woman's monomania, and that the strange, wild, passionate, unconventional Madame Blavatsky has been "finding her epos" in the establishment of some incipient world-religion. But a closer knowledge of her character would show such a supposition to be quite untenable; not to speak of the positive qualities which she habitually manifested, there are certain varieties of personal sacrifice and religious aspiration, the absence of which from Madame Blavatsky's conduct would alone suffice to remove her ineffably far from the St. Theresa type.

As Madame Blavatsky *in propria personâ*, she can urge her followers to fraudulent impersonations; under the cloak of Koot Hoomi she can incite "her" Chelas to dishonourable statements; and as an accomplished forger of other people's handwriting, she can strive to save herself by blackening the reputation of her enemies. She is, indeed, a rare psychological study, almost as rare as a "Mahatma"; she was terrible exceedingly when she expressed her overpowering thought that perhaps her "twenty years'" work might be spoiled through Madame Coulomb; and she developed a unique resentment for the "spiritualistic mediums," whose trickeries, she said, she "could so easily expose," but who continued to draw their disciples, while her own more guarded and elaborate scheme was in danger of being turned inside out. Yet I must confess that the problem of her motives,

when I found myself being forced to the conclusion that her claims and her phenomena were fraudulent, caused me no little perplexity.

It appeared to me that, even should the assertions of Theosophists that their Society has been partly dependent upon the gifts of Madame Blavatsky prove to be the reverse of truth, the sordid motive of pecuniary gain would be a solution of the problem still less satisfactory than the hypothesis of religious mania. More might be said in support of the supposition that a morbid yearning for notoriety was the dominant emotion which has stimulated and sustained her energetic efforts in the singular channel which they have so long pursued. But even this hypothesis I was unable to adopt, and reconcile with my understanding of her character.

At last a casual conversation opened my eyes. I had taken no interest in Central Asian perplexities, was entirely unaware of the alleged capacities of Russian intrigue, and had put aside as unworthy of consideration the idea—which for some time had currency in India—that the objects of the Theosophical Society were political, and that Madame Blavatsky was a "Russian spy." But a conversation with Madame Blavatsky, which arose out of her sudden and curious excitement at the news of the recent Russian movement upon the Afghan frontier, compelled me to ask myself seriously whether it was not possible that the task which she had set herself to perform in India was to foster and foment as widely as possible among the natives a disaffection towards British rule.* Madame Blavatsky's momentary emotional betrayal of her sympathies in the onset of her excitement was not rendered less significant by the too strongly-impressed "afterstroke" of a quite uncalled-for vituperation of the Russians, who, she said, "would be the death-blow of the Society if they got into India." That she was ever seven years in Thibet there is much reason for disbelieving. In a letter she wrote to a Hindu from America, she professed no more than that she had acquired some occult knowledge from some wandering Siberian *Shamans*, which, being interpreted, probably means, if her statement has any foundation of truth at all, that she learnt their conjuring performances. According to her own account, in one of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters, it appears that before her acquaintance with Madame Coulomb at Cairo, in 1872, she had been filling a page which she wishes

* There is a special rule in the Society providing for secret membership. Madame Blavatsky's influence is felt, moreover, far beyond the limits of the Society. When she returned to India, at the end of last year, an address of sympathy was presented to her by a large body of native students of Madras, of whom, apparently, only two or three were Theosophists.

to be "torn out of the book" * of her life. This part of her history does not at present concern us, except that it proves the story of her Thibetan experiences to be fabulous. But the letter also refers to her sojourn at Cairo and her later adventures, and it appears that she and a certain Madame Sebire had established a Society in Cairo, which was evidently "spiritualistic," and which failed; that shortly after parting with Madame Coulomb in Cairo, she went to Odessa, taking Madame Sebire, who dragged her into an enterprise of "making some extraordinary inks," which proved a losing speculation; that from Odessa she proceeded to India, where "she remained over eight months, and then returning by Odessa to Europe, went to Paris, and thence proceeded to America," where the Theosophical Society was established. The same letter contains the following explanation to Madame Coulomb, clearly in order that the latter might understand that the new Society was on a different basis from that which Madame Blavatsky had countenanced, in 1872, in Egypt.

"We believe in nothing *supernatural*, and discard every *miracle*—those of the Jewish Bible especially. But we are believers in and students of phenomena, though we do not attribute every manifestation to 'spirits' of disembodied people solely, for we have found out that the *spirit of the living man* was far more powerful than the spirit of a dead person. We have quite a number of members *theosophists* in Ceylon among the Buddhist priests and others.

"How far this agrees with your present ideas I do not know. But I hope you will answer me frankly, dear Mrs. Coulomb, and say what you think of it. And thus we may be able to elucidate more than one mystery before we meet each other again."

It seems, then, that Madame Blavatsky, a Russian lady, the daughter of Colonel Hahn (of the Russian Horse Artillery), and *quondam* widow of General Blavatsky (Governor during the Crimean War, and for many years, of Erivan in Armenia), assisted in starting a spiritualistic Society in Egypt, which failed; that she afterwards spent eight months in India, and then proceeded to America for what

*That this life-page was partly known to Madame Coulomb, and that Madame Blavatsky feared her in consequence, is borne out by the fact that, in a dispute which arose, in 1880, while Madame Blavatsky was at Ceylon, between Madame Coulomb and another member of the Society at its headquarters, then in Bombay, Madame Coulomb boasted of her power. Her boast was apparently justified upon Madame Blavatsky's return. Madame Coulomb was supported by Madame Blavatsky, and therefore also by Colonel Olcott, and the dispute resulted in the withdrawal from the Society of some of the most influential members at Bombay, who regarded the action taken in the matter by the founders as wanting in straightforwardness. I have had personal interviews with some of these ex-members, who consider that the recent exposures of the Coulombs have thrown much light on the formerly mysterious behaviour of Madame Blavatsky and Madame Coulomb in connection with the Bombay episode.

would appear to have been the express purpose of becoming an American citizen, "for the sake of greater protection that the citizenship of this free country affords." The fact, moreover, that she was an American citizen was urged on her behalf when, upon her arrival in India, she was for some time subjected to the surveillance of the Indian Government as being possibly a Russian agent. She apparently made the mistake in the first instance, of adopting "an attitude of obtrusive sympathy with the natives of the soil as compared with the Europeans," as Mr. Sinnett tells us ("The Occult World," p. 25); but she soon remedied this error by obtaining the public adhesion to her following of such men as Mr. A. O Hume (see p. 273) and Mr. Sinnett. And without attempting to show in detail how strongly the patriotic feeling of the natives has been enlisted in connection with the Theosophical Society, or how well the procedure of Madame Blavatsky may be shown to comport with the view that her ultimate object has been the furtherance of Russian interests, I may quote several passages which, I think, suggest meanings which Madame Blavatsky would hardly dare to blazon on the banner of the Theosophical Society. Thus Colonel Olcott wrote, and apparently italicised the sentence, in a letter from New York to a Hindu, in 1878 :—

"*While we have no political designs, you will need no hint to understand that our sympathies are with all those who are deprived of the right of governing their own lands for themselves. I need say no more.*"

Madame Blavatsky wrote to the same person :—

"Is our friend a Sikh? If so, the fact that he should be, as you say, 'very much pleased to learn the object of our Society' is not at all strange. For his ancestors have for centuries been—until their efforts were paralysed by British domination, that curse of every land it fastens itself upon—battling for the divine truths against external theologies. My question may appear a foolish one—yet I have more than one reason for asking it. You call him a Sirdar—therefore he must be a descendant of one of the Sirdars of the twelve mizals, which were abolished by the English to suit their convenience—since he is of Amritsir in the Punjàb? Are you personally acquainted with any descendant of Runjeet Singh, who died in 1839, or do you know of any who are? You will understand, without any explanation from me, how important it is for us, to establish relations with some Sikhs, whose ancestors before them have been for centuries teaching the great 'Brotherhood of Humanity'—precisely the doctrine we teach. * * *

"As for the future 'Fellows' of our Indian Branch, have your eyes upon the chance of fishing out of the great ocean of Hindu hatred for Christian missionaries some of those big fish you call Rajahs, and whales known as Maharajahs. Could you not hook out for your Bombay Branch either Gwalior (Scindia) or the Holkar of Indore—those most faithful and loyal friends of the British (?). The young Gwikovar is unfortunately scarcely weaned as yet, and therefore not eligible for fellowship."

The note of interrogation after the word "British" is Madame Blavatsky's. The above passages are from documents which came into my hands quite independently of the Coulombs. Indeed, I am not aware that the Coulombs even know of their existence. The following passage is from a fragmentary script which forms one of the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents; on one side of the paper are written a few broken lines in Russian, the full significance of which is dubious without their context, and on the other side are written these words:—

military men, more than any other, must remember that the approaching act of the Eastern drama is to be the last and the decisive one. That it will require all our efforts, every sacrifice on our part, and requires far more careful preparations in every direction than did the last war. They must remember, that to sit idle now, when every one has to be busily preparing, is the highest of crimes, a treason to * their country and their Czar."

"He who hath ears let him.

(A facsimile of the manuscript of this passage is given in Plate I.) While I was in India Madame Blavatsky obtained a partial knowledge of the substance of this document (which I had no permission at the time either to show to her or to publish), and she said that it was probably a portion of a translation which she had made from a Russian work, and was not her original composition. Be this as it may, I cannot profess myself, after my personal experiences of Madame Blavatsky, to feel much doubt that her real object has been the furtherance of Russian interests. But although I have felt bound to refer to my own view on this point, I suggest it here only as a supposition which appears best to cover the known incidents of her career during the past 13 or 14 years. That she is a remarkably able woman will scarcely be questioned by any save those of her followers whose very infatuation of belief in her "occult relations" is perhaps the most conspicuous proof of that ability which they deny; and it would be no venturesome prognostication to say that, in spite of recent exposures, she will still retain a goodly gathering of disciples on whom she may continue to inculcate the ethics of a profound obedience to the behests of imaginary Mahatmas. The resources of Madame Blavatsky are great; and by the means of forged letters, fraudulent statements of *Chelas*, and other false evidence, together with the hypothesis of Black Magicians, she may yet do much in the future for the benefit of human credulity. But acting in accordance with the principles upon which our Society has proceeded, I must express my unqualified opinion that no genuine psychical phenomena whatever will be found among the pseudo-mysteries of the Russian lady *alias* Koot Hoomi Lal Sing *alias* Mahatma Morya *alias* Madame Blavatsky.

* The letters "Ru" crossed out in this place may be observed in the facsimile in Plate I.

APPENDIX I.

THE SASSOON TELEGRAM (vide p. 217), &c.

Some of the details which follow, and which serve to explain the extract quoted on p. 211, I have learnt from the oral statements of Messrs. A. D. and M. D. Ezekiel, and the written statements of Mr. Khandalvala shown to me by Dr. Hartmann.

Madame Blavatsky, on her way from Bombay to Madras, in October, 1883, stayed at Poona several days at the house of Mr. N. D. Khandalvala, a member of the Theosophical Society. On October 23rd she dined at the house of Mr. Jacob Sassoon, who was desirous of seeing some "phenomenon." Madame Blavatsky despatched the letter from which the extract is taken, to Madame Coulomb on the morning of the 24th. While driving with Mr. A. D. Ezekiel on the afternoon of the 24th, she expressed her desire to call upon Mr. Sassoon. Probably she intended, when she wrote to Madame Coulomb, to arrange for a conversation with Mr. Sassoon on the afternoon of the 26th, when the subject of the telegram would be mentioned—only, of course, after much entreaty by Mr. Sassoon for some phenomenon; but, finding that Mr. Sassoon purposed leaving Poona on the 25th, she was compelled, if she was to impress him at all, to take the needful action earlier than she had anticipated. On this afternoon, then, of the 24th, after refusing to show Mr. Sassoon any phenomena, she professed, by some "occult" mental process, to get the opinion of Ramalinga's Master; but, having imperfectly heard his answer, she wished mentally, as she said, that Ramalinga should communicate to her the words in writing, that she might satisfy herself that she had heard aright. She wrote down at the time the words she expected to receive, and said that Ramalinga would send a telegram to her at once, or that she might not receive it till after a day or two. The telegram did not arrive till the 26th. Madame Blavatsky's explanation of the delay is that Ramalinga sent on the words late to Mr. Babajee D. Nath, who copied them and gave them to Madame Coulomb to be sent by telegram. This explanation was given to me by Madame Blavatsky, and appears also in the letter professedly written by her on October 26th to Colonel Olcott. Madame Blavatsky was too shrewd openly to lay stress upon the telegram, but I have no doubt, after conversations with Messrs. A. D. and M. D. Ezekiel, who were present at Mr. Sassoon's on the 24th, and at Madame Blavatsky's receipt of the telegram on the 26th, that she wished the occurrence to be regarded as "phenomenal," notwithstanding Mr. A. D. Ezekiel's statement to the contrary in his letter to the *Times of India*.

It may be pointed out in passing that Mr. Babajee D. Nath lends his sanction to Madame Blavatsky's explanation, and thus, the

Blavatsky-Coulomb letters being genuine, implicates himself in the fraud.

The statement made by Madame Blavatsky when the September number of the *Christian College Magazine* appeared in Europe is as follows :—

> The third letter, supposed to be written from Poona, is an entire fabrication. I remember the letter I wrote to her from Poona. It asked her to send me immediately the telegram contained in a note from Ramalinga if he brought or sent her one. I wrote to Colonel Olcott about the experiment. He thinks he can find my letter at Madras. I hope to either get back Ramalinga's note to me or obtain a statement of the whole matter from him. How could I make a mistake in writing, however hurriedly, about the name of one of my best friends ? The forgers make me address him—"care of H. Khandalawalla"—when there is no such man. The real name is N. D. Khandalawalla.

Now, in the first place, the H originally printed in the *Christian College Magazine* was a misprint or a miscopy for the N in the original document.

As for the letter supposed to have been written to Colonel Olcott, it proves nothing, even were it written at the time it professes to have been written, viz., October 26th, 1883. Colonel Olcott alleges that he found this letter among his papers at Madras on his return thither at the end of last year, though he was unable to tell me how, when, or where he had originally received it. I was afterwards informed by Mr. Damodar that Madame Blavatsky had sent it through him to Colonel Olcott, whom he was accompanying on his tour in 1883. My opinion is that this letter, which was shown to me, is *ex post facto*, and was not written earlier than towards the end of last year. There are two statements in the letter which appear to me to point to its having been written at the later date. One of these is Madame Blavatsky's expression of her deep distrust of the Coulombs ; the other is the following :—Madame Blavatsky, after writing that Ramalinga objected to give the words to Madame Coulomb, and gave them to Babajee, who gave them to Madame Coulomb to be sent as a telegram, continues : "I received the telegram to-day, but as it said, 'Master has *just* heard your conversation'—when it was not 'just now' but yesterday that the conversation took place—it was a *glorious failure !*" Now the letter is dated October 26th, therefore "yesterday" would be October 25th. But the conversation took place on October 24th. If the letter was written a year after the events, the mistake is intelligible enough. It was probably concocted after the appearance of the *Christian College Magazine* in Europe, and then—if we are to regard Colonel Olcott as a dupe in the matter—sent to Mr. Damodar for insertion among Colonel Olcott's papers.

I have also seen the letter alleged to have been written by Ramalinga at the time, and it appeared to me to be written, in part at least, in the disguised hand of Madame Blavatsky. It is curious, too, that in this letter Ramalinga is represented as expressing a great dread of Madame Coulomb; and I may say here that my inquiries have not enabled me to discover that Mr. Ramalinga Deb's existence has ever been other than imaginary.

But a more serious flaw in the attempted explanation by Madame Blavatsky yet remains. Messrs. Khandalvala and Ezekiel maintain that Madame Blavatsky could not have written to Madame Coulomb on the 24th *after* the conversation took place at Mr. Sassoon's in time for her letter to reach Madame Coulomb on the 26th. She declares in her statement that she asked Madame Coulomb to send her "immediately the telegram contained in a note from Ramalinga if he brought or sent her one," and from her supposed letter to Colonel Olcott it appears that this expected telegram related to the Sassoon conversation. Hence this alleged request must have been made *before* the aforesaid conversation occurred; and it is apparently not denied by Madame Blavatsky that she did write to Madame Coulomb on the *morning* of the 24th. On Madame Blavatsky's own showing, therefore—if Messrs. Ezekiel and Khandalvala are right concerning the time of the conversation and the subsequent events which prevented her afterwards writing a letter—a specific pre-arrangement must have been made by her for a conversation, the whole point of which was that its subject should have arisen *extempore*.

I may here notice some of Madame Blavatsky's allegations concerning other extracts which I have quoted. These allegations, among others, were published in a pamphlet issued in 1884, by the Council of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society. Against extract (6), p. 213, she said: "There is no 'Maharajah of Lahore,' hence I could not have spoken of such a person, nor have been attempting mock phenomena for his deception." I do not suppose that any one who is familiar with Madame Blavatsky would maintain that she could not have written *les Maharajah de Lahore ou de Benares* simply because there was no Maharajah of Lahore but only of Benares.

Concerning extract (7), p. 213, Madame Blavatsky said: "All depends upon knowing who is 'Christopholo'—a little ridiculous figure in rags, about three inches high; she wrote to say it had accidentally been destroyed. She joked over it, and I too." In reference to another extract (14)—where "Christofolo" occurred, she said: "'Christopholo' was a name by which she [Madame Coulomb] called an absurd little figure, or image of hers. She gave nicknames to everything." And in *B. Replies* she wrote *à propos* of extract (7) (which occurs at the end of a letter about her intended movements for the next few months, and other practical matters), "I deny having written any such thing on that same letter. I remember her telling me in a

letter her magic Christopholo had melted in the sun, and I may have answered her something to that effect. But that after the serious letter that precedes I should write such *bosh* is impossible, not *in my style* at all."

Concerning extract (13), p. 215, she wrote : "I could never, in writing to her who saw the man every day, use all his names and titles. I should simply have said, 'Dewan Bahadur,' without adding 'Rajanath Rao, the President of the Society,' as if introducing to her one she did not know. The whole name is evidently put in now to make it clear who is meant." Now I think it is probably true that Madame Blavatsky would not usually write the full name and titles of Mr. Ragoonath Rao, and I account for her having written them in the present case by supposing that she had just written them in the K. H. hand on the envelope of the Mahatma document she had prepared, and that they were consequently running in her mind.

APPENDIX II.

THE ADYAR SAUCER (see p. 218).

The subjoined account is that of Major-General Morgan himself,* who thinks it sufficiently proves that Madame Blavatsky could not have written letter No. 4 (p. 212)! It should be compared with his earlier account, quoted on p. 218.

In the month of August, 1883, I was obliged to go to Madras on business entirely unconnected with Adyar affairs. Madame Blavatsky was then staying in my house, and urged me to stay at the Adyar during my visit to Madras. This I declined, as the place was too far from my business. She then advised me to see the picture of the Mahatma in the Shrine, as it was a very peculiar work. I replied that I should make a point of going to see the picture, but the day was not mentioned. Two or three days after my arrival at Madras I went to visit the headquarters, and found that the woman Coulomb was out, and was requested by Damodar to await her return. She came in about one hour, having been out shopping in Madras. On my mentioning the purpose for which I had come, she took me upstairs, and, instead of going through Madame Blavatsky's room, we went round outside to the Occult Room, as she stated that the rooms of Madame were locked and the doors blocked up with furniture. On entering the room she hurriedly approached the Shrine or cupboard, and quickly opened the double doors ; as she did so, a china saucer, which appeared to have been placed leaning against the door, fell down on the chunam floor, and was broken to pieces. On this she exhibited great consternation, exclaiming that it was a much cherished article of Madame's, and she did not know what she should do. She and her husband, who had come with us, picked up the pieces. She then tied them up in a cloth and replaced them in the Shrine, *in* the silver bowl, not behind it, the doors were shut, and Damodar took up his position on a chair right in front of the Shrine and only a few feet distant from it ; he sat

* See Reply by H. R. Morgan, Major-General, Madras Army (retired), to a Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence, by J. D. B. Gribble, M.C.S. (retired).

intently regarding the Shrine and in a listening attitude. I was not then aware, as I am now, of the fact that the astral electric current causes a sound exactly like that of the ordinary telegraph to be distinctly heard in the Shrine ; unaware of this, I resumed conversation with the Coulombs regarding the accident, when I remarked that it would be well if he got some mastic or glue and tried to put the pieces together. On my saying this he started to get some, which he said he had in his bungalow, situated about 100 yards from the house, and I, turning to his wife, remarked, "If the matter is of sufficient importance the Mahatmas could cause its repair, if not you must do the best you can." Hardly had I uttered this,* when Damodar said, "There is a message," and he immediately opened the door of the Shrine and took down the silver bowl (in which the letters are generally found), and sure enough there was a note, which on opening contained the following lines :—

"To the small audience present as witnesses. Now Madame Coulomb has occasion to assure herself that the devil is neither as black nor as wicked as he is generally represented. The mischief is easily repaired.—K.H." We then opened the cloth containing the broken saucer, found it intact and whole ! *Three*† minutes had not elapsed since I had suggested the glue should be procured ! and shortly after Coulomb returned with the glue in his hand. If he could have gone all round the upper rooms, got behind the Shrine, removed the broken saucer, tied up the parcel, having placed a whole one in its stead, and written the note regarding the repair of the saucer (my remark about which he had not heard), then I say his feat rivalled that of the Masters ! When I spoke to the woman about the wonderful manner in which the saucer had been restored, she replied, "It must be the work of the devil." Here is her note on the subject, written to Madame Blavatsky, then in Ootacamund. The *printer's* devil has left out a whole line in the letter, which makes nonsense of it, both in Dr. Hartmann's pamphlet and in the copies I have seen (taken from this) elsewhere. Below I give a correct copy.

ADYAR, 13*th August*, 1883.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I verily believe I shall go silly if I stay with you. Now let me tell you what has happened. On my arrival home I found General Morgan sitting in that beautiful office of ours, talking with Damodar and M. Coulomb. After exchanging a few words, I asked whether he would wish to see the "Shrine," and on his answering in the affirmative we went upstairs, passing on the outside, on account of the furniture of your sitting-room being heaped up to block the doors and prevent thieves breaking in.

* In the earlier account General Morgan says: "Five minutes had scarcely elapsed after this remark." This *five minutes* exhibits here a decided tendency to approximate to nothing.—R.H.

† According to the earlier account this interval was considerably longer, being *five* minutes, *together with* an uncertain interval spent partly in conversation, partly in reading the note, &c. But more surprising still than the inconsistencies between General Morgan's two accounts, is the opinion which he apparently holds, that if the phenomenon was fraudulent M. Coulomb himself must have written the Koot Hoomi note,—and must have written it, moreover, in the very interval which has thus dwindled !—R.H.

The General found the portraits admirable, but I wish I had never gone up, because, on my opening the "Shrine," I, Madame Coulomb, who never cares either to see or to have anything to do in these matters, as you well know, must needs go and open the Shrine, and see before her eyes, and through her fingers pass, the pretty saucer you so much cared for.

It fell down and broke in 20 pieces. Damodar looked at me as much as to say, "Well, you are a fine guardian." I, trying to conceal my sorrow on account of General Morgan's presence, took up the *débris* of the cup, and put them in a piece of cloth which I tied up, and placed it behind the silver bowl. On second consideration I thought I had better take it down, *lest some one should throw it down again and reduce it into powder this time.* So I asked Damodar to reach it for me, and to our unutterable surprise the cup was as perfect as though it had never been broken, and more, there was the enclosed note :—

[Then follows the note already quoted from the Master], to which the General added the few lines and signed as an eye-witness.

Now make what you like of this. I say you have dealings with *old Nick.*

Yours ever affectionately,

E. Coulomb.*

There is a discrepancy between my account and that contained in the above letter, as to why the doors of the Shrine were opened the second time; this was done by Damodar of himself and not by the Coulombs' desire. I may here observe that on this occasion everything done by the Coulombs was done mechanically, as if impelled to do certain things, and as directed by me. For instance it was on *my* suggestion Coulomb went for the glue. I remarked that the Masters could repair the saucer if they chose, and it was Damodar who said "there was a message," and opened the Shrine accordingly.

The man Coulomb's assertion, that the saucer was put in at the back of the Shrine: I have shown, that to do this, in the short time allowed him, was simply impossible; numbers have testified to the fact that the back of the Shrine has never been tampered with. In the letter under discussion, I am said to expect a phenomenon "because I told" Madame Blavatsky so. I never did so—I really went to see the picture of the Mahatma. Madame Blavatsky knew perfectly well that I was intimately acquainted with Spiritualism, and knew all about phenomena and had no childish curiosity on that head, therefore she was very unlikely to have thought I wanted one.

APPENDIX III.

COLONEL OLCOTT'S FLOWER VASES.

A window which had originally been in the north wall of the Occult Room was transformed into a cupboard with a secret double back (see Plan, No. 8),

* It is easy to read between the lines of Madame Coulomb's letter, even without her statement that Madame Blavatsky told her to be prudent in what she wrote.—R.H.

allowing objects to be placed within from the adjoining outside passage. This double back was one of the "trap doors" discovered at the time of the expulsion of the Coulombs. Colonel Olcott informed me that one day in 1883, when he was in the Occult Room with Madame Blavatsky, a vase appeared in this cupboard—empty just before—as a gift to Colonel Olcott from one of the Mahatmas. Colonel Olcott apparently wished to duplicate this vase if possible, and made mesmeric passes before the closed door of the cupboard. On re-opening the cupboard a second vase was there, the facsimile of the first.

Madame Coulomb declared that she bought these vases at a shop in Madras, and that they were placed in the cupboard through the double back from outside the Occult Room. The shop where the vases had actually been obtained was, she said, Hassam's, though they were purchased through M. Faciole and Co., Popham's Broadway, Madras. I saw M. Faciole, who remembered accompanying Madame Coulomb to Hassam and Co.; and he Chinese manager at Hassam's, whom I also saw, showed me a pair of vases somewhat similar, as he alleged, to the two pairs purchased by Madame Coulomb. I afterwards requested Colonel Olcott to show me the vases, when he found to his surprise that they were not in his bungalow, and he was unable to tell me when they had disappeared. He sent a few words of inquiry concerning them to Madame Blavatsky, to the main bungalow, about 40 yards distant, and in the meantime gave me a description, which, as far as it went, in shape, height, and style of ornamentation, exactly tallied with the description of the vases Madame Coulomb had purchased at Hassam's.

Madame Blavatsky herself then joined us, and after stormily denying that she had taken the vases, alleged that, after Colonel Olcott had received them from the Mahatma, Madame Coulomb had tried to obtain vases like them, but had failed; that Madame Coulomb had purchased *one pair* of vases *afterwards*, and that these differed in shape, &c., from those received by Colonel Olcott. Madame Blavatsky then proceeded to sketch roughly the vases Colonel Olcott had received, and the sketch differed greatly from the description Colonel Olcott had just given. Moreover, the pair of vases which Madame Blavatsky said had been brought to her by Madame Coulomb had also disappeared as mysteriously as Colonel Olcott's. The only mention of the vases I could find in the books at Hassam's occurred in connection with their payment by M. Faciole and Co., shortly after the date on which Colonel Olcott received them.

Under the date of May 25th (1883) occurs the following entry in the day-book of M. Faciole and Co.:—

			(Rupees.)
"1 Pair Flower Vase	...	...	7
1 Pair ,, ,,	...	...	6."

These items appear in the account to Madame Coulomb, but have been struck out. Madame Coulomb's explanation of this is that she wished them not to appear in the bill rendered to headquarters, and she therefore paid cash for them.

Another entry, under date May 25th, occurs in the receipt-book of M. Faciole and Co. :—

"Received from Assam and Co.—

	(Rupees.)	
1 Pair Chapan Flower Vase	7	Sent to Mrs. E. Coulomb."
1 Pair ,, ,, ,,	6	

Madame Coulomb therefore purchased the vases on May 25th ; Colonel Olcott received them on May 26th.

Extract from Colonel Olcott's Diary.

"May 26th. Fine phenomenon. Got pair of tortoiseshell and lacquer vases with flowers in a cabinet a moment before empty."

APPENDIX IV.

STATEMENTS OF WITNESSES CONCERNING THE SHRINE AND ENVIRONMENT.

This Appendix contains the most important evidence which I received concerning the Shrine and its environment. The accounts of "examinations" of the Shrine fairly represent much of the "evidential" material which I gathered from Theosophists in India concerning "occult phenomena" generally. It would be superfluous to print the whole of this material, but such accounts as those of Messrs. Rathnavelu, Rajamiengar, and Unwala, given in this Appendix, may be regarded as typical.

Some of the following statements consist of extracts from replies by Theosophists to a circular inquiry (*vide* p. 223) issued in August, 1884, by Dr. Hartmann, as Chairman of the Board of Control of the Theosophical Society. Others were made in reply to my questions and taken down by me at the time in writing ; and in giving these here I have omitted various details, which chiefly regard certain estimated measurements of size, distance, &c., as unnecessarily burdensome to the reader.

Comments of my own are in some cases added in further elucidation of the statements of the witnesses ; but there are many instances of inconsistency displayed in the Theosophic evidence which may well be left to the reader's own discernment.

Mrs. Morgan.

In reply to my questions :—When Mrs. Morgan arrived at Adyar early in November, 1883, the wooden door in the room adjoining the Occult Room, which had blocked that portion of the wall immediately opposite the Shrine, had been removed, and a bricked frame was being substituted. This was completely plastered over, so that the whole wall of Madame Blavatsky's bedroom was bare and visible, and there was no aperture of any kind. This smooth wall was then papered in the presence of Mrs. Morgan, the papering being completed about the 15th of December.

Mrs. Morgan did not see the door which had previously occupied part of the space of the wall. This door had been removed in consequence of a

doubt expressed by Mr. G. Mr. G. had placed a sealed letter in the Shrine. The letter disappeared. It was afterwards returned to him with the seal apparently unbroken, and it contained the handwriting of a Mahatma in reply to his letter. Mr. G. was not completely satisfied that the letter might not have been taken out from the back of the Shrine and the letter opened without destroying the seal. Madame Blavatsky hearing of this, wished all doubts to be removed, and hence ordered the wall to be blocked up and covered with chunam.

After this work was completed it was suggested by M. Coulomb that a shelf and sideboard should be made for the room adjoining the Occult Room as a resting place for the dishes which might be passed through the upper part of a closed door issuing from this adjoining room to the terrace. This proposal was made to save the servants' passing through the drawing-room with the dishes, as this adjoining room was at that time used by Madame Blavatsky as her dining-room. This suggestion was welcomed by Madame Blavatsky, who ordered M. Coulomb to make the sideboard "*at once—at once.*" This sideboard was made and placed against the wall opposite to the Shrine. Whether it contained drawers or was opened by a door Mrs. Morgan is unable to recollect. This sideboard remained in that place during the time of the anniversary. It was about three feet high. A plain, single shelf was also made and placed so that dishes could be easily put upon it by the servants through the upper part of the door issuing upon the terrace.

* * * * * * * * *

The Shrine was not removed at any time in the presence of Mrs. Morgan.

Mrs. Morgan thinks that a cupboard or wardrobe which was being made by M. Coulomb for the new rooms might have been adapted for purposes of trickery, and that M. Coulomb's first intention was to prepare trick-panels and cupboards in the new rooms, with the object of throwing discredit on the phenomena, but that he afterwards thought it better to make these trick-panels, &c., appear in the old rooms, where phenomena had already taken place.

She noticed how careful M. Coulomb was in bevelling and trimming the planks, and thought at the time he was a remarkably skilful workman.

She left Adyar on December 31st.

Mr. Subba Row (Vakil of the High Court of Madras), in presence of Mr. Damodar.

In reply to my questions:—The Shrine was placed in the Occult Room, in March, 1883.

* * * * * * * * *

Neither Mr. Subba Row nor Mr. Damodar had ever seen the Shrine removed.

* * * * * * * * *

Mr. G. had received a reply to a letter which he had placed in the Shrine, and had afterwards expressed his suspicion that his letter might have been taken out from the shrine at the back and through a panelled door which was on the east side of the wall, and immediately behind the Shrine. Madame hearing of this, caused this panelled door to be removed, and a wooden

bricked frame inserted which was filled with a layer of bricks, and then covered with chunam, so that a bare wall without aperture was formed. This wall was then papered over, and the work was completed about a fortnight before the anniversary, December 27th, of 1883.

A sideboard was made and placed against that part of the wall where the bricked frame had been inserted.

* * * * * * * * *

This sideboard was placed against the wall before the anniversary, and remained there during the anniversary. It was the same sideboard in which M. Coulomb afterwards exhibited the movable back. Mr. Subba Row had never seen the inside of the sideboard before M. Coulomb opened it at the time of the "Exposure."

The panelled door was composed of four pieces of teak wood together with cross-pieces, and resembled the door now fixed in the side of Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room, but he cannot say certainly whether it is the same door or not.

[Mr. Damodar wished to demur to Mr. Subba Row's statement that the sideboard was against the wall before the anniversary. He did not venture to assert so himself, but said that Mr. C. Soubbiah Chetty (whose evidence Mr. Damodar had been very anxious for me to obtain) declared it was not there during the anniversary. Mr. Subba Row nevertheless was perfectly confident on the subject, nor did Mr. Damodar venture any further to dispute Mr. Subba Row's statements. But see Mr. Damodar's evidence, *infra*.]

Mr. St. George Lane-Fox.

In reply to my questions:—Mr. Lane-Fox examined the Shrine carefully at the time of the "Exposure." The Shrine was close to the wall, and muslin and other stuff between the Shrine and the wall.

Mr. Lane-Fox desired my special attention to the fact that an excessive superstition was attached to the Shrine by the natives. The feeling with which they regarded it would absolutely interfere with any careful investigation of either the Shrine or its surroundings. On the occasion of the "Exposure," Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao and others urged strong remonstrances against his proposal to remove the Shrine and examine the wall, and "disturb the sacred things." He insisted, however, upon doing so. He endeavoured to look behind the Shrine, but could see nothing. M. Coulomb had said there had been formerly a hole in the wall just behind the Shrine, and that the "saucer" phenomenon was thus accounted for. Mr. Lane-Fox, therefore, had the Shrine lifted up and he pulled the muslin away, and then some other fabric or "stuff" which was close to the wall. This other stuff [which the tailor who prepared the hangings of the Occult Room asserts to have been white glazed calico tacked to the wall] was joined, not sewn, so that the joining ran down the wall opposite the middle of the Shrine. He examined the wall, which was whitewashed, very carefully, and could find not the smallest trace of the previous existence of a hole.

The hole in the east side of the wall, behind the sideboard, had apparently been made after the sideboard was placed there, and could not be seen at all from outside when the sideboard was closed.

Mr. P. Sreenevas Rao (Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Madras).

August 31*st*, 1884.

From his reply to the circular inquiry :—The Shrine is a rosewood cabinet, in which are placed the portraits of the two Revered Mahatmas under whose auspices the Theosophical Society is founded, besides certain other articles which are considered sacred. This cabinet is lodged about three feet from the floor at one end of a room—called the Occult Room—on the upper storey of the main building of the headquarters of the Society, and was at first made to rest against a board which completely covered the whole length and breadth of a door which opened into the adjoining hall ; but subsequently, this door having been closed with brick and chunam, the cabinet was allowed to rest against the wall thus formed. But there never was a hole or other communication of any kind between the cabinet and the door or wall behind it, or in any other part of the room. . . . There were phenomena, *i.e.*, in other words, letters put in the Shrine disappeared, and replies were found in their place, even after Madame Blavatsky left Madras,—that is, even after the aforesaid holes had been closed, as alleged by Coulomb ; thus proving beyond a doubt that the holes were not necessary for the production of phenomena. . . .

And lastly, I have to notice the happy circumstance that, subsequent to the above noticed Coulombs' affair, matters are going on in *statu quo* in our Society. After a short suspense in the interval the Shrine was opened to communication as freely as before, and while the founders of the Society are still absent from Madras the Masters are taking away our communications from the Shrine, and vouchsafing their replies through the Shrine and often outside the Shrine, and even outside the Occult Room itself, thus establishing the broad fact that for the exhibition of the phenomena no Shrine or cabinet is necessary, much less any mechanical contrivance, trap-doors of Coulomb's invention . . .

In reply to my questions :—Mr. P. S. Rao thinks that the Shrine was first resting against the planked door, but is not certain, as he never himself put his hands behind the Shrine to feel it. The Shrine was never removed in his presence.

He never heard a ticking sound from the Shrine. The Shrine was close to the wall.

The sideboard in which the panels were shown by M. Coulomb was standing in its position during the anniversary of 1883.

Mr. P. S. Rao does not know of any instance of Shrine phenomena after the expulsion of the Coulombs.

[Concerning Shrine phenomena after Madame Blavatsky left Madras see Report, p. 248, and Appendix XI.]

Mr. T. Vijiaraghava Charloo (Ananda) (Official at Headquarters).

In reply to my questions :—The wooden door which had once been on the east side of the wall behind the Shrine is the same door which is now in the side of Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room.

An almirah (cupboard) was standing for some time before this door in the east side of the wall, and the almirah was sometimes removed to allow sceptics to see that there was no hole to the Shrine.

Mr. G. came and saw the hollow place where some clothes of Madame were hanging, and he thought his letter which he had put into the Shrine might have been taken out there. Madame, hearing of this, had a wooden frame made to fit the gap, with cross-pieces of wood. Bricks in a single layer were then inserted, and the outside covered with chunam. The interior was left hollow at M. Coulomb's suggestion to Madame Blavatsky. Coulomb said that if the space was filled up, the pressure would tell too much upon the roof.

The carpenters say that Coulomb told them only to GLUE the back of the sideboard which was made.

[At first Ananda said that this sideboard thus made was placed against the east side of the Occult Room wall before the anniversary, but afterwards asserted that it was not placed there till after the anniversary, and that during the anniversary there was no sideboard in the room adjoining the Occult Room. In a later conversation I told Ananda that other witnesses asserted that the sideboard was present during the anniversary, and he then said that he did not know whether it was present or not, that he was absent during the anniversary.]

The Shrine itself was never moved in Ananda's presence, and it was close to the wall. There was hardly half an inch of space between the back of the Shrine and the wall.

MR. BABAJEE D. NATH.

August 30th, 1884.

In reply to the circular inquiry:—Having been called upon to state what I know in regard to the Occult Room in the upstairs and its condition on, before, or after the 18th May, 1884, I beg to say that I had before that date examined the Occult Room, the Shrine, and its surroundings several times. I had an interest in so examining, as I wanted to be able to give my unqualified testimony conscientiously to a very prominent sceptical gentleman at Madras, who knows me well and who urged me to state all my experiences about phenomena. Madame Blavatsky herself asked me on several occasions to examine, as she knew my relation to the gentleman. I was also present on the day when Mr. Coulomb gave the charge of the upstairs to our party and when he exposed himself audaciously. I remember very well that, during the last (VIII.) anniversary, I one day tapped well on the papered wall behind the Shrine in various places, and found, from the noise produced, that it was a whole wall. I have tapped on the wall after Coulomb's contrivances, and found that there is a marked difference between the portion of the wall where he has cut open and between other portions of it. The former when tapped produces now the noise of a hollow, incomplete wall; while the latter portion stands the test of tapping. I know more of the phenomena, of Madame Blavatsky, and of the Coulombs than any outsider; I am in so intimate relations at the headquarters that I have been treated with matters of a confidential nature unreservedly. Even Madame Coulomb herself had been along treating me as a real friend, and telling much and often of what she said she would not tell others. I have, therefore, no hesitation at all in stating for a fact that any contrivances whatever, like trap-doors, &c., that are now found had nothing at all to do with Madame Blavatsky, who had not the remotest idea of them. The Coulombs are the

sole authors of the plot. It is worth mentioning here that Mr. Coulomb worked up the walls, set up the doors, and did everything without allowing a single carpenter, mason, or coolie, to go upstairs; and he was furious if any of us went up to see. To prove that Madame Blavatsky was not a party to the scheme, I shall cite one fact. She allowed—nay, requested—Mr. G. Subbiah Chetty Garu, F.T.S., to examine the work done. He went one day to see it. Coulomb was furious, and did not allow him, but drove him out, and told Madame Blavatsky that none of us should go there at all, since he said he was working without clothes alone. This was a mere pretext, as on that occasion he was not so,* and as we have all seen him often with only a pair of dirty trousers. Instances can be multiplied. I must conclude by saying that the "phenomena" of the Mahatmas do not stand in need of Coulombian contrivances, as I have witnessed at different times and different places when and where there were no such trap-doors, and I have seen and know those exalted sages who are the authors of the "phenomena." I can therefore assure all my friends that the Coulombs had got up a "Christian plot" during Madame Blavatsky's absence.

In reply to my questions:—He had seen the boarding on the east side of the Occult Room wall behind the Shrine; said it was not at all like the four-panelled door now in the north side of the sitting-room. [At this moment a Venetianed window caught Babajee's eye. He said the boarding was "like that"—pointing to the window!] He saw the wall bare and intact some time before the anniversary, and saw it completely papered.

The sideboard was not placed there till February at the earliest; it was the same sideboard as was afterwards exhibited by Mr. Coulomb.

The four-panelled door now in the north side of the sitting-room was not set up there till after the anniversary, [in other words] the teak-wood door now in the side of the sitting-room was not there when the phenomenon of "Ramaswamy's arm" occurred.

* * * * * *

Mr. Babajee never saw the Shrine removed, but examined the back of the Shrine before it was set up. There were no panels. There was about 4in. space between the Shrine and the wall, and the wall of the Occult Room throughout was bare and whitewashed.

* * * * * *

[Concerning Mr. Babajee's statement, it may be remarked that the wall upon which he tapped was, by the agreement of all the other witnesses, except Babula, just as hollow during the anniversary as it was after M. Coulomb's "exposure;" that the four-panelled door now in the north side of the sitting-room was clearly there during the anniversary and at the time of the occurrence of the "Ramaswamy's arm" phenomenon, and is identical with the boarding originally on the east side of the Occult Room wall behind

* Supposing Mr. Babajee's account to be correct, the fact which he cites to prove that Madame Blavatsky was not a party to the scheme, shows rather the contrary; it seems not unlikely that M. Coulomb, when the incident which Mr. Babajee relates occurred, was actually engaged in the preparation or alteration of trick apparatus. Madame Blavatsky might well have trusted M. Coulomb to supply a "pretext" for not allowing any one to inspect his work.

the Shrine; that the back of the Shrine was panelled and much closer to the wall than alleged, the wall being, moreover, covered with fabric; and that the sideboard was placed in position before the anniversary. I regard Mr. Babajee's statements about the four-panelled door and the sideboard at least as involving deliberate falsification on his part, so much so that I must regard him as an altogether untrustworthy witness.

It will be seen from Mrs. Morgan's evidence that she left Adyar on December 31st, so that the sideboard must have been placed in its position against the wall behind the Shrine some time in December. Her explicit testimony that it was placed in its position before the anniversary, and remained there during the anniversary, is confirmed by the statements of Dr. Hartmann, Messrs. Subba Row, P. Sreenevas Row, and P. Rathnavelu. Messrs. Ramaswamier and Cooppooswamy Iyer also gave me their testimony to the same effect. As to the four-panelled boarding in the side of Madame Blavatsky's sitting-room, Ananda and even Babula stated that it was that which had previously been at the back of the recess behind the Shrine, and Mr. Subba Row stated that it *resembled* that boarding. The reason mentioned by Mrs. Morgan, Mr. Subba Row, and Ananda for the removal of the boarding from its original position in the recess behind the Shrine, agrees with that alleged by Madame Coulomb ("Some Account," &c., p. 71), *viz.*, that Madame Blavatsky had "heard that some one had hinted at the existence of sliding panels in this massive sham door, which was at the back of the bricked-up window against which the Shrine leant." Against this statement, in my copy of Madame Coulomb's pamphlet, Madame Blavatsky has written the word "NEVER"! In reply to my very definite questioning as to the full significance of this word, Madame Blavatsky asserted that no one had hinted at panels, and that there never had been a boarding. I was so specific in repeating my inquiry that I believe it to have been absolutely impossible that Madame Blavatsky could have misunderstood me, yet her answer was to the same effect as before. Nevertheless, after I had pointed out to her that by denying the existence of the boarding she was irretrievably damaging her own evidence, inasmuch as the statements of Theosophic witnesses clearly established that such a boarding had been against the wall behind the Shrine, she pretended that she had misunderstood my questions, and proceeded to give me a clear and accurate enough outline of the open history of the boarding under discussion.]

BABULA (Madame Blavatsky's native servant).

[Babula, who was near the door part of the time when I was questioning Babajee, gave a similar description of the Shrine and the space between the Shrine and the wall, placing his fingers in the same manner as Babajee, to show me the width of the space between the Shrine and the wall.]

* * * * * *

In reply to my questions:—There had originally been a window at that part of the wall where the Shrine was placed. This window had been taken away, and the gap bricked up on the Occult Room side, and covered with chunam. The Shrine was placed against this bare wall. On the east side of this part of the wall a plank boarding was erected. This boarding was afterwards taken away and placed in the north side of the sitting-room, and is the same as that to be now seen there.

The plank boarding, when on the east side of the wall of the Occult Room, formed the back of a recess, in which Madame Blavatsky used to hang her clothes.

When the boarding was taken away a frame was made of wood so as to fit the outer edges of this recess ; a layer of bricks was placed in this frame, and the whole then covered with chunam. [The hollow of the recess Babula was not sure about ; he appeared to be trying to get some cue from Babajee, who was present ; said first it had been filled up, but finally said he did not know, but thinks it was filled up.] The sideboard was put against the wall for the first time about the beginning of February. He saw the wall papered over some time before the anniversary.

[See comments on Mr. Babajee's evidence.]

Mr. P. Rathnavelu (Editor of *The Philosophic Inquirer*), Madras.

[He visited Adyar on 14th September, 1884, to inspect the rooms, &c. Dr. Hartmann, Mr. Judge, and Mr. Damodar led him to the Shrine.]

From a letter to the Editor of *The Theosophist*, 21st September, 1884.

I examined it [the Shrine] carefully and with a critical eye of course sometimes touching the several parts thereof with my own hand, to guard myself against any possible illusion of the sight. There was no opening or hole on this side of the cupboard (Shrine) for any one to reach his hand from behind it. It was rather loosely but firmly fixed to the wall, so that one could pass a stick through the space between the back board of the Shrine and the wall to which it is attached. On being satisfied with this portion of the Shrine, I was led into the adjoining room to see the other side of the wall to which the Shrine is attached, and which is alleged to be connected with it by a trap-door or back door. Alas ! I was shown an ingenious piece of furniture-like apparatus, standing close to, or I might say even fixed to the mouth of the Shrine, to which was fastened a sliding door which, when opened, led into a small aperture in that wall nearly two by three feet. Inside of this again there was a hollow space, sufficiently large for a lean lad to stand on his legs, if he could but creep into it through the aperture, and hold his breath for a few seconds. I attempted in vain to creep through the opening in the wall myself, and simply stretched out my head with some difficulty into the small hollow to see its internal condition and structure. It had no communication with the back board of the Shrine. At least there was nothing in it to show that there could have been any such thing. From which and other circumstances I thought within myself that the diabolical machinery, for the invention of which the Society is greatly indebted to the genius of Mr. Coulomb, the "Engineer-in-Chief of the Devil," was not finished, as was intended. I was shown also other similar inventions—such as sliding panels, sliding doors, &c., by the selfsame gentleman ; all of which bore the stamp of the freshness of unfinished work.

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When I had seen the Shrine and its surroundings on a previous occasion, as stated already, on the 1st April, 1883, there was a large almirah standing against the wall, just on the very spot where Mr. Coulomb has been pleased to put up his machinery trap-door ; and it was, if I remember aright, in the

bedroom of Madame Blavatsky. On the occurrence of the phenomenon recorded in *The Philosophic Inquirer* of the 8th April, 1883, which was neither pre-arranged nor premeditated, as will be seen from my report in that journal, I took great care to see that there was no trap-door or opening behind the Shrine on either side of the wall to which it is fixed. The almirah was, at our request to Madame Blavatsky, removed with some difficulty from its place, to allow of the wall on that side being tapped and sufficiently examined by me. I did so, and was then convinced thoroughly that there was no attempt at deception on any one's part.

[Said he had not heard from Mr. Damodar that I was coming.]

In reply to my questions :—Mr. Rathnavelu inspected the Shrine in April, 1883. He did not move the Shrine from the wall. There was muslin between the Shrine and the wall, and there was just space enough to pass a stick up and down between the Shrine and the muslin, the Shrine being about an inch from the wall. He passed the stick up and down in this manner, and it moved freely. When the almirah or cupboard in the room adjoining the Occult Room was removed, there was visible a plastered wall, which sounded hollow. The plaster covered some planking.

[At first I understood that Mr. Rathnavelu clearly admitted that the planking, or blocking door, was visible behind the almirah, but he then stated, on my repeating the inquiry very definitely, that this blocking door was covered with chunam. On my asking how he knew there was a door underneath, he said he had been told so at the time.]

Mr. Rathnavelu also stated that he was present at the anniversary, 27th December, in 1883, and admitted that the sideboard was then present against the wall of the room adjoining the Occult Room.

[The marks of the nails used to keep the plank door in its place are still visible in the recess on the east side of the wall, and it appears clearly that the door was never covered with chunam. Mr. Rathnavelu is quite alone in this peculiar statement.]

Mr. T. C. Rajamiengar (native doctor).

[Extract from an account quoted in the Supplement to *The Theosophist* for November, 1884.]

I have known the Shrine at Adyar since February, 1883. But it was in September, 1883, that I had actually an opportunity of closely examining the structure of the Shrine, so as to see whether the trickery, now pretended to be exposed, had ever any existence. I may say that I entered the room containing the Shrine with the mind of an out-and-out sceptic, indeed, all this time, I may say I was an unbeliever, though I had constantly met the founders of the Theosophical Society, and read much of their writing. What struck me about the doings of the Theosophists was, "What necessity is there for these modern Theosophists to perform their phenomena in a particular locality, and that in a shrine, while our ancient sages did all we have known in open places?" I was soon quieted by an invitation on the part of Madame Blavatsky to inspect the Shrine, and satisfy myself about it.

I shall now give a brief description of the Shrine and its situation in order that the outside public may see whether it is possible that the en-

lightened members of the Society could have been subjected to the trickery that the Coulombs now boast of exposing.

Madame Blavatsky had her sleeping apartment in the hall upstairs in the Adyar premises. There is a door-way leading from this hall to a room where the Shrine is suspended, the Shrine itself (a cupboard as they call it) being on the wall about four feet above the ground. I opened the doors of this Shrine, and found in it some photos and a silver cup and a few other things. I clearly examined every portion of this Shrine from within, tapping with my hands every part of it, and nowhere could I find room for suspicion. Not satisfied with this, I examined the outside of the Shrine, the front and the sides, and the top ; and they stood the test. For fear of disarranging the things, I did not move the Shrine about, but what was more satisfactory, I examined the back portion of the wall on which rested the Shrine (which was inside the hall containing Madame Blavatsky's sleeping apartment) and found that there could not be the slightest room for suspicion in any direction, so far as the matter of the structure of the Shrine is concerned.

After this Madame Blavatsky had the kindness to ask if any of us (we were then about five there) had any letter to send to Mahatmas. One of us immediately produced a letter ; I took up the cup from the Shrine, having carefully examined it, and the gentleman dropped the letter into it. I placed the cup with the letter in the Shrine, and closed it, as desired by the above lady. Two or three minutes after, Madame Blavatsky, who was standing about two yards off from the Shrine, said she felt an answer came, and on opening the Shrine we found a letter addressed to the sender, containing four pages with not less than 20 lines on each, which would occupy any mortal writer, simply to copy it in, not less than half-an-hour. It must be remembered that there must have been time for one to read the letter, and then to prepare an answer which may take up another 15 minutes. But all this took place in the course of two or three minutes.

I shall now give an account of the so-called trap-door. I found this trap-door in an incomplete state for the first time in June, 1884, a few months after the departure of the founders. It is so small a door that a thin, spare boy of 10 or 12 years could hardly enter through it. It is intended to be understood the phenomenal letters were ushered into the Shrine through this passage, but any one seeing the passage for himself would be convinced of the impossibility of the thing being done.

I must, therefore, take this occasion to represent what I know of these matters to allow Truth to triumph ; and I feel it specially necessary now that every one of us should speak out his experience of the Theosophists and their doings, that they may furnish, however lightly it may be, answers to the attacks of the Coulombs upon the conduct of persons too far away to justify themselves.

In reply to my questions:—He had not removed the Shrine from the wall, nor had he examined the back of the Shrine from without or the face of the wall juxtaposed. The wall he examined was in the other room, and was bare and intact where it corresponded to the Shrine.

The letter produced was one which had been previously forwarded to Mr. Damodar to be sent to the Mahatma, and Mr. Damodar placed it in the Shrine.

[The statements of Mr. Rajamiengar are curiously wide of the truth. He describes the wall behind the Shrine in Madame Blavatsky's bedroom as "bare and intact" in September, 1883, whereas at that time the four-panelled boarding was certainly there. Mr. P. Parthasarathy Chetty, who accompanied Mr. Rajamiengar, recollected that "in the room adjoining the Occult Room, there was, immediately behind the Shrine, a door which appeared solid and immovable, and which sounded hollow."

Since the "letter" had been previously forwarded to Mr. Damodar, the answer might have been easily prepared beforehand.]

Colonel Olcott.

It was not until after my investigations had been continued some time, and I had expressed at the Theosophical headquarters my appreciation of the great dearth of evidence for any examination of the west side of the wall behind the Shrine, that on one of my visits to Adyar I was informed that Colonel Olcott had that morning found a letter in his drawer, written in red ink, and said to be from Mahatma M. Colonel Olcott declared that he had entirely forgotten the circumstances to which this note referred until finding it in his drawer. It ran as follows :—

"Henry, now that your fever is cured I want you perform something that will cure it for ever. It would not do for you to have it at Ceylon. Call Babula and a cooly or two and lifting off the cupboard Shrine clean off the wall (you can do so without taking it off its wires or nail), write my sign on that spot of the wall which corresponds with the centre and four corners of the cupboard. The signs must be very small, and thus. [The letter contained a rough sketch of the positions of the marks.] When you return from Ceylon the answers will be there. Copy them. You must not let Upasika see what you have done, nor tell her. Especially keep this secret from the Coulombs."

Colonel Olcott then told me that the finding of this letter had recalled to his mind the fact that he obeyed these instructions. He calculated the date to be December 17th, 1883. He declares that he looked again on a date calculated by him to be February 13th, 1884, and found the wall in the same condition as on December 17th. There was no mention of these events in his diary. Colonel Olcott said there was muslin behind the Shrine, and Babula,—who was summoned by Madame Blavatsky, *not* at my request,—said that he remembered the incident, and that he moved the Shrine, &c., very carefully, because he was afraid Madame Blavatsky would be angry. Colonel Olcott, in reply to my inquiry made at the time when this note was first shown me, said that he thought he must have observed any panel or hollow if there had been such behind the muslin, which he said was moved at the different positions so as to allow him to write the initials. Colonel Olcott's confidence, however, soon increased considerably, and in a later conversation he asserted that he saw the whole bare wall at once after removing the "stuff" between it and the Shrine! The reader however may remember that to see the whole bare wall at once it would have been needful to remove not only the muslin but the other fabric, which, according to the evidence of Mr. Lane-Fox, closely covered the wall immediately behind the Shrine.

Examination of Colonel Olcott's testimony in other cases (see Report, pp. 231-239, analysis of his evidence given before the Committee), even without the discrepancy noted above, is enough to show the impossibility of placing any reliance upon his isolated "remembered" indirect observation of the wall behind the Shrine.

Most probably this Mahatma note is an *ex post facto* document foisted upon Colonel Olcott by Madame Blavatsky. Had it really been written at the close of 1883, it should have been mentioned in Colonel Olcott's detailed diary, and it should have been found by Colonel Olcott immediately on his arrival at Adyar from Europe at the end of 1884, when he professes to have made a careful search through his papers for documents of value as against the Coulombs' charges; nothing, however, was heard of it till the moment when evidence for inspection of the Shrine wall was known to be lacking.

MR. DAMODAR K. MAVALANKAR.

August 18*th*, 1884.

From his first reply to circular inquiry:—As regards the hole [through the sideboard into the recess] . . . in the presence of Dr. Hartmann and Mr. Lane-Fox, I attempted to enter it. All who know me or have seen me are aware how thin and lean I am; and although I was almost half naked at the time, I could enter the "hole" with difficulty. And when once inside I could only stand abreast without being able to move, either way, an inch, or to lift up my hand. I was there hardly 10 seconds when I felt choked, and I am firmly persuaded to believe that if I had stopped there two minutes longer I should have fainted on account of suffocation. And this when the cupboard attached to the hole was removed, and there was passage for air through it. How much more suffocating must it be when there is no such free passage for air? Moreover, the piece of wall on which the "Shrine" was hung is intact. Mr. Coulomb himself told us, on the evening of the 18th, that there was no communication then between that "wall" and the "Shrine." The frame of the "Shrine" was also intact, and there was no sliding panel to it. All this he himself admitted, adding, however, that he had closed them up before Madame Blavatsky's departure from Madras. If so, there are several witnesses to show that the phenomena were witnessed even *in the "Shrine" after Madame Blavatsky's departure*, and when, according to Mr. Coulomb's own admission, the communication between the "Shrine" and the aperture was no longer existing.

August 19*th*, 1884.

From his second reply to circular inquiry:—I had not *myself* examined the wall, nor the *Shrine* for some time; but I was present on several occasions when the various witnesses to the "occult phenomena" had examined them. One or two of these were themselves engineers, and had closely and minutely examined the places. They had scrutinised carefully, in every possible way, the *Shrine*, and had satisfied themselves that it was intact, and had no *panels* or anything of the kind. I say all this because the several examinations in my presence were completely satisfactory, and I had no reason to complain in any way. When some outsiders had made unfavourable observations, I mean those who had never been in the *Occult Room*, Madame Blavatsky had asked me to examine the *Shrine*; and one day, in December or January

last, I well remember Mr. Subba Row and myself very carefully examining the *Shrine* and the *wall* ; and we were both satisfied that they were intact. But I must state something before that time. To the other side of the wall, behind the Shrine, was put a wardrobe, which was sometimes removed in the presence of several witnesses, and we had all every reason to be sure that the wall was intact. In July or August last year Madame Blavatsky went to Ootacamund; and shortly afterwards Colonel Olcott, who was then visiting the South Indian Branches, joined her there. During their absence, the key of the *Shrine* and of the *Occult Room* were in my charge, and every week, without fail, I used to take all the things out of the *Shrine*, and clean it myself with a towel, many times in the presence of Madame Coulomb, and sometimes when others were there I used to rub the frame hard with the towel, and if there were any workable panel at that time, it could not but have moved under the pressure. But I noticed nothing of the kind. The whole frame was quite intact, and I can say from positive knowledge that it was so till the middle of September last. Madame Blavatsky then returned to Madras, and I handed the keys over to her. During that period of nearly three months, I had put in several letters in the Shrine, the key being in my possession, and invariably I received replies. It was then, during that period, that General Morgan saw the phenomenon of the broken saucer mentioned by him in *The Theosophist*. . . .

Then he showed us three sliding panels to three pieces of furniture in Madame Blavatsky's room. These were evidently new. They could not be moved without a great deal of effort and a great noise. One of these, moreover, was to a shelf, to be worked from outside, *i.e.*, the passage from the stairs to Madame Blavatsky's rooms. At all times the door of the stairs was open, and any one going up could easily see anyone working it. And, moreover, hardly any phenomena were produced therein. Another of these panels also was to a shelf, to be worked from outside, so that anyone standing on the stairs could see what the person was doing. Moreover, the difficulty and the great noise with which they could be moved distinctly showed their very recent origin and the impracticability of their having been used before.

From Mr. Damodar's Statement concerning the Blavatsky-Coulomb Letters. (Printed in a pamphlet compiled by Dr. Hartmann.)

September 19*th*, 1884.

But I must say a few words in regard to the Shrine itself. As Mrs. Coulomb always promised to look after the books and furniture of Madame Blavatsky during her absence, the latter always entrusted her with the keys of her room, so that the former might be able to see that none of the books and furniture were damaged. Accordingly, when Madame Blavatsky went to Ootacamund, the keys of her rooms and of the Shrine were as usual handed over to Mrs. Coulomb, with full permission, *to all of us, to use her rooms and things whenever we liked.* It was only in January, 1884, when Madame Blavatsky began to dine in the room next to the Occult Room, that the cupboard was put to the wall, so that dishes, plates, &c., might be put in it. But this piece of furniture came into existence after the phenomena were no longer produced in the Shrine.—[*Vide* pp. 228-231.]

MR. G. N. UNWALA.

Bhaunnagar, *August 3rd*, 1884.

Perhaps I may also be allowed to bear testimony as an expert, as the lawyers say, to the genuineness of an occult phenomenon that I was fortunate enough to witness at the Adyar headquarters, where I was a guest for three weeks in May, 1883.

I humbly venture to call myself an "Expert," and I have my grounds for doing so, which I am constrained to enumerate in this place in the interests of truth and of justice to our esteemed and venerable teacher, Madame Blavatsky, against the ill-advised, fatuous, and malicious attacks of our enemies, whose wilful ignorance of our transcendental sciences is as great as their infamous and wicked desire to distort and misrepresent facts for their own self-interest.

I had a scientific education in my younger days, and have never ceased to take a keen interest in all that appertains to the progress of modern scientific researches. For the last 12 years or more I have been a teacher *inter alia* of Natural Science, and have also delivered public lectures on scientific subjects, supplemented and illustrated by experiments of various kinds. When I was in England in 1870, one of my favourite places of resort was the Polytechnic Institution, where, as is well-known, scientific lectures are delivered. One of these lectures, I may mention here, was on "Raising Ghosts," by Professor Pepper; and I may say that I am fully conversant with the appliances and apparatus he used to illustrate his lectures. As a humble devotee of Natural Science, I have studied and lectured upon electric and magnetic phenomena, and although it would be presumptuous—nay, absurd—to say that I "know all about it," yet I may say that I have some experience, theoretical and practical, in manipulating electrical and magnetic apparatus, including the telephone and the microphone. It was but a few days ago that I was established in this city under the patronage of the Maharaja. Besides these pursuits, I may be allowed to state that I have had considerable experience in "Parlour Magic," "Prestidigitation," &c., &c., which, I have always been of opinion, are not only productive of innocent amusement but also of instruction and Natural Science.

As this letter may be published, I hasten to assure you that it is with very great reluctance I make these personal statements to prove the claim I, in all humility, put forth to be looked upon as an "Expert" in the technical phraseology of the Law Courts. I must not be misunderstood—I do not pretend to know much; I am no professor!

In May, 1883, when, as I said above, I was a guest at the headquarters, I had many opportunities of being in the "Occult Room," and of examining it and the Shrine; and once, I remember, at the earnest desire of Madame Blavatsky, before and after the occurrence of a phenomenon, I can safely say, without any equivocation or reservation, that in the "Occult Room," or anywhere within the precincts of the headquarters, I never could find anything, either apparatus or appliances, electric wires, galvanic batteries, telephones, microphones, trap-doors, springs, double walls, resonant tubes, screens, mirrors, magic-lanterns, photogenic solutions, &c., &c., in any way suggestive of "fraud or tricks," as our enemies in their blatant, mischievous self-complacency are fond of designating "Occult" phenomena.

Two more phenomena I have had the good fortune to witness—the ringing of silvered-toned bells and the receipt of a letter from one of our revered Guru Devs, "formed" in a hollow tin model of Cleopatra's Needle. But these took place before Madame Blavatsky at places a thousand miles from the headquarters.

This, then, I know for a certainty, that these phenomena—occult because the *rationale* is not known, not because "unscientific," as our short-sighted enemies would, in their culpable perverseness, have it—are produced by the manipulation of certain forces of nature subtler by far than the subtle "physical forces" of modern science, still imperfectly known and inadequately studied or investigated, as she herself frequently has to confess.

Mr. J. D. B. Gribble.

[From "A Report of an Examination into the Blavatsky Correspondence, published in the *Christian College Magazine*."]

"I was also shown two of the sliding doors and panels, said to have been made by M. Coulomb after Madame Blavatsky's departure. One of these is on the outside of the so-called Occult Room, and the other is on the outside of the sitting-room upstairs. Both of these have been made without the slightest attempt at concealment. The former is at the top of a back staircase and consists of two doors which open into a kind of book-shelf. This gives the idea of having been constructed so as to place food on the shelves inside without opening the door. The other contrivance is a sliding panel which lifts up and opens and shuts with some difficulty. It is evidently of recent construction. Certainly in its present state it would be difficult to carry out any phenomena by its means. In this case also there is no attempt at concealment. Neither of these two appliances communicate with the Shrine, which is situated on the cross-wall dividing the Occult Room from an adjoining bedroom. I was not allowed to see the Shrine."

[Mr. Gribble is not a Theosophist. The preceding passage refers to his visit to the headquarters of the Society, on October 3rd, 1884, and the Shrine had by that time, according to Dr. Hartmann, been destroyed. It would appear from Mr. Gribble's account that the sideboard and the entrance to the hollow space were not shown to him. His account of the "two doors which open into a kind of book-shelf" suggests, moreover, that the double-backed cupboard (see Plan, No. 8) had been altered in some way since the dismissal of the Coulombs, before it was shown to Mr. Gribble. Dr. Hartmann ("Report of Observations," &c., p. 43), after speaking of "three secret openings and sliding panels," describes one of them as "opening into the back of another cupboard or bookcase, whose front was covered by a mirror and which was made accessible from the hall." This is the opening to which Mr. Gribble must be supposed to refer, though he was apparently not informed of the existence of the mirror, and had no opportunity of examining the position from within the Occult Room.

The sliding-panel to which Mr. Gribble refers is that in the four-panelled boarding (Plan, No. 3). This I have myself thoroughly examined, and certainly it could, when I saw it, be opened and shut only with considerable difficulty.

After the boarding had been placed in its present exposed position, it had

been utilised only once, so far as I could ascertain, in the production of a phenomenon. This instance is given in Appendix VI., and it must have occurred very shortly after the boarding was placed in the side of the sitting-room. When we consider that the panel had apparently not been used for about five months previous to the dismissal of the Coulombs, and that for several months afterwards the rooms were in the possession of Mr. Damodar, we should be surprised if Mr. Gribble had found the panel in good working order. Indeed, a little accidental grit would account for the stiffness which we both observed, and there was a considerable amount of dirt resembling the dust of mortar in the hole in the terrace made for the panel to sink into. The panel which slid was the lower east panel, and the wooden block which, according to M. Coulomb, had kept it in its normal position, had apparently been removed. The position of the panel when I saw it was, therefore, perfectly obvious, in consequence of the hole manifest beneath it; but no trace of its sliding capacity was noticeable in the panel itself when it was closed; it was, to all appearance, just as firmly fixed as the other panels. Further, the sliding panel did not seem to me to be of more recent construction than the rest of the boarding, but whether the whole boarding was only six months old or a year, or much longer, I could not have told from my own inspection. The question, however, is decisively enough answered by Theosophists themselves. (See comments on Mr. Babajee's evidence.)

I may here refer to some remarks made by Mr. Damodar (see his evidence quoted in this Appendix) concerning these two pieces of "sliding" apparatus mentioned by Mr. Gribble. According to Mr. Damodar, whose statement on this point is correct, they could be seen from the stairs; and he tells us further that "at all times, the door of the stairs was open." He gives this information in order to show that the apparatus in question could not have been used for the production of phenomena (though he scarcely strengthens his argument by adding that "hardly any phenomena were produced therein"); but it would seem to show more strongly the impossibility of M. Coulomb's having prepared the apparatus at the time he is declared by Theosophists* to have prepared it, *viz.*, in the absence of Madame Blavatsky at Wadwhan, in February, 1884, after she had left Adyar, but before she had left India. The curiously suspicious incident told by Mr. Babajee (see p. 330) occurred while Madame Blavatsky was at headquarters.

Now it would appear that after Madame Blavatsky's departure from headquarters in 1884, the Occult Room and the Shrine were in charge of Mr. Damodar (see Appendix XI.); moreover it is apparently not denied by the Theosophists that workmen were about on the terrace during the interval assigned to M. Coulomb for his secret work, and according to Mr. Damodar the door of the stairs was at all times open. If M. Coulomb under these circumstances could, without the knowledge of any persons at headquarters, have constructed the double-backed cupboard, the panel in the boarding, the sideboard panel, and the aperture into the recess, he would have performed a feat which I should find much more difficult of explanation than all Madame Blavatsky's phenomena together. And the discovery that

*Mr Brown, member of the Board of Control, states that this was "unanimously decided" by the "gentlemen present" at the "disclosure."

a hole in the wall immediately behind the Shrine had previously existed, but had been blocked up, and that the wall face in the Occult Room behind the Shrine had been carefully whitewashed so as to conceal the traces of the hole, would apparently compel the Theosophists to assume that this hole was, under the same circumstances, not only made but actually closed again, and *hidden* so effectually by M. Coulomb in the Occult Room, which was always open to Mr. Damodar, that it was very nearly never discovered at all. And of these alleged marvellous works we should have to suppose that Mr. Damodar, highly-developed Chela of Mahatma Koot Hoomi, remained entirely ignorant ! ! I think, therefore, that not only is there no evidence to establish the non-existence of the apertures and panels in question at the time when phenomena may have been produced by their means, but that an insurmountable difficulty lies in the way of supposing that they could have been manufactured at the time to which their origin is attributed by the Theosophists, and that there can be little doubt that they were made while Madame Blavatsky herself was at headquarters, and under her general instructions.]

APPENDIX V.

MR. G.'S LETTER.

[Mr. G. gave me an oral account of the following circumstances, and afterwards kindly revised my written statement.]

Mr. G. had had several conversations with Madame Blavatsky concerning Theosophy before the occurrence of the following incident. He had not, however, expressed any intention of writing a letter to Koot Hoomi.

On October 14th, 1883, he wrote a letter addressed to Mahatma Koot Hoomi Lal Singh, and after gumming and sealing the envelope, in which he placed the letter, visited the Adyar Headquarters, accompanied by Mrs. G. The letter contained some inquiry as to the advisability of Mr. G.'s joining the Theosophical Society. Having obtained permission to place the letter in the Shrine, Mr. G., with Mrs. G., Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Subba Row, and Mr. Mohini, entered the Occult Room. The Shrine was opened, and Mr. G. was invited to inspect it, which he did from within. No opening of any kind was visible in the back of the Shrine. Mr. G.'s impression is that the Shrine was placed immediately in front of a planked wall or partition which separated the Occult Room in this part from the adjoining room. The Shrine appeared to be resting closely against the west side of this wall or partition, but the Shrine was not moved at all from its position.

After the letter was placed in the Shrine by Mr. G. himself the door of the Shrine was locked, and the key given to Mr. G. Shortly afterwards Madame Blavatsky left the room for a few seconds, and upon returning she asked Mr. G. to go round and examine the eastern side of the wall or partition behind the Shrine. Mr. G. went into the adjoining room (used as a bedroom by Madame Blavatsky) and found that some clothes of Madame Blavatsky were hanging upon the east side of this partition. The partition consisted of teak planking, and appeared to Mr. G., in the cursory examination to which he submitted it, to be of solid construction, and he observed no sliding panels.

It was about 6.30 o'clock in the evening, and the light was good.

Mr. G. does not regard his examination as complete. The presence of Madame Blavatsky's clothes suspended on the partition, inconveniently prevented him from scrutinising it as carefully as he would have liked to have done; and he felt this inconvenience even although Madame Blavatsky herself moved some of the clothes apart and asked him to satisfy himself. They then returned to the Occult Room, and Madame Blavatsky sat down with her back to the Shrine, and drummed with her finger nails upon a small table in front of her. A curious, rapid ticking was also heard apparently from the Shrine, which resembled the ticking heard inside a watchmaker's shop. Madame Blavatsky suddenly asked if he had heard anything. Mrs. G. thought she heard a noise like the shutting of a door, but did not say so at the time, though she afterwards told Mr. G. of this fact. Madame Blavatsky remarked, "I suspect the letter has gone." Mr. G. then opened the Shrine and found his letter had disappeared.

Mr. G. waited some time at the headquarters for an answer to his letter, but at last left without having received one. About two hours later, after dinner, Mr. Mohini came over to Mr. G.'s house (which is about a mile from Madame Blavatsky's), bringing Mr. G.'s letter, upon the envelope of which was written in blue pencil, "Mohini—forward immediately to G. Sahib.—K. H."

Mr. G. examined the envelope, which was sealed with his own signet ring which he always wears on his left hand, and the envelope appeared to him at that time to be intact. He found no trace of the envelope's having been opened. Mr. Mohini said the letter fell in the midst of them at Madame Blavatsky's as they were talking, and that he had immediately set off with it to Mr. G. Mr. G. opened the envelope by cutting the top edge. Upon the fly-leaf of his letter was written an answer to his question in blue pencil, signed K. H.

Mr. G. had previously hoped that he might receive an immediate answer to his letter, and after reviewing the circumstances of the incident, he concluded that there was a possibility that his letter might have been opened in some way or other, after having been taken surreptitiously from the Shrine through the teak-panelled door which he had so cursorily examined.

He therefore wrote another letter addressed to Koot Hoomi, and in it requested that the answer to it might fall in the open air outside his (Mr. G.'s) own house. This letter he asked Mr. Mohini to take, but Mr. Mohini declined to do so; and Madame Blavatsky afterwards wrote to Mr. G., offering reasons why his request could not be complied with.

Since these occurrences, Mr. G. has had no communication with Madame Blavatsky.

Mr. G. kindly permitting me to examine the envelope, I found certain noteworthy peculiarities in the seal-impression. A portion of the wax had adhered to the seal, so that the paper was visible at one point near the centre of the seal-impression. This had been noted by Mr. G. at the time of his making the impression, and the seal at first glance appeared to be entirely intact. The right flap of the envelope, however, appeared crumpled, and a lens revealed a slight crack on the right side of the seal, and also a very

minute fracture on the same side, at the very edge of the wax, beyond the limits of the seal-impression. It seemed as though a very small fragment of wax had been broken away, and close inspection showed that *the right flap of the envelope was not held at all by the wax.* Cutting down the side-edges of the envelope I found the right flap hardly adhering at all to the rest of the paper, and the part which had been covered with gum presented the appearance of having been steamed, or otherwise moistened, though this is somewhat difficult to determine with any certainty. There was also a mark of gum extending considerably beyond the limit of the flap. The appearance suggested that the right flap had been withdrawn, that a small drop of gum had been placed near the edge of the withdrawn flap, and that part of this drop had oozed out beyond the line of the flap when the envelope was pressed after replacing the flap. The colour of this gum was somewhat different from the gum on the opposite flap, being yellower and dirtier than what appeared to be the original gum of the envelope. There was also, as I afterwards found, a mark of what appeared to be gum, in a corresponding position on the enclosed note itself.

Mr. G. has on various occasions handled the envelope, and it may be urged that the seal-impression held all the flap-joinings together when the letter was written more than a year previously. This, of course, cannot be disproved, but it is important to observe that Mr. G.'s attention had not been before given to the possibility that one of the under flaps might be withdrawn as I have suggested, and he was unaware that the seal-impression secured only three of the flaps. This is proved by the fact that he showed me the sealed letter which he had offered to Mr. Mohini, and which he still had in his possession. The right-hand flap of this envelope also was free from the seal-impression in precisely the same way as the flap of the other envelope.

From the appearances described I infer that Madame Blavatsky probably opened the letter in the way implied above.

[P.S.—I had given to Mr. Sinnett in conversation an account of the above incident, and shortly afterwards, at the General Meeting of May 29th, Mr. Mohini informed me that he had heard a description of the case from Mr. Sinnett. Mr. Mohini then proceeded to suggest that Mr. G. had omitted to mention an important circumstance to me, *viz.*, that Mr. G. had attempted, when the letter in question was returned to him, to open it by applying a heated knife-blade to the seal. Mr. Mohini, I inferred, had not heard every detail of the case as above given, and he apparently thought that the disturbance of the seal and the crumpling of the envelope might be accounted for by the attempt which he alleged Mr. G. had made. They could not, however, be thus accounted for, and I felt certain, from my examination of the seal, that no person could have made any attempt to remove it by means of a heated knife-blade. Moreover, I thought it much more probable that Mr. Mohini should have remembered an event which had not occurred, than that Mr. G. should have omitted to inform me of the circumstance alleged. Nevertheless, Mr. Mohini's statement was so explicit that I considered myself bound to mention it at the meeting of June 26th, when I had occasion to refer to the incident. In the meantime I had taken the first opportunity of writing to Mr. G. on the subject, and the following is

his reply of June 25th, which, so far as I am concerned in it, is in exact accordance with my own recollections :—

"Mohini's memory must either have failed him or else he must have wilfully misrepresented the matter to you. I did NOT attempt to open the seal of the letter, which I put into the cabinet, with a heated knife, but I *did* take another *similar envelope* and the same sealing-wax and seal that I had used for sealing that letter, and having sealed the envelope I tried to see if a heated knife-blade would lift the seal and found it would not do so. My wife was present and saw me do this, and now confirms my statement.

"It is not likely that I would do anything to the seal of the original cover of the original letter, and if I had done so I should have told you of the fact and you yourself would have discovered where the wax had been melted by the hot knife-blade.

"The original seal, being made of wax, dropped blazing on the envelope, burnt the paper a little, that is, it singed it brown, as you may remember I told you ; moreover, a small piece stuck to my signet-ring and came away with it, thus rendering it *impossible* to attempt any trifling with the seal by means of heat without my detecting it immediately, while any such attempt on my part would probably have defaced the impression of the signet-ring, which you know was intact and perfect."]

APPENDIX VI.

THE "RAMASWAMY'S ARM" PHENOMENON.

The teak door in its new position (*vide* p. 222), seems to have been utilised in connection with the following phenomenon.

Supplement to *The Theosophist*, February, 1884.

In these days of scepticism and unbelief, the following testimony to a phenomenon, not capable of being explained on any theory of trick or fraud, will be not without use in exciting at least a spirit of calm inquiry in reasonable minds.

On the 24th of November, Mr. S. Ramaswamier and myself both went to the Adyar headquarters at about 9 p.m. We found Madame Blavatsky seated in the verandah in front of the main building conversing with General and Mrs. Morgan and Miss Flynn, then on a visit to the headquarters, and a number of Chelas and officers of the Theosophical Society. After about an hour's conversation there, Madame Blavatsky wished good-night to our European brethren and went upstairs to her own room, asking us to follow her thither. Accordingly we went up. There were seven in all in the room, which was lighted. Madame Blavatsky seated herself facing west on a chair near a window in the north-eastern corner of the room. S. Ramaswamier and myself sat on the floor, one behind the other, right in front of and facing Madame Blavatsky, close by an open shelf in the wall on our left. Babu Mohini Mohun Chatterji, M.A., B.L., (solicitor, Calcutta) Messrs. Babajee, Ananda, and Balai Chand Mallik, also seated on the floor near us, opposite the wall-shelf and facing it. What had originally been a window was closed with a thick wooden plank, which on careful examination I found was immovably fixed to the window frame and thus converted into a

wall-shelf with two cross boards. The plank behind was hung and the boards were covered and ornamented with black oil cloth and fringe. About half-an-hour after conversation began, while S. Ramaswamier was talking about certain important matters concerning himself and the others were listening, a slight rustle of the oil cloth, hanging in the back of the middle compartment of the wall-shelf, was observed by the four gentlemen seated opposite the same. From it, immediately after, was extruded a large hand more brown in complexion than white, dressed in a close fitting white sleeve, holding an envelope between the thumb and the forefinger. The hand came just opposite my face and over the back of S. Ramaswamier's head, a distance of about two yards from the wall, and at a jerk dropped the letter, which fell close by my side. All, except S. Ramaswamier, saw the phantom hand drop the letter. It was visible for a few seconds, and then vanished into air right before our eyes. I picked up the envelope, which was made of Chinese paper evidently, and inscribed with some characters which I was told were Tibetan. I had seen the like before with S. Ramaswamier. Finding the envelope was addressed in English to "Ramaswamy Iyer," I handed it over to him. He opened the envelope and drew out a letter. Of the contents thereof I am not permitted to say more than that *they had immediate reference to what S. Ramaswamier was speaking to us rather warmly about, and that it was intended by his Guru as a check on his vehemence in the matter.* As regards the handwriting of the letter, it was shown to me, and I readily recognised it as the same that I had seen in other letters shown me long before by S. Ramaswamier as having been received from his Guru (also Madame Blavatsky's master). I need hardly add that immediately after I witnessed the above phenomenon, I examined the shelf wall, plank, boards, and all inside and outside with the help of a light, and was thoroughly satisfied that there was nothing in any of them to suggest the possibility of the existence of any wire, spring, or any other mechanical contrivance by means of which the phenomenon could have been produced.

V. Coopooswamy Iyer, M.A., F.T.S.,
Pleader, Madura.

27th November, 1883.

———

In reply to my questions:—I first questioned Mr. Coopooswamy Iyer alone downstairs. He was very doubtful about the distance of the hand from the wall, and seemed surprised that in his account the distance was given as *two yards.* He said it might be a yard or a yard and a-half. He had not observed anything beyond the hand and part of the arm, had not looked beyond this,—could not say whether it ended in a stick, or in nothing at all. The hand and arm appeared from behind the hangings of the shelf, dropped the letter, and were immediately gone. His examination of the shelf and planks behind appears to have been very incomplete. I took him upstairs and asked him to describe the positions, and to hold his finger at the point which the "hand" reached. Madame Blavatsky was in the room, and requested me to get the tape and measure the distance. The measuring tape was in another room. I observed closely the position of Mr. C. Iyer's finger before I left for the tape. I was away about half-a-minute, leaving Madame Blavatsky talking with Mr. C. Iyer about the position. When I returned the finger was at least a foot further away from the wall. The distance then measured was 4ft. 9in.

I received two accounts within a few minutes from Mr. Ramaswamier as to the respective positions of the sitters, and in his second account both he and Mr. C. Iyer were represented as sitting in places quite two feet nearer the shelf than as described in his first account. Moreover, the words in the letter received by Mr. Ramaswamier were not more specific than might easily have been written before the conversation referred to took place. They were a general injunction beginning "Patience! Patience!"

Mr. Babajee did not see the hand, he was not looking in that direction at the moment. He heard a slight noise and saw the letter on the floor.

Ananda (Mr. T. Vijiaraghava Charloo) saw the curtain before the shelf stirring as though a wind was passing. He then saw a hand and arm come out from behind the curtain. It came out about a foot or a foot and a-half, about up to the elbow. The letter fell, and his attention was drawn to the letter. Then hand and arm were gone.

After the sliding panel was shown in the teak door, the defence made was that the arm had come from the *right* side of the shelf, whereas the sliding panel was on the *left* side. I found it perfectly easy, however, to thrust my arm through the gap made when the panel slid, and to turn it in the shelf recess (which was concealed by the curtains) so that it should appear beyond the curtains in front of the right panel instead of the left, and as far forward as described by Ananda. I discussed the discrepancies in the different accounts with Messrs. Ramaswamier and Coopooswamy Iyer; and Mr. Lane-Fox, who afterwards heard of the different accounts, expressed his conviction of the worthlessness of the phenomenon as a test, and assured me that in a later conversation with Madame Blavatsky she admitted that the "phenomenon" probably originated with and was carried out by the Coulombs for the purpose of enabling them afterwards to discredit other "phenomena" more easily. Yet Madame Blavatsky had shortly before been endeavouring to persuade me that the arm must have been "astral," and urging how infinitely impossible it was for the "phenomenon" to have been other than a genuine manifestation of the "occult power," which the initiates of the "esoteric science" are alleged to possess.

According to M. Coulomb it was Babula's hand that appeared, by Madame Blavatsky's instructions. This explanation fits in well enough with Ananda's account.

APPENDIX VII.

ACCOUNTS OF PHENOMENA DESCRIBED BY MR. MOHINI IN HIS DEPOSITION BEFORE THE COMMITTEE (See Report, pp. 239-245).

FIRST AND SECOND ALLEGED ASTRAL APPARITIONS.

Account by Mr. Mohini.

Mr. Mohini: It was in the month of December, 1882, that I saw the apparition of one of the Mahatmas for the first time. I do not remember the precise date, but it can be easily ascertained. It was a few days after the anniversary of the Theosophical Society was celebrated in that year.

One evening, eight or ten of us were sitting on the balcony at the head-quarters of the Society. I was leaning over the railings, when at a distance I caught a glimpse of some shining substance, which after a short time took the form of a human being. This human form several times passed and re-passed the place where we were. I should think the apparition was visible for four or five minutes.

MR. STACK: How far did it appear to be from you?

MR. MOHINI: About 20 or 30 yards.

MR. MYERS: In what way can you be sure that it was not an ordinary person?

MR. MOHINI: From the position in which it appeared. It appeared at a place where there was a declivity in the hill, the house being at the top of the hill. There was also a bend at the spot, so that if an ordinary human being had been walking there it would have been impossible for him to have been seen. I saw the whole figure, however, so that it must have been floating in mid-air.

MR. MYERS: Other persons besides yourself saw it?

MR. MOHINI: Oh, yes. One was Nobin Krishna Bannerji, who is deputy collector at Berhampore, Moorshedabad, Bengal. Another was Ramaswamier, who is district registrar at Madura, Madras. A third was Pundit Chandra Sekhara, who lives at Bareilly, N.W.P.

MR. MYERS: All those witnesses saw the same figure that you did?

MR. MOHINI: Yes.

MR. MYERS: Who observed it first?

MR. MOHINI: It was first observed by Ramaswamier and myself.

MR. MYERS: And all agreed that it could not be a real man walking in that way?

MR. MOHINI: Certainly. It seemed to us to be the apparition of the original of the portrait in Colonel Olcott's room, and which is associated with one of the Mahatmas.

MR. MYERS: In fact, Colonel Olcott's Master?

MR. MOHINI: Yes.

MR. MYERS: What amount of light was there at the time?

MR. MOHINI: This occurred about half-past nine or ten o'clock on a bright moonlight night.

MR. MYERS: The figure walked up and down?

MR. MOHINI: Yes, and then disappeared.

MR. MYERS: In what way did it disappear?

MR. MOHINI: It seemed to melt away.

MR. STACK: Could you distinguish the features at the distance at which you were?

MR. MOHINI: Oh, yes, and the dress, the turban, and everything.

MR. MYERS: What height did the figure appear to be?

MR. MOHINI: I should think it was six feet or so—a very tall man.

MR. MYERS: Because we heard from Colonel Olcott that his Mahatma was something like 6ft. 5in. in height.

MR. MOHINI: I could not tell exactly, but it was very tall. I had seen the portrait several times. It was the first picture of a Mahatma I had ever seen, so that it made a great impression upon me.

MR. MYERS: When was the second time that you saw an astral appearance?

MR. MOHINI: Two or three days after that. We were sitting on the ground—on the rock, outside the house in Bombay, when a figure appeared a short distance away. It was not the same figure as on the first occasion.

MR. MYERS: In what way are you sure it was not a living man?

MR. MOHINI: You could easily find that out from the colour. This was the same shining colour as before.

MR. MYERS: Did the apparition seem to walk or to float?

MR. MOHINI: It seemed to float. There was no sound accompanying it.

MR. MYERS: You say that it was a shining substance. Was it phosphorescent?

MR. MOHINI: It seemed like phosphorus in the dark. The hair was dark, and could be distinguished from the face.

MR. GURNEY: Going back to the first apparition, it seems somewhat startling to be told that you could recognise the face at such a distance off, and in moonlight. Do you feel sure that if you had seen the face alone you would have recognised it?

MR. MOHINI: I cannot answer that. I saw the whole thing, and the whole thing, taken together, produced upon me the impression that it was the apparition of the original of the portrait in Colonel Olcott's room. Had I seen the face alone, peering out of the dark, I do not know whether I should have recognised it or not.

MR. STACK: Do all the Mahatmas dress alike?

MR. MOHINI: No. Colonel Olcott was present on the first occasion, and, as I have already stated, the apparition that appeared was that of his Master.

MR. MYERS: On the two occasions did all who were present see the apparitions?

MR. MOHINI: Yes.

MR. MYERS: Can you give us the names of the persons who were present on the second occasion?

MR. MOHINI: They were the same persons that were present on the first occasion.

MR. MYERS: Did the apparition say anything on the second occasion

MR. MOHINI: No.

[The following accounts were taken down by me in writing at the time the statements were made to me by the several witnesses. I received also additional description of the spots where the alleged astral figures were said to have appeared. I was thus able to test to a certain extent the accuracy of the accounts, when I visited the old headquarters in Bombay.]

Account by MR. RAMASWAMIER (District Registrar, Madura).

1.

At the end of the following year (1882), at the headquarters at Bombay, several of us were together on the upper balcony. I am unable to recollect any of the others. I suddenly saw, at the distance of about 15 paces, a gleaming substance which assumed the figure of a man. It was not walking on the ground, but appeared to be gliding through mid-air among the top-

most branches of the trees. It glided forwards and backwards four or five times. I could not recognise the person, could not see whether it had a beard or not, cannot say whether it was tall or not. The night was moonlight. Time between eight and nine p.m.

2.

About the same time, at the end of 1882, I was sitting with Madame Blavatsky, Madame Coulomb, Norendra, Janaki, Nobin K. Bannerji, and others in a verandah adjoining Madame Blavatsky's writing-room.

On one side was a hill gradually rising to a top. The hill was covered with thorns. I saw something like a flash of light, and gradually it assumed the figure of a person about 20 feet distant. Time between 7 and 8 p.m. I cannot say whether it was moonlight or not. I did not recognise the figure; cannot say whether it had a beard or not; cannot say whether it had a turban or not. Madame went near the foot of the hill and exchanged some signs with the figure. Madame then went to her room by the path on our side, and the figure went in the direction of Madame's room by the other side.

Afterwards Madame came to us in great excitement and said that one of the delegates had polluted the house, and it was for this reason the figure could not come near us. Shortly after the figure again appeared on the hill, and suddenly vanished, leaving a brightness which gradually faded away.

Account by Mr. Nobin Krishna Bannerji (Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, and Manager-General of Wards' Estates in Moorshedabad, Bengal).

1.

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary, in 1882, one evening before the anniversary celebration, at about 7 p.m., I was sitting in the balcony of the headquarters in Bombay, in company with Norendra Nath Sen, Mohini, Madame, Ramaswamier, and several others. We were talking when Madame said, "Don't move from your seat until I say," or something to that effect. This made us expect that something was about to happen. Some were standing near the railing of the balcony, others were seated a little back. After a few moments those standing near the rails saw something, and made some remarks which induced the rest of the party, excepting myself and Norendra, to get up and go towards the rails, and look at the object. We didn't stir, as nothing further was said by Madame, but kept turning our heads in expectation of seeing something. But we didn't perceive anything. Some four or five minutes after, we inferred from the remarks made, that the others had seen some luminous astral figure walking to and fro below the balcony on the side of the hill. It was not pitch dark. Objects could be seen at a distance, but not distinguished clearly.

2.

The same party with the addition of Mr. Ghosal were sitting together on the north extremity of the bungalow facing the sea, at about 7.30 p.m., when some remark of Madame's made us expect to see something immediately. Shortly after we saw a form standing on a rock close to the adjoining bungalow, about 10 yards distant. The light was about the same

as on the previous occasion. There was no tree near and the figure could be seen clearly. The figure was dressed in a white flowing garment, with a light coloured turban, and a dark beard. The figure was that of a man of apparently ordinary size, but I could not recognise who it was. From my description Colonel Olcott recognised one of the Mahatmas. He mentioned the name, which we afterwards found to be correct, as Madame and Damodar corroborated it. The figure seemed faintly luminous, but I am unable now to recollect any further details concerning its description. The figure gradually vanished, and for a minute or two afterwards the place where it had been seemed to be gleaming with a milky brightness. The rock itself has some date and other trees upon it, but the spot where the figure appeared was bare. The figure was standing still when we saw it.

Account by Mr. Chandra Sekhara (Teacher in High School, Bareilly, N.W.P.).

1.

In 1882 I went to Bombay in November, reaching there on the morning of 26th inst. The anniversary was postponed from November 27th to December 7th. On the evening of the 27th, about 8 p.m., we, *i.e.*, about 10 or 11 of us, including the delegates, were seated in the balcony with Madame B. and Colonel Olcott. Mohini M. Chatterji, Bishen Lall, and Janaki Nath Ghosal were present. We were chatting together, and Madame Blavatsky, with some other brethren, quickly rose up, and looked towards the garden below the balcony. I rose up and looked out, but not in the proper direction. J. N. Ghosal pointed me to the proper quarter, and I saw a luminous figure walking to and fro below the balcony, on the third terrace field. [This was explained to mean that there were two fields and a portion of a third between the speaker and the figure.] Each field is about 10 yards wide. The third field is full of thorny trees, so that it is difficult for a man to walk freely. The trees varied in size, and the foliage occupied a good deal of space. The figure was upright. I saw him walk three times over a distance of about 40 yards, and then disappear. There was no moonlight. The figure appeared nearly 6ft. high, well-built, but I could not distinguish the features. I could not tell whether he had a beard. My sight is ordinary.

2.

The following day we were seated in the verandah near the Occult Room, when Madame said that she felt something extraordinary. The time was between 7 and 8 p.m. Suddenly we saw the luminous body of one who was explained to me to be another Mahatma, on the high rock adjoining the Occult Room. The distance of the figure was about 16 yards. Madame Coulomb was with us. I could not distinguish the features clearly, not sufficient for recognition. I cannot say whether the figure had a beard. As soon as we saw the figure, Madame Coulomb exclaimed, in a nervous manner, "There! There!" And in a minute Colonel Olcott said, "Madame [Blavatsky], go to the foot of the rock, and talk to the Mahatma." Madame went to the rock, and in a short time after she came back shivering, and said

the Mahatma would be willing to come forward to talk to the audience, but there was some man in our company whose sin was so great that it would be difficult for the Mahatma to approach, and therefore he had to go away. The figure disappeared suddenly before Madame returned.

Account by Mr. J. N. Ghosal (Allahabad).

One evening, at the Bombay headquarters, on the 27th or 28th of November, 1882, about 9 or 10 p.m., Madame Blavatsky, Mohini, Chandra Sekhara, Damodar, Nobina Krishn Bannerji, Norendra Nath Sen, and a few others besides myself, were sitting in the balcony. Some of them had been called there by me, as I was then expecting that some phenomenon would take place. My attention was drawn by a sound among some trees down below, about 10 yards from the balcony. The sound was like the stirring of leaves. Immediately after I saw the tall figure of a man apparently more than 6ft. in height, clad in white, near the trees. It was a clear moonlight night. The figure was well-built. I could not distinguish the features very well, saw something like a beard, but not very distinctly. A white turban was on the head. The figure began to walk backwards and forwards for two or three minutes. Madame Coulomb joined the group, and the figure disappeared, making the same kind of sound, like stirring of leaves, which I heard before the appearance of the figure. But it appeared to me, and a few of those present were of the same opinion, that the figure walked over one of the trees and suddenly disappeared. Not being able to distinguish the features, I inquired of Madame, and was told it was the astral appearance of her Master.

Next morning I went to the spot where the figure appeared, and found the spot so low that any one walking on the ground could not have been entirely seen from the balcony.

[This is the only "astral figure" Mr. Ghosal has seen.]

Account by Mr. Norendra Nath Sen (Editor of the *Indian Mirror*, Calcutta).

I saw the astral figure on the rock at the Bombay headquarters. It was 7 or 8 p.m., and the figure was about 20 yards distant. I recognised no more than that it appeared to be the figure of a man, who came down from the rock and went with Madame Blavatsky into her room.

THIRD ALLEGED ASTRAL APPARITION.

Mr. Mohini: The third instance which I will describe was the last that occurred just before my leaving India. We were sitting in the drawing-room on the first floor of the house at Adyar. It was about 11 o'clock at night. The window looks over a terrace or balcony. In one corner of the room there appeared a thin vapoury substance of a shining white colour. Gradually it took shape, and a few dark spots became visible, and after a short time it was the fully-formed body of a man, apparently as solid as an ordinary human body. This figure passed and repassed us several times, approaching to within a distance of a yard or two from where we were standing near the window. It approached so near that I think if I had put out my hand I might have touched it.

Mr. Stack: Did you see the face clearly?

Mr. Mohini: Oh, yes; very clearly.

Mr. Myers: And it was Mr. Sinnett's correspondent?

Mr. Mohini: Yes.

Mr. Stack: How did you identify him as Koot Hoomi?

Mr. Mohini: Because I had seen his portrait several times before.

Mr. Stack: Had you ever seen him in the flesh?

Mr. Mohini: I cannot answer that. I explained to you the reason why I could not. Colonel Olcott can, but I cannot.

Mr. Myers: Are we to understand, then, that, when favours are accorded by a Mahatma for the sake of the Chela's own spiritual advancement, there is a rule which forbids the Chela to describe them, with the view of preventing spiritual pride?

Mr. Mohini: I have not been told the reason, but that is, I believe, the reason.

Mr. Myers: Will you continue your account?

Mr. Mohini: After a while I said that as I should not see him for a long time, on account of my going to Europe, I begged he would leave some tangible mark of his visit. The figure then raised his hands and seemed to throw something at us. The next moment we found a shower of roses falling over us in the room—roses of a kind that could not have been procured on the premises. We requested the figure to disappear from that side of the balcony where there was no exit. There was a tree on the other side, and it was in order to prevent all suspicion that it might be something that had got down the tree, or anything of that kind, that we requested him to disappear from the side where there was no exit. The figure went over to that spot and then disappeared.

Mr. Myers: You saw its disappearance?

Mr. Mohini: Oh yes, it passed us slowly until it came to the edge of the balcony, and then it was not to be seen any more.

Mr. Myers: The disappearance being sudden?

Mr. Mohini: Yes.

Mr. Gurney: Was the height of the balcony such that any one could have jumped down from it?

Mr. Mohini: The height was 15 or 20 feet, and, moreover, there were people downstairs and all over the house, so that it would have been impossible for a person to have jumped down without being noticed. Just below the balcony there is an open lawn. There were several persons looking at the moment, and my own idea is that it would have been perfectly impossible for a person to have jumped down.

Mr. Stack: Why?

Mr. Mohini: There is a small flight of steps just below the balcony, and if a man had jumped from the balcony he must have fallen upon the steps and broken his legs. When the figure passed and re-passed us we heard nothing of any footsteps. Besides myself, Damodar and Madame Blavatsky were in the room at the time.

Mr. Myers: Did this figure speak?

Mr. Mohini: Not on that occasion. What it did could not be called speaking.

Mr. Stack: Were you all in the room when this occurred, or out on the balcony?

Mr. Mohini: In the room, with the window open.

Mr. Myers: What light was there on the balcony?

Mr. Mohini: The moonlight, and the figure came to within so short a distance that the light, which was streaming out of the window, fell upon it. This was at the Madras headquarters, about either the end of January or the beginning of February last; in fact, just before I left Madras.

Mr. Stack: What kind of roses were they that they could not be grown at Madras?

Mr. Mohini: I said that they could not have been procured on the premises, though, indeed, I have not seen any such roses at Madras.

Mr. Stack: What was the colour of the figure? Was it perfectly natural?

Mr. Mohini: When it came, it was just like a natural man.

Mr. Myers: Can you give any reason why this figure was different in colour and aspect from those which you saw on the former occasions?

Mr. Mohini: The luminosity* depends upon whether all the principles which go to make up a double are there, without any gross particles being attracted.

Mr. Myers: Gross matter is present when the figure is non-luminous?

Mr. Mohini: Yes.

Mr. Stack: This figure looked like an ordinary man? If you had not believed that it was the Mahatma Koot Hoomi, you would have thought it was an ordinary man?

Mr. Mohini: I never would have thought that it was an ordinary man, because it was such a striking figure.

[See the comments on this case pp. 241-244.]

LETTER RECEIVED AT PARIS.

[See comments on this case, p. 245.]

Account by Mr. Mohini.

Mr. Mohini: I was staying in Paris, occupying apartments at No. 46, Rue Notre Dame des Champs. Mr. Keightley and Mr. Oakley were in the house with me. On that morning we were discussing as to whether we should go into the country, to a place where Madame Blavatsky was then staying, and we decided upon doing so. The two gentlemen I have named went to their respective rooms to get ready to start by the next train. I was sitting in the drawing-room. Within a few minutes, Mr. Keightley came back from his room, and went to that of Mr. Oakley. In doing so he passed me, and I followed him.

Mr. Stack: Was the drawing-room between the two bedrooms?

Mr. Mohini: The hall also intervened, I think. To go from one bedroom to another the easiest way was through the drawing-room. Arriving

* I have no doubt that what Mr. Mohini terms the "luminosity" was merely the moonlight reflected from the white robes of the figure. On the "former occasions" there was moonlight, but in this third case there was no moonlight—Mr. Mohini's statement that there was being erroneous. (See p. 244.)

in the bedroom we found Mr. Oakley talking with Madame Blavatsky's Indian servant. Mr. Keightley inquired if Mr. Oakley had called. Mr. Oakley replied in the negative, and Mr. Keightley then returned to his own room, followed by myself. There was a table in the middle of the room occupied by Mr. Keightley. He had passed the edge of the table nearest the door, and was about one foot and a-half distant—I had not yet entered the room—when, on the edge of the table nearest the door, I saw a letter. The envelope was of the kind always used by one of the Mahatmas. Many such envelopes are in my possession, as well as in the possession of Mr. Sinnett and others. The moment I caught sight of it I stopped short and called out to Mr. Keightley to turn back and look. He turned back and at once saw the letter on the table. I asked him if he had seen it there before. He answered in the negative, and said that had it been there he must have noticed it, as he had taken his watch and chain out and put them on the table. He said that he was sure the letter was not there when he passed the spot, as the envelope was too striking not to have caught his sight.

Mr. Stack : What are these envelopes ? Are they peculiar to the use of Mahatmas ? Or are they ordinary Thibetan envelopes ?*

Mr. Mohini : I have only seen them used by Mahatmas.

Mr. Stack : They are made of paper, and have Chinese characters on them, I think ?

Mr. Mohini : Yes.

Mr. Stack : The reason I ask is that Colonel Olcott, in his conversation, spoke of them, I think, as if they were Thibetan envelopes. I thought they might be in general use in Thibet.

Mr. Mohini : I have never been to Thibet, nor have I ever received a letter from thence. Indeed, I do not believe that there is any postal service with Thibet.

Mr. Gurney : It would not be a hopeful place to communicate with, then.

Mr. Stack : But they might manufacture such envelopes for use among the officials there.

Mr. Mohini : I have seen one Thibetan pedlar, but he did not offer me any such article for sale. Returning to Mr. Keightley, he also said that he had been looking for something on the table.

Mr. Myers : What other persons had been in the apartment ?

Mr. Mohini : Myself, Mr. Keightley, Mr. Oakley, and Madame Blavatsky's Indian servant.

Mr. Myers : Our object would be to ascertain whether anybody could have placed the letter in the room during Mr. Keightley's absence. Do I understand that while Mr. Keightley was absent from his room yourself, Mr. Oakley, and the Indian servant were in his sight all the time ?

Mr. Mohini : Yes.

Mr. Myers : Was the outer door of the house closed at the time ?

Mr. Mohini : Yes.

Mr. Myers : Do you feel morally certain that nobody was secreted in the room ?

* See evidence of Mr. A O. Hume, p. 275.

Mr. Mohini: I do. The letter was directed to myself, and it was opened in their presence.

Mr. Myers: What were the contents of the letter?

Mr. Mohini: The letter referred to some matters of a private character, and ended with a direction to me to take down my friends to the place in the country.

Mr. Myers: Thus appearing to show a knowledge of events of the moment?

Mr. Mohini: Just so.

Mr. Myers: Could the letter have been written some days before, and the allusion as to taking your friends into the country inserted afterwards?

Mr. Mohini: No; because Mr. Keightley and Mr. Oakley only came to the house by accident that morning.

Mr. Stack: On what floor were these rooms?

Mr. Mohini: On the first floor.

Mr. Myers: Upon what did the windows look?

Mr. Mohini: One of them looked out upon the yard.

Mr. Myers: Do you consider it impossible that somebody could have climbed up to the window and thrown the letter into the room?

Mr. Mohini: Absolutely impossible. Mr. Keightley was only absent a few seconds.

Mr. Myers: Could nobody have reached the window without a ladder?

Mr. Mohini: Certainly not.

Mr. Myers: Do you remember whether the window was open or not?

Mr. Mohini: Most likely it was not open.

Mr. Myers: Was the yard which you referred to the court-yard of the hotel?

Mr. Mohini: The back court-yard.

Mr. Myers: Had you observed any men moving about in the yard during your stay?

Mr. Mohini: I had not observed any.

Mr. Myers: What language was the letter written in?

Mr. Mohini: In English, and I recognised the handwriting as that of Mr. Sinnett's correspondent. Were I to show it to Mr. Sinnett he would at once identify it.

Account by Mr. A. Cooper-Oakley, B.A. (Camb.).

In reply to my inquiry:—Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Keightley, and Mr. Mohini had been staying together for about 3 days in the rooms in question. The day before the occurrence described, Madame B. had gone to Enghien. Mr. Oakley went frequently to the Paris apartments, and might be expected to call every day. On this particular morning he called at about 11.30 a.m., and after some conversation as to what they should do, they decided to go to Enghien. Mr. Oakley went into a sort of spare room [to shave]. Mr. Keightley went to his own room, and in 2 or 3 minutes came in to Mr. Oakley, and asked if Mr. Oakley had called him. He had heard his name called—Bert. [Bertram.] Mr. Keightley then left Mr. Oakley, and after a short interval returned, and asked him to come and look at something he had received. Mr. Oakley went back with him, and saw

upon a large round table, about 3 paces from the door of Mr. Keightley's room, a letter. The letter was on the edge of the table, nearest the door. It was addressed to Mohini, and asked him to come with his *friends* to Enghien.

Mr. Oakley is positive that no one was in his own room but himself when Mr. Keightley entered. He believes that Babula was in a small washroom between the two bedrooms, and is certain that Babula was on the same flat. Mr. Oakley volunteered the remark that as a question of strict evidence, the case was vitiated by the presence of Babula in the neighbourhood.

The two bedrooms and washroom opened on the same side into a passage, and Mr. Mohini was in a sitting-room on the other side of the passage. The natural way of passing from one bedroom to the other was along the passage past the washroom.

In a later conversation I learnt from Mr. Oakley that as Mr. Keightley returned to his room, Mr. Mohini passed into Mr. Keightley's room just in front of Mr. Keightley, and first saw the letter. Mr. Keightley explained to Mr. Oakley that the letter was not on the table when he *left* the room, as he had been placing some articles on the table, &c., and must have observed it had it been there. Mr. Oakley remarked that he thought it possible for Babula to have slipped into the room immediately after Mr. Keightley's leaving it, and to have deposited the letter on the table, and departed without having been seen in the act.

Account by Mr. B. Keightley, B.A. (Camb.).

In reply to my inquiries (June 24th, 1885) :—Mr. Keightley says that he was living in the rooms at the time, but that Mr. Oakley arrived unexpectedly, Mr. Keightley being unaware that Mr. Oakley was even in Paris. Mr. Oakley had not been to the rooms previously. Mr. Keightley heard his name called and left his own room to inquire if Mr. Oakley had called him. He proceeded to the room where Mr. Oakley was engaged. There were two ways of entering this room after passing a short distance along the passage upon which Mr. Keightley's room opened.

One way was through the corner of a small dressing-room between Mr. Keightley's room and the room where Mr. Oakley then was ; another way was through the drawing-room where Mr. Mohini was seated. Mr. Keightley is unable to recollect certainly which way was taken by him, and he cannot be certain whether he actually went into Mr. Oakley's room, but thinks he went just inside. After asking Mr. Oakley whether he had called his (Mr. Keightley's) name [Bert], and receiving Mr. Oakley's reply in the negative, he returned immediately to his own room, and Mr. Mohini followed him on his return. Mr. Keightley on returning had entered his room and had not quite passed the table when Mr. Mohini, who was barely inside the door, called out. He was about 3 paces from the table. Mr. Keightley turned round and saw the letter lying on the table, between himself and the door, and at such a distance from him that he could reach the letter by leaning over. Mr. Mohini had not touched the letter, which was lying squarely on the table as though neatly placed there. The letter was beyond the reach of Mr. Mohini. Mr. Keightley had been looking for some object just before leaving his room, and had cleared that end of the table

where the letter appeared, placing moreover his ring and eyeglasses upon the table ; so that he is quite certain that the letter was not on the table when he left his room. He feels sure also that the letter must have attracted his attention had it been on the table when he entered his room on returning. Mr. Keightley went back to Mr. Oakley to ask him to come and see the letter, which until then he thinks had remained untouched. Mr. Keightley thinks that Babula was in the dressing-room at the time. This dressing-room opened into the corner room where Mr. Oakley was, but not into Mr. Keightley's room.

After I had read Mr. Oakley's account to him, Mr. Keightley thought he could negative the possibility referred to by Mr. Oakley, that Babula could have placed the letter on the table. Mr. Keightley thinks the time of his absence was so short that Babula could not have escaped being seen by him, somewhere in the room or in the passage, while he was returning.

Account written by Mr. Keightley, in June, 1884.

On the following day, [May 14th,] Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Judge being both at Enghien, where they had gone the previous day, I was sitting about 10.30 a.m., in the salon chatting with Mr. Oakley and Mr. Mohini. We had decided not to go to Enghien, and the subject had been dropped, when I felt a sudden impulse to go there, This suggestion of a change of plan was accepted after a little hesitation, Mr. Mohini having the same feeling. I therefore went to our room to get ready, and was engaged in arranging my toilette when I thought I heard Mr. Oakley calling me. Going out into the passage, just outside the door, I called to know what he wanted. Finding that he had not called me, I re-entered the room, Mr. Mohini following me from the salon at a yard or two's distance. I had reached the middle of the room when I heard him calling me from the doorway, and turning round I saw him standing on the threshold. I must here state that needing a certain article which I thought was on the table, I had thoroughly searched everything on it, and had cleared a space at the end next the door to put my ring and glasses on.

On turning round then, I at once noticed a Chinese envelope lying as if carefully placed there, on the cleared end of the table next the door. This envelope I at once recognised as being like those used by Mahatma K. H., and also recognised his writing in the address. Having called my friend Mr. Oakley, Mr. Mohini opened the envelope, which contained a long letter from his Master K.H. (of 3 pages), and concluded with an order to him to take Mr. Oakley and myself with him to Enghien for a few hours, thus showing an acquaintance with the question previously under discussion, and also the fact, known only to three or four persons in London, and about the same number in Paris, that my friend Mr. Oakley was then in Paris and actually in the house. Mr. Oakley was staying with some friends about 20 minutes walk distant, while he was in Paris.

THE STRANGE VOICE.

[The following passage from Mr. Mohini's deposition may also be worthy of note.]

Mr. Mohini: There is one other circumstance that I think I ought to state. It seemed to me a crucial test. I was seated one night with Madame Blavatsky

in her room. I had addressed a certain question to one of the Mahatmas, and Madame Blavatsky told me I would have a reply, and should hear the Mahatma's own voice.

MR. GURNEY: Had you asked him before?

MR. MOHINI: Yes, by letter. I had asked him the question; to which Madame Blavatsky said I should have a reply in his own voice. Madame Blavatsky said, "You shall hear his voice." I thought how should I know that it was not Madame Blavatsky ventriloquising. I began to hear some peculiar kind of voice speaking to me from one corner of the room. It was like the voice of somebody coming from a great distance through a long tube. It was as distinct as if a person were speaking in the room, but it had the peculiar characteristic I have indicated. As soon as I heard the voice I wanted to satisfy myself that Madame Blavatsky was not ventriloquising. A word was uttered and Madame Blavatsky would repeat it. It so happened that before she had finished speaking I heard another word uttered by the voice, so that at one and the same time there were two voices speaking to me. Madame Blavatsky, by whose side I was seated, repeated the words for no particular reason, so far as I am aware, and I came to the conclusion that the Mahatma had known what my thoughts were.

[Concerning this incident, I need only remind the reader of the hollow in the wall, which was near the corner of Madame Blavatsky's room. The confederate may have been Babula, previously instructed in the reply, and with a mango leaf in his mouth to disguise his voice.]

APPENDIX VIII.

EXPERIENCES OF MR. RAMASWAMIER.

As considerable importance has been attached to the experiences of Mr. Ramaswamier, it will be best to give the reader full opportunity of judging for himself what they come to. His first sight of a "Mahatma" is described as follows ("Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," No. 1, pp. 72-73):—

[CERTIFICATE.]

"Bombay, December 28th, 9 p.m., 1881.

"The undersigned, returning a few moments since from a carriage ride with Madame Blavatsky, saw, as the carriage approached the house, a man upon the balcony over the *porte cochère*, leaning against the balustrade, and with the moonlight shining full upon him. He was dressed in white, and wore a white *Fehta* on his head. His beard was black, and his long black hair hung to his breast. Olcott and Damodar at once recognised him as the 'Illustrious.'* He raised his hand and dropped a letter to us. Olcott jumped from the carriage and recovered it. It was written in Tibetan characters, and signed with his familiar cipher. It was a message to Ramaswamier, in reply to a letter (in a closed envelope) which he had written to the Brother a short time before we went out for the ride. M. Coulomb, who was reading

*A name by which Colonel Olcott's *Chohan* is known amongst us.—H.X.

inside the house, and a short distance from the balcony, neither saw nor heard any one pass through the apartment, and no one else was in the bungalow, except Madame Coulomb, who was asleep in her bedroom.

"Upon descending from the carriage, our whole party immediately went upstairs, but the Brother had disappeared.

"H. S. Olcott.
"Damodar K. Mavalankar."

"The undersigned further certifies to Mr. —— that from the time when he gave the note to Madame Blavatsky until the Brother dropped the answer from the balcony, she was not out of his sight.

"S. Ramaswamier, F.T.S., B.A.
"District Registrar of Assurances, Tinnevelly.

"P.S.—Babula was below in the *porte-cochère*, waiting to open the carriage door, at the time when the Brother dropped the letter from above. The coachman also saw him distinctly.

"S. Ramaswamier.
"Damodar K. Mavalankar.
"H. S. Olcott."

The following is Mr. Ramaswamier's account of what subsequently occurred to him in the North, published in *The Theosophist* for December, 1882, pp. 67-69. It is abridged from "How a 'Chela' found his 'Guru.'" (Being extracts from a private letter to Damodar K. Mavalankar, Joint Recording Secretary of the Theosophical Society.)

"When we met last at Bombay I told you what had happened to me at Tinnevelly. My health having been disturbed by official work and worry, I applied for leave on medical certificate and it was duly granted. One day in September last, while I was reading in my room, I was ordered by the audible voice of my blessed Guru, M——— Maharsi, to leave all and proceed immediately to Bombay, whence I had to go in search of Madame Blavatsky wherever I could find her and follow her wherever she went. Without losing a moment, I closed up all my affairs and left the station." Mr. Ramaswamier then describes how after journeying about, he at last found Madame Blavatsky at Chandernagore, and followed her to Darjeeling. "The first days of her arrival Madame Blavatsky was living at the house of a Bengalee gentleman, a Theosophist, was refusing to see any one; and preparing, as I thought, to go again somewhere on the borders of Tibet. To all our importunities we could get only this answer from her: that we had no business *to stick to and follow her*, that she did not want us, and that she had no right to disturb the Mahatmas with all sorts of questions that concerned only the questioners, for they knew their own business best. In despair *I determined, come what might*, to cross the frontier, which is about a dozen miles from here, and find the Mahatmas, or—Die." He describes how he started on October 5th, crossed the river "which forms the boundary between the British and Sikkhim territories," walked on till dark, spent the night in a wayside hut, and on the following morning continued his journey.

"It was, I think, between 8 and 9 a.m. and I was following the road to the town of Sikkhim whence, I was assured by the people I met on the

road, I could cross over to Tibet easily in my pilgrim's garb, when I suddenly saw a solitary horseman galloping towards me from the opposite direction. From his tall stature and the expert way he managed the animal, I thought he was some military officer of the Sikkhim Rajah. Now, I thought, am I caught! He will ask me for my pass and what business I have on the independent territory of Sikkhim, and, perhaps, have me arrested and—sent back, if not worse. But, as he approached me, he reined the steed. I looked at and recognised him instantly. . . I was in the awful presence of him, of the same Mahatma, my own revered *Guru* whom I had seen before in his astral body, on the balcony of the Theosophical headquarters! It was he, the 'Himalayan BROTHER' of the ever memorable night of December last, who had so kindly dropped a letter in answer to one I had given in a sealed envelope to Madame Blavatsky—whom I had never for one moment during the interval lost sight of—but an hour or so before! The very same instant saw me prostrated on the ground at his feet. I arose at his command and, leisurely looking into his face, I forgot myself entirely in the contemplation of the image I knew so well, having seen his portrait (the one in Colonel Olcott's possession) a number of times. I knew not what to say: joy and reverence tied my tongue. The majesty of his countenance, which seemed to me to be the *impersonation* of power and thought, held me rapt in awe. I was at last face to face with 'the Mahatma of the Himavat' and he was no myth, no 'creation of the imagination of a *medium*,' as some sceptics suggested. It was no night dream; it is between nine and ten o'clock of the forenoon. There is the sun shining and silently witnessing the scene from above. I see HIM before me in flesh and blood; and he speaks to me in accents of kindness and gentleness. What more do I want? My excess of happiness made me dumb. Nor was it until a few moments later that I was drawn to utter a few words, encouraged by his gentle tone and speech. His complexion is not as fair as that of Mahatma Koot Hoomi; but never have I seen a countenance so handsome, a stature so tall and so majestic. As in his portrait, he wears a short black beard, and long black hair hanging down to his breast; only his dress was different. Instead of a white, loose robe he wore a yellow mantle lined with fur, and on his head, instead of a *pagri*, a yellow Tibetan felt cap, as I have seen some Bhootanese wear in this country. When the first moments of rapture and surprise were over, and I calmly comprehended the situation, I had a long talk with him. He told me to go no further, for I would come to grief. He said I should wait patiently if I wanted to become an accepted *Chela*: that many were those who offered themselves as candidates, but that only a very few were found worthy; none were rejected—but all of them tried, and most found to fail signally, especially——and——. Some, instead of being accepted and pledged this year, were now thrown off for a year. . . . . The Mahatma, I found, speaks very little English—or at least it so seemed to me—and *spoke to me in my mother tongue—Tamil.* He told me that if the *Chohan* permitted Madame Blavatsky to go to Pari-jong next year, then I could come with her. . . . The Bengalee Theosophists who followed the 'Upasika' (Madame Blavatsky) would see that she was right in trying to dissuade them from following her now. I asked the blessed Mahatma whether I could tell what I saw and heard to others. He replied in the affirmative, and that, moreover, I would do well to write to you and describe all. . .

"I must impress upon your mind the whole situation and ask you to keep well in view that what I *saw* was not the mere 'appearance' only, the astral body of the Mahatma, as we saw him at Bombay, but the *living man, in his own physical body.* He was pleased to say when I offered my farewell *namaskarams* (prostration) that he approached the British Territory to see the Upasika. . . . Before he left me, two more men came on horseback, his attendants, I suppose, probably *Chelas*, for they were dressed like *lama-gylongs*, and both, like himself, with long hair streaming down their backs. They followed the Mahatma, as he left, at a gentle trot. For over an hour I stood gazing at the place that he had just quitted, and then I slowly retraced my steps. Now it was that I found for the first time that my long boots had pinched me in my leg in several places, that I had eaten nothing since the day before, and that I was too weak to walk further. My whole body was aching in every limb. At a little distance I saw petty traders with country ponies, taking burden. I hired one of these animals. In the afternoon I came to the Rungit River and crossed it. A bath in its cool waters renovated me. I purchased some fruits in the only bazaar there and ate them heartily. I took another horse immediately and reached Darjeeling late in the evening. I could neither eat, nor sit, nor stand. Every part of my body was aching. My absence had seemingly alarmed Madame Blavatsky. She scolded me for my rash and mad attempt to try to go to Tibet after this fashion. When I entered the house I found with Madame Blavatsky, Babu Parbati Churn Roy, Deputy Collector of Settlements and Superintendent of Dearah Survey, and his Assistant, Babu Kanty Bhushan Sen, both members of our Society. At their prayer and Madame Blavatsky's command, I recounted all that had happened to me, reserving, of course, my private conversation with the Mahatma. . . . They were all, to say the least, astounded ! . . After all, she will not go this year to Tibet ; for which I am sure she does not care, since she saw our Masters, thus effecting her only object. But we, unfortunate people ! We lose our only chance of going and offering our worship to the 'Himalayan Brothers' who—I *know*—will not soon cross over to British territory, if ever again.

"I write to you this letter, my dearest Brother, in order to show how right we were in protesting against 'H.X.'s' letter in *The Theosophist.* The ways of the Mahatmas may appear, to our limited vision, strange and unjust, even cruel—as in the case of our Brothers here, the Bengalee Babus, some of whom are now laid up with cold and fever and perhaps murmuring against the Brothers, forgetting that they never asked or personally permitted them to come, but that they had themselves acted very rashly. . . .

"And now that I have seen the Mahatma in the flesh, and heard his living voice, let no one dare to say to me that the Brothers *do not* exist. Come now whatever will, death has no fear for me, nor the vengeance of enemies ; for what I know, I KNOW !

"You will please show this to Colonel Olcott, who first opened my eyes to the *Gnana Marga*, and who will be happy to hear of the success (more than I deserve) that has attended me. I shall give him details in person.

"S. RAMASWAMIER, F.T.S.

"Darjeeling, October 7th, 1882."

In reference to the above incident on p. 76 of the same number of *The Theosophist*, Mr. Ramaswamier says that he recognised the Mahatma "on account of his great resemblance to a portrait in Colonel Olcott's possession, which I have repeatedly seen."

Now in Mr. Ramaswamier's first experience, that of the figure on the balcony, "the whole force of the evidence," as we remarked in our First Report, "depends on what value can be attached to a recognition by moonlight of a person on a balcony above you. Apart from this recognition, personation through the agency of the Coulombs would appear to be peculiarly easy in this case." Mr. Ramaswamier's account of it, in reply to my questions, is as follows :—

"I had been a member of the Society about two months, when I went to the headquarters at Bombay. After being there 2 or 3 days, Madame came in to me one morning and said I was thinking of something special, and that she had Master's orders to tell me to put it in writing and give it to her. I wrote a letter during the day. Madame asked me to accompany her for a drive—somewhere between 6 and 7 p.m. As we went downstairs to get into the carriage, I gave her the letter. She put it into her pocket, and we immediately got into the carriage. We got out at the telegraph-office, in order that a telegram might be sent to congratulate some friends who were being married. Either the Colonel or Damodar went alone to the telegraph-office, but not out of my sight.

"Madame then said she felt the presence of the Masters at headquarters, and wanted to go back directly. We usually walked up the road towards the house, but on this occasion Madame would not allow us to leave the carriage. As the carriage neared the portico, I saw the figure of a man leaning on the railing of the balcony with a letter between finger and thumb. We all remained motionless for a short time, the figure on the balcony also. The letter was then thrown down by the figure. It fell near the carriage, on the ground. Colonel Olcott got out and took it up, and we all then ran up to the balcony. But no one was there. The night was bright moonlight. The figure was tall, about 6ft., well-built, and the face very handsome. The eyes were very calm and motionless, giving an aspect of serenity. The hair was dark and long, the beard was short. He had a fehta on his head, and did not speak. I had never seen the figure before. Afterwards I recognised the resemblance between this figure and the portrait in possession of the Colonel, which I had not previously seen.

"The letter was addressed to me, and contained words to the effect that every man must have his own deserts, and that if I deserved well of the Mahatmas they would assist me ; also that my desire to become a pupil had not been long in existence, and that I should wait to see whether it was a mere passing thought or not. (In my letter I had expressed a desire, among other things, to become a pupil.) This was the whole substance of the letter, in my own words. Time—between 7 and 8 p.m."

During my examination of Madame Blavatsky, concerning some of the letters in Madame Coulomb's pamphlet, Colonel Olcott gave an account of the letter which Mr. Ramaswamier had given to Madame Blavatsky.

According to his account, Mr. Ramaswamier gave the letter to Madame Blavatsky in her own rooms, shortly before dinner. The letter was placed by her on the table, and in a few minutes, on looking for it, it could not be found. Madame Blavatsky confirmed this account; Mr. Damodar also assented to it. Madame Blavatsky was alone with Mr. Ramaswamier at the time, but Colonel Olcott and Mr. Damodar professed to have heard the details shortly after.

I asked Madame Coulomb if she knew anything of this letter. She said that Madame Blavatsky retired to the bath-room, where she (Madame Coulomb) was; that Madame Blavatsky was in a great hurry, saying "Quick! Quick!" and wrote the reply in a few seconds, which she gave to Madame Coulomb, to be dropped by M. Coulomb disguised as a Mahatma. There was ample time for M. Coulomb to have doffed his disguise, and to be found reading "a short distance from the balcony," and I may remark that an expression used by Mr. Ramaswamier seems to me especially applicable to the eyes of a dummy head, like that exhibited to me by M. Coulomb. "The eyes were very calm and motionless, giving an aspect of serenity." The "Mahatma" communication is described as "written in Thibetan characters," and Mr. Hume has informed me that he ascertained that Madame Blavatsky had some knowledge of Thibetan, though how far her knowledge extends he was unable to say, not being himself a Thibetan scholar.

I have had many conversations with Mr. Ramaswamier, and I questioned him closely concerning the "Mahatma" he saw on the borders of Thibet. A loose robe covered most of the Mahatma's body. The feet and legs were not bare. The feet were enveloped in a sort of leather used in that district. The Mahatma talked to him for about half-an-hour, spoke to him of Chelas who had failed, of the duties of a Chela,—told him he should work for the Theosophical Society, and gave him certain communications by which persons in high standing in the Society could be assured he had seen the Master himself. Among these persons was Colonel Olcott, and I understood that the knowledge communicated implied something equivalent to a password.

Mr. Ramaswamier could not describe the Chelas, who passed quickly on horseback.

I see no improbability in supposing that the Mahatma was personated by one of Madame Blavatsky's confederates, and it is not impossible that Mr. Babajee and Mr. Casava Pillai may have been concerned in the scheme, as Madame Coulomb implies in her pamphlet. They are both familiar with districts where Tamil is commonly spoken. Mr. Babajee had not been accused of actually playing the Mahatma on that occasion, but he was nevertheless particularly anxious to prove to me how absurd it was that he, the little Mr. Babajee, could be mistaken for a majestic Mahatma. Mr. Casava Pillai, who had been on a contemporaneous visit to the North, I have not had an opportunity of cross-examining; but I obtained incidentally some curious information from Mr. Muruganunthum Pillai, who was present when Madame Blavatsky was conversing with his brother-in-law, Mr. Casava, after the latter's return from the North and when he was on a visit to Madras. Madame Blavatsky had "chaffed" Mr. Casava Pillai on the loss of his beard. Upon inquiry I learnt that Mr. Casava Pillai habitually

wore no beard; he seems, therefore, to have temporarily acquired a beard in the course of his journey north! Mr. Damodar, who was present when I was questioning Mr. Muruganunthum Pillai, was evidently disconcerted when this piece of suggestive conversation was innocently reproduced by the witness. It appeared to us in our First Report that "hallucination" would be an easier hypothesis to apply to Mr. Ramaswamier's experience than "personation"; but my acquaintance with Mr. Ramaswamier, taken with the evidence for the reverence displayed by the natives towards the "Mahatmas," which would interfere with any careful scrutiny, has convinced me that he might easily have been deceived by a confederate of Madame Blavatsky's in disguise.

APPENDIX IX.

EVIDENCE OF MR. MARTANDRAO B. NAGNATH, &c.

From "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," No. 1, p. 103.

"On another night a Brother came in his own physical body, walking through the lower garden (attached to Colonel Olcott's bungalow) and stood quiet. Madame Blavatsky then went down the wooden staircase leading into the garden. He shook hands with her and gave her a packet. After a short time the Brother *disappeared on the spot*, and Madame coming up the stairs opened the packet and found in it a letter from Allahabad. We saw the envelope was quite blank, *i.e.*, unaddressed, but it bore a triangular stamp of Allahabad Post Office of December the 3rd, 1881, and also a circular postal stamp of the Bombay Post Office of *the same date*, *viz.*, 3rd December. The two cities are 860 miles apart.

"I have seen letters, or rather envelopes containing letters, coming or falling from the air in different places, without anybody's contact, in presence of both Theosophists and strangers. Their contents related to subjects that had been the topics of our conversation at the moment.

"Now I aver in good faith I saw the Brothers of the first section and phenomena, in such places and times, and under such circumstances, that there could be no possibility of anybody playing a trick.

"MARTANDRAO BABAJI NAGNATH.

"Bombay, 14th February, 1882."

In our First Report we said, with regard to this statement, that we thought it must "be regarded as of small value, because postmarks can be imitated, and it seems improbable that an unaddressed letter would have been stamped at the post-office and not subsequently missed. It is, of course, curious that a Brother should seem to 'disappear on the spot,' but Mr. Martandrao does not seem to have been very near. It seems curious in another way, that the 'brother' should think it worth while to have the letter stamped at the post-office, when he was going to deliver it himself." Its value has certainly not been increased by Mr. Martandrao's later account in reply to my inquiries. He said:—

"One day we were sitting in the small verandah at Bombay. There were present Madame, Bhavani Shankar, Mullwarman Nathwarman, and myself.

We were talking on various subjects with Madame. Madame's attention on a sudden was abstracted. She stood up and began to stare far towards the sea. After looking for a while, she sat down and went on talking. This happened twice or thrice. There was no moonlight ; a clear starlight night. Talking was going on. On a sudden, at about 10 or 11 at night, a white clad figure was coming through the garden from the brow of the hill [down which, Colonel Olcott interposed, there was no path leading to the common road at the foot].

"The figure wore a fehta, seemed rather tall, and had a beard. I could see the man clearly, and could distinguish his features, but did not know him. He came fast walking towards us. When he came within 6 or 7 yards of us, Madame went down the wooden staircase, and met the figure and appeared to shake hands with him. I saw a packet delivered by the figure to Madame. After some minutes' talk with the figure Madame remounted the staircase with the packet in her hand, and told us to go into the bungalow and shut the door. We went inside, closed the door, and sat on a couch close to the right of the door. We heard Madame talking outside, but we did not know the language. It was not French or English. After some minutes Madame came in and showed us the packet. The packet was intact, and had three postal marks, Calcutta, Allahabad, and Bombay. [Interrupted by Colonel Olcott, who persuaded him there were only two postmarks.] One stamp was triangular,—Allahabad. These postmarks were of the same date. The letter was without any address. It was opened in our presence. Madame read the letter. I believe it was from Mr. Sinnett. It came from Allahabad."

Colonel Olcott, who was present at this interview with Mr. Martandrao, said there was no path leading from the brow of the hill to the common road at the foot. I found, however, that there were two such paths, which appeared to be very old, and which I definitely ascertained were in existence when Crow's Nest Bungalow formed the headquarters of the Society. Moreover, I found upon trial that the hill could be ascended where no path had been made.

In Mr. Martandrao's oral account there appears to be some confusion between the incident quoted above from "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," and a different incident, of which the account previously given by Mr. Martandrao in the same pamphlet, p. 104, is as follows :—

"In the month of April, 1881, on one dark night, while talking in company with other Theosophists with Madame Blavatsky about 10 p.m. in the open verandah of the upper bungalow, a man, 6 feet in height, clad in a white robe, with a white *roomal* or *phetta* on the head, made his appearance on a sudden, walking towards us through the garden adjacent to the bungalow from a point—a precipice—where there is no path for any one to tread. Madame then rose up and told us to go inside the bungalow. So we went in, but we heard Madame and he talking for a minute with each other in an Eastern language unknown to us. Immediately after, we again went out into the verandah, as we were called, but the Brother had disappeared."

The same absurd statement that there was no path occurs in this account also. Mr. Martandrao (Clerk in Examiner's Office of Public Accounts,

Bombay,) is, I believe, a very honest witness, though not gifted with a great amount of shrewdness, and not able to describe his experiences with any fluency in English. It was quite impossible for him to have written the account of his experiences, as it stands above his name in "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy." Colonel Olcott in my presence has corrected—as to absurd or faulty expressions—the written accounts of witnesses; and he may have erroneously "corrected" Mr. Martandrao's account in the above particular concerning the path, just as he made the addendum when Mr. Martandrao was giving the oral account to myself. The reader will see that either account is perfectly valueless for proving that the figure was other than an ordinary man,—unless the brow of the hill, accessible without difficulty on the farther side beyond the observation of the witnesses, were first transformed into the summit of a pathless precipice. I may here say that the grounds which form the environment of Crow's Nest Bungalow, with their many paths and easy hiding-places, formed an admirable stage for the display of "astral figures," which appear to have been seen much more frequently at Crow's Nest Bungalow than elsewhere. The next account is interesting in the way of suggesting exactly how the "astral figures" were pre-arranged in that particular case for the purpose of enabling the witnesses to testify to the existence of the "Brothers."

Mr. Martandrao's Account published in "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," p. 105.

"Similarly, in a strong moonlight on another night, I, in company with three Brother Theosophists, was conversing with Madame Blavatsky. Madame Coulomb was also present. About 8 or 10 yards distant from the open verandah in which we were sitting, we saw a Brother known to us as Koot Hoomi Lal Sing. He was wearing a white loose gown or robe, with long wavy hair and a beard; and was gradually forming, as it were, in front of a shrub or a number of shrubs some 20 or 30 yards away from us, until he stood to a full height. Madame Coulomb was asked in our presence by Madame Blavatsky: 'Is this good Brother a devil?' as she used to think and say so when seeing the Brothers, and was afraid. She then answered: 'No; this one is a man.' He then showed his full figure for about 2 or 3 minutes, then gradually disappeared, melting away into the shrub. On the same night again, at about 11 p.m., we, about 7 or 8 in number, were hearing a letter read to us, addressed to the London *Spiritualist* about our having seen Brothers, which one of our number had drafted, and which we were ready to sign. At this instant Mr. and Madame Coulomb called out and said: 'Here is again our Brother.' This Brother (Koot Hoomi Lal Sing again) was sometimes standing and walking in the garden here and there, at other times floating in the air. He soon passed into and was heard in Madame Blavatsky's room talking with her. On this account, after we had signed the letter to the London *Spiritualist*, we added a postscript that we had just seen him again while signing the letter. Koot Hoomi was in his *Mayavi rupa* on that evening."

Mr. Martandrao's account in reply to my inquiries:—"At about 7 or 8 p.m., in Bombay headquarters—it was either in 1881 or 1882—we were sitting in the verandah upstairs, Bhavani Shankar, Padshah (elder brother of Padshah in England), Madame, Mulwarman Nathwarman, and Damodar.

We were talking together when Madame suddenly became abstracted. She got up and went to the railing, and stood looking towards the sea. We thought something would happen. Madame told us to go on talking; then she sat down. Again we were talking. Again she stood up; and at once we also stood up, and saw a figure in the garden among the shrubs, about 30 yards off, on the brow of the hill. It was moonlight, and the moonlight shone upon the figure. I saw first half a figure, and then a full figure approaching a few steps, then standing. Then the figure seemed gradually to melt away. While this figure was standing, Madame sent for Madame Coulomb from downstairs, as she was always saying the place was haunted by devils. Madame Coulomb came, and was told to look at the figure, and Madame Blavatsky asked in a challenging tone, 'Is that the devil, or a man?' She said quietly, 'This is a man, not a devil.' The figure was very tall, 5½ or 6 feet. The figure had on a loose white gown, and wore a beard. I do not now recollect whether the figure had a turban, or not. I did not recognise the person as one whom I had known before. The figure remained 7 or 8 minutes.

"We went on again talking, and at 9 or 9.30 we went into another verandah, and Damodar and Padshah drafted a reply to be sent to the newspaper *Light*. After about 10 or 12 lines of the draft were written, 3 or 4 persons signed. The rest were to sign, and as we were called to sign we were told to read the draft. While reading, our attention was drawn by M. Coulomb, who had come up, to a figure standing in the garden. At that time the moon had gone. We went from the table to the Venetian windows facing towards the sea, and I saw a figure in the garden, while M. Coulomb and others were standing near me. The figure in the garden was tall, about 6 feet, standing erect and majestically, with a gown on, wearing a beard, but was not so robust as the previous figure, and with a fehta on his head. Towards that figure I folded my hands in reverence, thinking it to be a Mahatma. The figure stood for 4 or 5 minutes, at about 12 yards distance, and I then began to talk with those near me, and suddenly heard Madame's servant, Babula, shouting from the bungalow. Madame went in haste to the porch, and thence to her own room. I then heard Madame talking with somebody. When I heard Babula shout, I looked up again for the figure, and it was no longer there. Padshah and Damodar suggested that as we saw the figure while we were about to sign the protest we should add a postscript to that effect. We accordingly did so."

With these accounts may be compared the following:—

Account by Mr. Bhavani Rao (Shankar) printed in a compilation by Dr. Hartmann in 1885.

"In a bright moonlight, on the night of the 13th July, 1881, we were engaged in a talk with Madame Blavatsky as usual in the same verandah. M. Coulomb and Madame Coulomb were present on the spot, as also all the persons of the house, and Madame Blavatsky's servant. While we were conversing with Madame Blavatsky, the Mahatma, known as Mr. Sinnett's correspondent and the Author of the letters published in 'The Occult World,' made his appearance in his *Mayavi rupa* or 'Double,'

for a few minutes. He was clad in the white dress of a 'Punjabee' and wore a white turban. All of those who were present at that time saw his handsome features clearly and distinctly, as it was a bright moonlight night. On the same night, a letter was drafted to the London *Spiritualist* about our having seen the Mahatmas. As we were reading the letter in question, the same Mahatma showed himself again. The second time when he made his appearance, he was very near us, say at the distance of a yard or two. At that time, M. and Madame Coulomb said, 'Here is our Brother,' meaning the Mahatma. He then came into Madame Blavatsky's room and was heard talking with her and then disappeared. M. Coulomb and Madame Coulomb signed the letter drafted to the London *Spiritualist* testifying to the fact of their having seen the 'Mahatma.' Since Madame Coulomb now says that the Mahatmas are but 'crafty arrangements of muslin and bladders,' and her husband represented the Mahatmas, how are we to reconcile this statement with the fact that in the London *Spiritualist* of the 19th August, 1881, appeared a letter signed by five witnesses, including myself, testifying to the fact of their having seen a Mahatma, while they were writing that letter; and that this document is signed by both the Coulombs? There is, therefore, no doubt that they were with the company who signed the paper. Who was it then that appeared on that occasion as a Mahatma? Surely neither M. and Madame Coulomb with their 'muslin and bladders,' nor Madame Blavatsky's servant, who was also present, but the 'double' of a person living on the other side of the Himalayas. The figure in coming up to Madame Blavatsky's room was seen by us 'to float through the air,' and we also distinctly heard it talking to her, while all of us, *including her servant and the Coulombs*, were at the time, together, in each other's presence."

Now with regard to the statement of Mr. Bhavani, who apparently earns his living as an official of the Theosophical Society, being Inspector of the N. W. Theosophical branches, I may remark that the figure in question, although neither M. nor Madame Coulomb, nor Madame Blavatsky's servant, may still have been a confederate in disguise. It does, indeed, appear somewhat odd that "all the persons of the house, and Madame Blavatsky's servant" should be "present on the spot" with those Theosophists who were "engaged in a talk with Madame Blavatsky," and it is rather unfortunate that this fact or fancy was not exhibited more clearly either in the document forwarded to *The Spiritualist* or in the account given soon afterwards (February, 1882) by Mr. Martandrao. A reference to *The Spiritualist* of August 19th, 1881, will show that the Coulombs signed *only the postscript*, which runs as follows: "As we were reading the foregoing over, a Brother was with us. M. and Madame Coulomb, the latter Assistant Corresponding Secretary of the Central Theosophical Society, have seen him and will testify to the same." Then comes the statement "The above postscript is correct," which is signed by the Coulombs. Obviously, this postscript proves only that the Coulombs were with the other witnesses when the alleged apparition was seen the *second* time. But this has never been denied by the Coulombs. M. Coulomb asserts that he appeared first disguised as a Mahatma, that then a letter was drafted to be sent to *The Spiritualist*, and that afterwards Babula appeared disguised

as a Mahatma, for the purpose of enabling both the Coulombs to be present with the other witnesses, and to add their testimony. These assertions are entirely in harmony, not only with the document printed in *The Spiritualist*, but also with the detailed accounts of the two alleged "astral" appearances given by Mr. Martandrao, in whose earlier account it is plainly enough implied that M. Coulomb was *not* present with the other witnesses when the first figure was seen, and that Babula might have been absent from the company the whole evening. His later account confirms his earlier one in these particulars, and appears to me to be further corroborative of M. Coulomb's assertions. I think it, therefore, highly probable that the appearances were produced in the way described by M. Coulomb, and I cannot myself resist the impression that the important and palpable discrepancies between the accounts given by Mr. Bhavani and Mr. Martandrao are due to deliberate falsification on the part of Mr. Bhavani.

APPENDIX X.

ALLEGED ASTRAL APPARITION WITNESSED BY MR. AND MRS ROSS SCOTT. REMARKABLE PORTRAITS.

"Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," No. 1, pp. 75, 76.

"The undersigned severally certify that, in each other's presence, they recently saw at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society" (at Bombay) "a Brother of the First Section, known to them under a name which they are not at liberty to communicate to the public. The circumstances were of a nature to exclude all idea of trickery or collusion, and were as follows :—

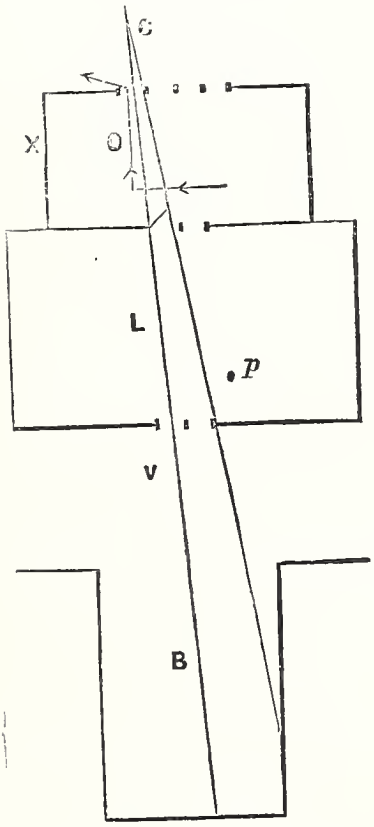
"We were sitting together in the moonlight about 9 o'clock upon the balcony which projects from the front of the bungalow. Mr. Scott was sitting facing the house, so as to look through the intervening verandah and the library, and into the room at the further side. This latter apartment was brilliantly lighted.

"The library was in partial darkness, thus rendering objects in the farther room more distinct. Mr. Scott suddenly saw the figure of a man step into the space, opposite the door of the library ; he was clad in the white dress of a Rajput, and wore a white turban. Mr. Scott at once recognised him from his resemblance to a portrait in Colonel Olcott's possession. Our attention was then drawn to him, and we all saw him most distinctly. He walked towards a table, and afterwards turning his face towards us, walked back out of our sight. We hurried forward to get a closer view, in the hope that he might also speak ; but when we reached the room he was gone. We cannot say by what means he departed, but that he did not pass out by the door which leads into the compound we can positively affirm ; for that door was full in our view, and he did not go out by it. At the side of the room towards which he walked there was no exit, the only door and the two windows in that direction having been boarded and closed up. Upon the table, at the spot where he had been standing, lay a letter addressed to one of our number. The handwriting was identical with that of sundry notes and letters previously received from him in divers ways—such as

dropping down from the ceiling, &c.; the signature was the same as that of the other letters received, and as that upon the portrait above described. His long hair was black, and hung down upon his breast; his features and complexion were those of a Rajput.

"Ross Scott, B.C.S.
"Minnie J. B. Scott.
"H. S. Olcott.
"H. P. Blavatsky.
"M. Moorad Ali Beg.
"Damodar K. Mavalankar.
"Bhavani Shankar Ganesh Mullapoorkar."

In our First Report we said: "Personation does not seem impossible in this case, considering the distance, and that there may have been modes of ingress to the room known only to the Coulombs. Still less does it seem impossible that it can have been the real man in the flesh." That it was a case of personation I have now no doubt.



The accompanying rough sketch will explain the position.

M. Coulomb asserts that he played the Mahatma on this occasion. He explained to me that the door leading from the verandah (V) into the library (L) was an ordinary double one, and so, likewise, was the door leading from the library into Colonel Olcott's office (O), where the figure appeared; but the door leading from the office into the compound (C) was a quadruple one. The line of sight from the position occupied by the party on the balcony (B) did not permit the *whole* of the quadruple-door exit to be seen, and by the time the party had reached such a position as to see the whole space of exit, M. Coulomb had left the room by the further side part of the quadruple-door.

One side of the door leading from the library into the office, M. Coulomb declares he had pushed partly to, in order to make certain that his departure should not be observed.

I performed this manœuvre myself in Bombay, and it succeeded admirably. With the door pushed partly to, as represented in the diagram, it was not possible for the party, who were originally on the balcony, to have seen the point of M. Coulomb's alleged exit before reaching the spot marked *P*. I requested a gentleman to walk in the direction indicated by the arrowed line, and found that the illusion was naturally produced that he had continued to walk

towards X, and could not have passed into the compound. Walking thus into the compound myself, I found it especially convenient to keep my face turned towards the spectators, as this enabled me to tell exactly when I was beyond their line of sight, and so make my exit unseen. And this just answers to the peculiar description of the disappearance of the figure given in the above account. "He walked towards a table, and afterwards turning his face towards us, walked back out of our sight." M. Coulomb's assertions, then, were so entirely corroborated by my inspection of the place, as to make it highly probable that he personated the Mahatma in the manner he alleges.

Mr. Sinnett, in giving some additional information to Mr. Hume concerning the above incident shortly after its occurrence, writes truly that "the force of the incident turns on the arrangement of the rooms," and proceeds to give a sketch of the rooms. This sketch affords another illustration of the remark which I have made in dealing with "The Occult World" phenomena—that Mr. Sinnett has not exercised by any means sufficient care in his investigation. The most important point in the arrangement of the rooms is entirely overlooked by him, the exit into the compound being represented as no wider than the doorway from the library into the office. In Mr. Sinnett's sketch, the three doorways appear to be all of the same size!

I may here draw attention to a certificate, a copy of which was sent by Colonel Olcott to Mr. Myers in October of last year:

[Copy.]

"Colonel Olcott having to-day shown us a portrait in oils, we at once recognised it as a very good likeness of a form which, in January, 1882, we saw at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society in Bombay, and said to be that of one of the Mahatmas known as the teacher of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott.

"(Sgd.) Ross Scott
"(Bengal Civil Service).
"(Sgd.) Maria J. B. Scott.

"Bonn, Germany, 27th September, 1884."

This refers to a portrait painted by Mr. Schmiechen from a photograph alleged to represent Mahatma M. The features of Mahatma M. originated, I believe, with an artist in America. It appears that this gentleman was requested to draw a typical Hindu head. He did so, and Madame Blavatsky declared that it was the portrait of Mahatma M. It was *after this occurrence* that the figure whose features resembled those of the "fancy portrait," appeared to Colonel Olcott in New York. Photographs were taken from this "fancy portrait," and it was either from one of these photographs, or from the original portrait that Mr. Schmiechen's painting was made. I have compared the photograph side by side with Mr. Schmiechen's painting, and must certainly say that there is a close resemblance between the two. Considering then that the dummy head with its equipment of turban, &c., was made up to resemble the early portrait, it is not surprising that a painting made from the same original should seem

to Mr. and Mrs. Ross Scott a good likeness of the disguised figure which they saw in Bombay between two and three years previously—and at a distance from them which I concluded when I was at Crow's Nest Bungalow, was probably about 20 paces.

Mr. Schmiechen has also painted a portrait of K. H., which appears to me to resemble his painting of Mahatma M. more nearly than it resembles the portrait of K. H. which was formerly kept in the Shrine. The Shrine-portrait and Mr. Schmiechen's cannot both be striking likenesses of K.H. ; they would probably be taken by any ordinary observer to represent different persons. In the Shrine-portrait, which is alleged, I think, to have been the work of some *Chela* (and if so, was probably the work of Madame Blavatsky), the nose is much more aquiline, and the eyes more almond-shaped than in Mr. Schmiechen's painting. The expression of the eyes, moreover, is very different from that in Mr. Schmiechen's rendering, and the complexion is very much paler. Also the hair is decidedly curly in the Shrine portrait, but is not curly in Mr. Schmiechen's. I drew Colonel Olcott's attention to the lack of resemblance displayed in some of these respects, and he admitted that there was a difference, which he described as being such as one would expect between the attempt of a schoolboy and that of a finished artist. As for the hair, he said that "Hair gets much straighter when it is wet" !

In connection with these portraits, I may refer to another, alleged to have been produced by Madame Blavatsky in less than a minute, in America. It appeared to us, at the time of our First Report, that there was no proof that the portrait, said to represent a Hindu Fakir, might not have been made previously ; but the case seemed to be of some interest in consequence of the artistic merits of the picture attested to by Mr. O'Donovan and Mr. Le Clear (*vide* "Hints on Esoteric Theosophy," No. 1, pp. 85, 86). Mr. O'Donovan, in the statement which he made concerning the portrait, said that "the black tints seem to be an integral part of the paper upon which it is done." Mr. Le Clear said : "I first thought it chalk, then pencil, then Indian ink ; but a minute inspection leaves me quite unable to decide. Certainly it is neither of the above" ; and also : "The tint seems not to be laid on the surface of the common writing-paper upon which the portrait is made, but to be combined, as it were, with the fibres themselves." I think it is implied by the statement of Mr. O'Donovan that the *lighter* tints appeared to have been laid on, and not to form an integral part of the paper, and this appeared also to myself. Madame Coulomb alleged that Madame Blavatsky had told her that she had laid on the upper tints herself upon one of two photographs of a Hindu Fakir which she possessed, and Madame Coulomb further alleged that the other photograph was still in one of Madame Blavatsky's albums, and that I would, without doubt, be able to see the portrait in the album, and recognise the likeness to the one supposed to have been produced by occult methods. I found a portrait which I thought might be the counterpart ; it was different from an ordinary photograph, the surface not presenting a polished appearance, and it seemed to me to resemble rather a mezzotint engraving. I had no opportunity of comparing it side by side with the "phenomenal" portrait, which I had not seen for some time previously ; and all I can say is that I noted a considerable

resemblance about the eyes and forehead which led me to think it quite possible that the "phenomenal" portrait may have been the result of Madame Blavatsky's artistic skill exercised upon a portrait like the one I found in her album.

APPENDIX XI.—(*Vide p.* 248.)

1

On the 4th March, 1884—(Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott were at this time on the ocean, having left Bombay on February 20th for Marseilles)—I, owing to certain domestic afflictions, felt exceedingly miserable ; could not take a morsel of food ; and remained in the most wretched condition of mind all that day. But in the evening, between 5 and 6 p.m., I proceeded to Adyar, in the hope of finding some consolation there ; and was seated in the office-room of the headquarters, talking to Mr. Bawaji, without, however, mentioning to any body the circumstance of my being in an unhappy condition. In the meantime, Mr. Damodar stepped in ; and I at once expressed to him my desire to see the "Shrine." He very kindly conducted me to the Occult Room upstairs forthwith ; and unlocked the "Shrine." He and I were standing hardly five seconds looking at the Mahatma K. H.'s portrait in the "Shrine," when he (Mr. Damodar) told me that he had orders to close the "Shrine ;" and did so immediately. This course was extremely disappointing to me, who, as the reader will have perceived from the above, was sorely in need of some consolation or other at that time. But ere I could realise the pangs of this disappointment, Mr. Damodar re-opened in an instant the "Shrine" by orders. My eye immediately fell upon a letter in a Thibetan envelope in the cup in the "Shrine," which was quite empty before ! I ran and took the letter, and finding that it was addressed to me by Mahatma K. H., I opened and read it. It contained very kind words conveying consolation to my aching heart ; advising me to take courage ; explaining how the laws of *Karma* were inevitable ; and finally referring me to Mr. Damodar for further explanation of certain passages in the letter.

How my presence before his portrait attracted the instantaneous notice of the Mahatma, being thousands of miles off ; how the Mahatma divined that I was miserable and was in need of comfort at his hands ; how he projected his long and consoling letter from such great distance into the closed cabinet, within the twinkling of an eye ; and, above all, how solicitous he, the great Mahatma, is for the well-being of mankind, and more especially of persons devoted to him,—are points which I leave to the sensible reader to consider and profit by. Enough to say that this unmistakable sign of extraordinary kindness on the part of the great Master armed me with sufficient energy to shake off the miserable and gloomy thoughts, and filled my heart with unmixed comfort and excessive joy, coupled with feelings of the sincerest gratitude to the benevolent Mahatma for this blessing.

P. Sreenevas Row.

2

was at headquarters very often during my sojourn with my friend H. H., the Thakore Sahib of Wadhwan at Madras, whither we had gone last

March for the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of the Hon. Gujpati Row. One day I asked Mr. D. K. Mavalankar to let me put a letter from me to my revered Master K. H. in the Shrine. It was in a closed envelope, and was regarding private personal matters, which I need not lay before the public. Mr. Damodar allowed me to put the letter in the Shrine. The day after I visited again the Shrine in company with my wife. On opening the Shrine I did find my letter unopened, but addressed to me in blue pencil, while my original superscription, : "My Revered Master," had a pencil line running through it. This was in the presence of Mr. Mavalankar, Dr. Hartmann and others. The envelope was intact. I opened it, and on the unused portion of my note was an answer from my Master K. H. in his, to me, familiar handwriting. I should very much like to know how others will explain this, when as a fact both founders were thousands of miles away.

HARISINGHJI RUPSINGHJI, F.T.S.

Varel, 9th September, 1884.

APPENDIX XII.

Account by MR. P. IYALOO NAIDU.

(A reply to Mr. Myers' inquiry contained in his letter of 13th ultimo.)

On the 11th February last, I received a letter from Mr Damodar K. Mavalankar, dated 8th idem, Adyar. In it there was a message in pencil by Mahatma Koot Hoomi, regarding a very important point.

On the same day, viz., 11th February, I received another envelope by the same post, "From Bhola Deva Sarma," in which there was a Thibetan envelope containing a message in Teloogoo characters on a point very important to me, with the initials of our revered Guru Deva M.C.

In the last month (August) I was anxious about my journey to this country from Hyderabad, and often thought of the Mahatma M. C. About the 26th idem I examined my clothes, &c., at Hyderabad, and found the initials of the Mahatma M. C. on a cap which I use during my meditation.

P. IYALOO NAIDU, F.T.S.,
Pensd. Dep. Collector, Arnee.

19th September, 1884.

In reply to my inquiries:—Mr. Naidu had sent a letter to Mahatma M., through Damodar. About 10 days after, on February 11th, he received a letter from Damodar, who said he had "missed" the letter (*i.e.*, that he had placed it for the Mahatma to take, and that it had gone), that Mahatma M. had taken it and would attend to it. On the same day Mr. Naidu received a letter from Mount Road (nearly four miles from the Theosophical head-quarters), "From Bhola Deva Sarma," supposed Chela of Mahatma M.

The *cap* referred to had been given to him by Colonel Olcott about 20 months previously. The cap had been worn several times during this interval by Mr. Naidu, who had been staying at Hyderabad the whole time. The initials appear as though marked with a blue pencil, and Mr. Naidu himself suggested that he should ask Colonel Olcott if the initials were there when he received the cap. He thought it possible the initials might have

been there without his observing them. His sight is not good, and he had never specially examined the cap, which may be described as a smoking-cap made of white soft fabric. The colour of the initials is not deep, and appears to have suffered the wearing away due to friction.

When we issued our First Report, Mr. Naidu's written statement seemed to have some interest on account of the use of Teloogoo characters in the Mahatma document, but assuming that Madame Blavatsky has native confederates, it is obvious that no importance can be attributed to their use. Mr. Babajee, however, in reply to my questions, said that he did not think anyone at headquarters knew Teloogoo, "except it be Damodar," but when I pushed my inquiry further, he said with some hesitation that he thought that Mr. Damodar also was ignorant of Teloogoo. The Teloogoo may have been written by Mr. Babajee himself. Some writing in English, alleged to have been precipitated by "Bhola Deva Sarma," showed clear traces of Mr. Babajee's handiwork. (See Part II. of Report.) Another instance had occurred where a Bombay Theosophist had received a phenomenal communication in the Mahrathi language; but Mahrathi is Mr. Damodar's vernacular. Sanskrit knowledge could also be secured, but a question in Hebrew and Arabic proved rather too hard a knot for the Mahatma Brotherhood. Mr. Damodar, when conversing with Madame Blavatsky, in my presence, let slip the remark—in reference to what he would do on his projected visit to the North—that he would "first learn Thibetan and Urdu." Madame Blavatsky's quick glance of warning, Mr. Damodar's disconcertion, and the speedy change of subject did not lessen the suggestiveness of the utterance.

APPENDIX XIII.

The following accounts will serve to illustrate the quality of many of the letter-phenomena. They were given in reply to my inquiries.

FALL OF A CALENDAR.

Account by Mr. T. Vijiaraghava Charloo (Ananda).

In May, 1882, Madame Blavatsky and others came to Nellore. There were more than half-a-dozen of us upstairs. No one could remember the date. Madame Blavatsky said the Masters could give her a calendar if they liked. We were sitting in a circle or semi-circle in front of Madame. She shook violently, and a letter struck the wall behind. It was a calendar.

Account by Mr. Doraswamy Naidu.

When we were at Nellore, about midday, in May, 1882, we, Soubbaya Chetty, myself, Ananda, Madame, and some others, were sitting in a room together in an upper storey. Madame wanted to know the date. Soubbaya Chetty gave one date, and another gave a different one. Madame said, "Haven't you got any calendar?" The reply was No. Some one asked Madame to supply a calendar. Within two or three seconds something fell with a noise on the floor. One of the brothers took the object up. It was a small paper calendar of an English publisher, apparently quite new. Madame was sitting at about the centre of one side of the room, and the calendar fell in the far corner of the room.

MR. GOSHI'S LETTER.

Account by Mr. Babajee.

During the 8th anniversary, M. Goshi was a delegate. He came to me, and offered his services. He wrote a long letter of 5 or 6 big pages. I gave it to Damodar to give to Madame, who returned it to Damodar with the words, "Answer him as you please." Damodar left the letter on the table. Goshi watched it, and answers came to his questions in the letter. Goshi was watching the letter all the time.

Account by Mr. Lukshman N. Goshi (Pensioned Sub-Judge of Sind).

I wrote a long letter of several foolscap pages, and gave it, through Mr. Brown, to Madame, who gave it to Damodar to get the Master's account. Damodar said he left it on the table, and found the writing of Mahatma Koot Hoomi in it. He returned it to me.

Mr. Norendra Nath Sen, editor of the *Indian Mirror*, did not appear to me to have been much impressed by "phenomena." One experience of his was as follows:—

At the anniversary of 1883, Messrs. Damodar, Mohini, Mullick, Brown, and himself were sitting together when Mr. Damodar asked him if he felt anything. The reply was *No*. Mr. Damodar then said that the Master told Norendra to look in his pocket. He found nothing in his pocket, but found a letter on the seat—from the Mahatma.

Mr. Nobin Krishna Bannerjee received a "phenomenal" letter while I was at Adyar, but not in my presence. He gave me an account of the incident almost immediately afterwards.

He had handed some folded manuscript of his own to Mr. Damodar, to be read through before insertion in *The Theosophist*. Mr. Damodar took the manuscript, turned over the sheets quickly, said he would read it directly, refolded the manuscript, and placed it on the table. Taking up the manuscript shortly after, it was found that a "Tibetan" envelope was lying in the folds, addressed to Harisinghi Rupsinghi in the blue pencil writing said to be that of Mahatma Koot Hoomi.

A TEST PHENOMENON!

"December 25th.—Grand phenomenon at Shrine: six or seven notes to different persons simultaneously appear in the silver bowl—one in Mahrathi to Tookaram, in which his secret name was written." (Colonel Olcott's diary for 1883.) To the copy I possess of this extract, Colonel Olcott has appended the following note: "A Hindu receives from his Guru, at the 'thread ceremony,' when a boy of about seven, a mystical name, and this he always keeps a secret. This test was therefore perfect." This note of Colonel Olcott's has been crossed through by a pencil by Mr. Damodar, who read through the extracts from Colonel Olcott's diary before they were given to me, and who has substituted the statement: "It was a part of his name, but never used by him in correspondence or anywhere else, and therefore unknown to even his friends."

Mr. Tookaram Tatya informed me that the name was his "surname" or "family name," and he told me at once what it was: *Padwal*. He said that

nobody knew it at Madras, but his only ground for thinking so appeared to be that he does not commonly use it. The name is no *secret*, and he said that friends of his in Bombay may know it. Mahrathi, as already mentioned, is Mr. Damodar's vernacular, and Mr. Damodar had lived in Bombay previous to the removal of the headquarters of the Society to Madras. But the mere fact that the knowledge of the family name of a prominent Hindu member of the Society has thus come to be characterised by Colonel Olcott as a "perfect test," is enough in itself to betoken upon what a flimsy fabric of evidence his great convictions may rest.

APPENDIX XIV.

PROFESSOR SMITH'S LETTER SEWN WITH SILK.

Colonel Olcott stated in his deposition that a letter which had been addressed by Professor Smith, of Sydney University, to Mahatma M——, "and sent enclosed in a letter to Madame Blavatsky, and which was sewed through and through many times with silk of different colours, had been removed and another paper substituted inside without the threads having been broken." Madame Coulomb declared to me that it was she herself who, with very great care, and after a long examination of the silk threads, unpicked the stitches on one side of the letter and sewed them back by means of a hair. The "Mahatma" enclosure had been inserted, she said, by Madame Blavatsky, who had previously read it over to Madame Coulomb, and the latter quoted some words which she said had formed part of Mahatma M——'s reply. Madame Coulomb also said that in sewing the stitches back she had pulled the silk somewhat "tighter" than it had previously been, in order that she might have enough silk to tie the final knot, and as a consequence, after tying the knot, there were some small ends of silk to spare, which she cut off, and which she showed to me.

Having written to Professor Smith on the subject, I received from him a letter in which he kindly sent the sewn up note for inspection, and made the following statements concerning it:—

"It contains the enclosure with which it was returned. I slit up the side of the paper to get the enclosure out, after examining the whole carefully with a magnifying glass. I could believe that Madame Coulomb unpicked the silk and restored it again only if I saw her do it. Observe how closely the ends were cut off so as to leave nothing to hold by. . . . . Madame Coulomb's partial knowledge of the writing on the enclosure goes for little, as I described it all in a letter to Madame Blavatsky."

I examined the sewn-up note, and observed that the threads on one side had been clearly pulled tighter than those of the other side, and also that the silk of the more tightly pulled stitches had been handled more than the silk of the other side, as was manifest by its peculiar frayed appearance. Apart from these signs, my examination of the note left me without any doubt that the opening and reclosing of it, as described by Madame Coulomb, were far from being impossible. I was desirous, however, of clearly establishing whether the note could be so opened and closed or not, but as the operation demanded

a certain sort of delicate care in which I might prove deficient, I requested Mrs. Sidgwick to undertake the task.

Account by Mrs. Sidgwick.

Mr. Hodgson brought me a letter which Professor Smith of Sydney had sent to Madame Blavatsky to be delivered to Mahatma M——. This letter had been carefully folded up, and the edges doubled over and sewn down with red and yellow floss silk. It was returned by Madame Blavatsky apparently intact, but on cutting open one side, without interfering with the silk, Professor Smith found inside a note purporting to come from the Mahatma. This note could not, I think, have got there by natural means unless the sewing had been unpicked at one end. Madame Coulomb asserted, so Mr. Hodgson told me, that she had unpicked the silk at one end, and sewn it up again by means of a hair. Professor Smith did not think this possible, and Mr. Hodgson wished me to repeat the operation, which Madame Coulomb asserted that she had performed, with a view to ascertaining its possibility.

I thought I could detect slight signs of Madame Coulomb's operations at one end of the folded paper, and as she said that in sewing it up again she had pulled the silk tighter than before in order to leave a margin for fastening, I selected what I thought was the other end, in order to secure a margin for myself too. Before undoing the sewing I made careful diagrams of the way in which the stitches went, and of the relative positions in each stitch of the two colours. The fastening knot was not quite easy to undo, but otherwise the unpicking afforded no difficulties. The difficulties in sewing it up arose from the impossibility of using a needle in the ordinary way owing to the shortness of the silk. Taking Madame Coulomb's hint, however, I found no great difficulty, though the process was tedious, in pulling the silk through its old holes by means of a loop of hair. By pulling the stitches tight I secured length enough for fastening at the end, and the superfluous fragments I then cut off. Before replacing the sewing I wrote initials inside to prove that I had undone it.

Eleanor Mildred Sidgwick.

I returned the letter afterwards to Professor Smith, with statements by Mrs. Sidgwick and myself, and have received a reply from Mrs. Smith on behalf of her husband (who was too ill to be able to write himself), from which it appears that Professor and Mrs. Smith were quite satisfied, in consequence of the operation performed by Mrs. Sidgwick, that the supposed evidence of "occult" agency was worthless.

APPENDIX XV. (*Vide* p. 293.)

CONCERNING HANDWRITING, &c.

Examination by Mrs. Sidgwick.

Mr. Hodgson was anxious that his statements and conclusions, as regards the handwriting of the Koot Hoomi documents and some other points, should, as far as possible, be verified in detail by some other person, and I have accordingly examined all the MSS. in question, which he has had in

his hands in England, with great care, with the result that I find myself in complete agreement with him. His observations on documents which he saw only in India I cannot, of course, verify.

First, as regards the plates. The specimens of isolated letters are, I think, so far as I have compared them with the originals (or in the case of those taken from Mr. Sinnett's series with tracings which I had previously compared with the originals), as nearly facsimiles as can be expected, with the exception of a certain tremulousness which they ought not to have, but which does not affect them for our present purpose. I have thus compared the larger number of the specimens, and where I have not compared the copy with the particular letter from which it was traced, I can testify to its strong resemblance to many other specimens that might have been selected. The plates representing short passages from different documents give a good general idea of the writing, but in some instances fail in giving the individual character of particular letters. Still they are quite sufficiently accurate to help the reader to understand the discussion. Those copied from writing in blue pencil are, as might be expected, less close facsimiles than the others.

I have carefully verified every statement Mr. Hodgson makes about the acknowledged handwriting of Madame Blavatsky, and about the K.H. MSS. in England which he attributes to her. I entirely agree with all he says, and am myself strongly convinced that the same person wrote both. The development of the K.H. writing is very marked, and the gradual elimination of Blavatskian forms is, to say the least of it, suggestive. The argument is greatly strengthened by the occasional spasmodic appearance of Blavatskian forms—seemingly by accident—throughout the K.H. MSS. attributed to her —and that this is an accident, and an accident which the writer desired to avoid, is proved, I think, by the erasures and alterations. The last *k* selected from K.H. No. 3 on Plate III., which occurs in the original in the word *Greek*, is a fair instance of these alterations.

But convincing as the two considerations already mentioned are, I think the prevalence of certain peculiarities throughout both sets of documents is more convincing still, and in particular the very peculiar *a* and *g* constantly occurring in both. It so happened that when Mr. Gribble's pamphlet, mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, first reached me, while Mr. Hodgson was still in India, I had in my hands some letters of Madame Blavatsky's and a long K.H. document, and naturally turned to Madame Blavatsky's handwriting to see if it possessed the characteristics mentioned by Mr. Gribble. There, without doubt, I found among others this peculiar *a*, but it was with a shock of surprise that I found this same *a*, which I had never seen in any other handwriting, occurring even more conspicuously in the K.H. document than in Madame Blavatsky's acknowledged writing. I have seen a somewhat similar formation of *a* in the handwriting of a Russian gentleman.

I think evidence that the K. H. handwriting is a disguised one may be found in other variations of form besides those which show development. The variations I speak of remain more or less constant through a particular document, but do not appear in other documents, and thus appear to me to suggest that the writer was not using all the forms of letters instinctively, and had not a perfectly clear and persistent idea of what all the forms should

be. No doubt some variations might be found in every handwriting from document to document, due to a difference of speed in the writing, to the kind of pen employed, &c. But those in the K. H. writing seem to me more marked than this, and are the more noticeable as the writing is regular and very seldom gives one the impression of being carelessly done.

I have counted the English and German *d's* in various writings of Madame Blavatsky. It is a matter of considerable difficulty to count correctly the number of times a letter occurs in a long MS. if it is at all frequent; I am, therefore, not surprised to find that my numbers are slightly different from Mr. Hodgson's. As, however, we in *no case differ by so much as 5 per cent.* it is evident that the difference is of no importance whatever to the argument, and I therefore considered that it would be waste of time to repeat the counting. The extreme rarity of the English *d* in all the acknowledged handwriting of Madame Blavatsky in our hands which has been written since the K. H. correspondence began, except in the *B. Replies*, combined with its comparative abundance in the earlier letters and in the *B. Replies*, is very striking, and it is difficult to attribute it to accident.

I have verified completely every statement about the letter called K. H. (Z) and about Mr. Damodar's ordinary writing, and have little doubt that the K. H. (Z) was written by him.

I have also examined the long document professedly in the handwriting of Mr. Bhavani Shankar. It appears to me to bear very evident indications of being written in a disguised hand, and to have enough of the marked characteristics of Mr. Damodar's handwriting to point to him as the writer. I have compared the letter which Mr. Hodgson has called the "Koot Hoomi Lal Sing" with the quotations from it in Mr. Sinnett's "Occult World," and find as Mr. Hodgson does, more than 60 differences, without counting mis-spellings, changes in punctuation, &c.

It only remains to speak of the mis-spellings, faults of idiom, &c., quoted by Mr. Hodgson from the K.H. documents, and from Madame Blavatsky's own letters. I have compared all these with the originals and believe them to be correctly transcribed. More of the same kind might be adduced.

ELEANOR MILDRED SIDGWICK.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES, &c.

PLAN OF OCCULT ROOM AND SURROUNDINGS.—*Vide* pp. 220-222.

PLATE I.—Concerning the groups of individual letters in this Plate, which are very close facsimiles of my own tracings from the original documents, *vide* pp. 284-291, 296.

The specimens B (I.), B (II.), &c., which are on the whole very good representations of the originals though not accurate in every detail, are taken from Madame Blavatsky's undoubted writings, with the exception of B (X.), which represents the Blavatsky-Coulomb document referred to on p. 317. The remaining Blavatsky-Coulomb documents being in India, I have been unable to produce facsimiles of them in this Report.

B (I.) is from a letter written to a Hindu in August, 1878.

B (II.) is from a letter written to Mr. C. C. Massey in July, 1879.

B (III.), B (IV.), and B (V.) are from letters lent by Mr. Hume, received February—June, 1882.

B (VI.) is from an envelope addressed to Mr. C. C. Massey in 1884.

B (VII.) is from an envelope addressed to Mr. Myers about the beginning of October, 1884.

B (VIII.) is from a letter to Mr. Myers about October, 1884.

B (IX.) is from *B Replies* (*vide* p. 290), written about the end of 1884 or the beginning of 1885.

B (X.), the Blavatsky-Coulomb document, was probably written at some time between 1879 and 1883.

PLATE II.—The specimens K.H. (I.), K.H. (II.), &c., are from K.H. documents which I consider to be the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky, and they are for the most part good representations of the originals. The K.H. (VII.), however, is taken from writing in blue pencil, which is much blurred, so that the reproduction is not so good as in the other cases, the originals of which are in ink.

K.H. (I.) represents a page from the *Koot Hoomi Lal Sing* letter to Mr. Hume, of November 1st, 1880. I have placed a small dash under many of the letters for the purpose of directing attention to peculiarities mentioned in the preceding discussion.

K.H. (II.)—K.H. (VI.) are from K.H. documents received about 1881—1882, K.H. (II.) being taken from the commencement of one of

these documents, and K.H. (III.) from the end of the same document.

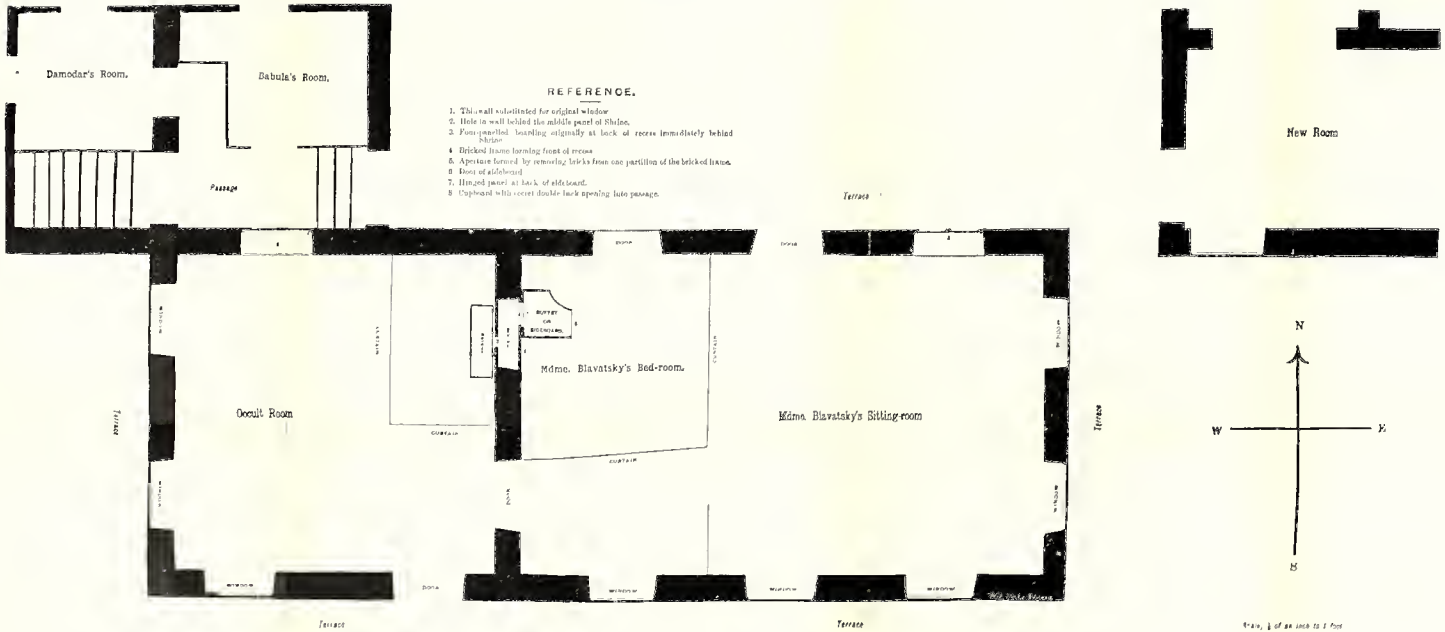
K.H. (VII.) is from a letter to Mr. Myers in 1884.

K.H. (Z.), the original of which I attribute to Mr. Damodar (*vide* pp. 294-297), does not represent one continuous extract. I obtained permission to reproduce different portions of the K.H. (Z.) document, which I directed to be placed together as in the facsimile. The original is in blue pencil, and much blurred, and several of the most important letters appear in the facsimile without their original characteristics. Thus the *a* of *sympathise* (l 6), is in the original document a typical specimen of the *beaked a* formation, and several of the *g*'s in the lithograph have lost all trace of a similar beaked formation which they exhibit in the original document. Still the correspondence with the original is close enough to enable the reader to see several important differences between it and K.H. (VII.), and especially that it contains no instance of the *left gap stroke*, of which he will find various instances in K.H. (VII.), received about the same time in 1884.

D (I.) and D (II.) represent two specimens of Mr. Damodar's undoubted writing in 1884.

PLAN OF OCCULT ROOM, WITH SHRINE AND SURROUNDINGS.

(From measurements taken by R. Hodgson, assisted by the statements of Theosophic witnesses.)



K H No 1.

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

K H No 1

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

K H No 1

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

K H No 1

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

K H No 1

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

K H No 1

K H No 2

K H No 3

K H No 4

K H No 5

B (i)

My dear Mother,

And so you are at last convinced? To hear from you when I had given up all hope of such a fortune feels much like — as really as gratifying as it is unexpected. Now the Heavens be praised and I do hope that all the "horrendous musicians" of the Average have not failed to have in their instrument at that blessed day, when you have felt, at last, strength enough in you to answer to your

B (ii)

would have looked at her! Bad guy. "So it is lovely, pencil that pictures have anything to do with it?" they to Thee, in order to make a wet eye. Indeed, she lost in her jaunty hat which English pictures with it, if the possible light the mighty way of Average going to Nature to different Average, and the Russian Nobility, crossing over to India to Bettermuth' Prospers and gentlemen the "Home" the Prospers it looks like at "Enough!

B (iii)

would admit for an moment that a person, as described a Room in the Statement, talking nonsense, indecent and illegible would be up to the top of such a gigantic fraud!

B (iv)

phenomena at will, and, thereafter, then by means of electric apparatus (!!!!) are sent a lie. Means - Mahatma Brayan and! Well where the truth of what is false not fence lead to. I hope Sinnett, at last, not doubt will believe what he says, since to my great

B (v)

fine thing, but that sense he wants it to be issued under the "Ca." of the T.S. why not sign it "An Angle Indian Theosophist"

. . . . . .

signed. the also requests me to tell Mr S. that he (my Boss) has a mind to train one of his chelas to write in Mr Sinnett's handwriting, which,

B (vi)

Angleterre

C C Massey Esqr.
1. Albert Mansions
Victoria Street S.W.
London
Englands

B (vii)

England.

F. W. H. Myers. Esq.
Leckhampton House.
Cambridgen
England

B (viii)

My dear Mr Myers

There are situations in the life when bodily pain destroys weeks of calm, serene & patient work in a few seconds. Death sitting has sudden in a wink as no pain should especially in our analogy. Rough work not hard, as we know in they are, & preferring for those who are of mere to become less only, which I passed up in hurtsome goals and other things some prejudices & presumptions when found Sotsu in their "impossible" letter that "truth must prevail" that it is stamped on I only thought when

B (ix)

The night when the bitts of the worldly friend made me was found out I was not with the Bears & had gone prepaid to the Pyramids, and the Desert, since the medicine has, I received me with presenting by my person the "Spirit" [illegible] That there was never any such public [illegible] would have been discovered, in person of second things" (!!!) Pratts, in his book "Around the World" in p. 315 speaks very highly of me and shows there the [illegible] is unfortunate

B (x)

military man more than any other, must remember, that the approaching sol of the Eastern Drama is to be the last and, the decisive one. Should well be were, all our efforts, concession free on our part, and signal for more careful preparations than in any direction than did the Lord work They must remember, that to sit idle now, when every one has to be busily preparing for — the light of truth, a treason to the Country and their God"

"He who hath ears let him

K. H. (I)

presence and interest. To "guide" you we will not consent. However much we may be able to do yet we can promise only to give you the full measure of your deserts. Observe, then, and we will prove honest debtors; little, and you need expect only a corresponding return. This is not a mere text taken from a school-boy's copy book, tho' it sounds so, but only the dry statement of that law of our order, that you can not transcend it. Utterly unacquainted with Western, especially English, modes of thought and action, even, were we to meddle in an organization of such a kind you would find all your fixed habits and traditions incessantly clashing of not with the mere aspirations themselves, at least with their modes of realization as suggested by us. You could not get unanimous consent to go even to the length you might yourself desire. I have asked Mr Sinnett to drop a plan embodying your point of view, for perplexing to our chiefs, thus seeming the shortest way to an unbroken agreement. Under our "guidance" yours R. Society could not live — were not being given to be guided at all, in that sense. Hence, the world would be a premature birth and a failure, to bring

K. H. (II)

My dear Brother, — Having no wish to see to the first nine pages of your letter, "une merveille de logique serrée et incolore" as V. Hugo puts it — I begin at page the tenth, for it is the only one containing a question. I read Mr Myers's letter — the second one — with all the attention I could bestow upon it, and do not find in it one word that could not be answered. This complaint is the echo of the wail of countless millions of human beings, ever since man began to think for himself. He would had intervals, periods of dull inertia or cyclic prolonged, when, hypnotized, by the clergy and under the influence of theological anesthetics called religions, fana

K. H. (III)

a ten-fold fury, and then fiercest passions would be aroused. And verily, no demon could devise for man a more cruel torture than to let him in into our Secret. Yet — our last refuge would be to invoke and taken by millions of disembodied people alone, and — they would be welcomed and led on by the Brothers of the Shadow, who would then gain the upper hand.

But all this is the dream of a dreamer who is having a dream.

Yours — in every instance

K. H.

K. H. (IV.)

A word from you p
even those who pret
their volumes of prot
— but one, and that

and over your signature, will impro
st to bear at your disposal, ten times more
tations and affirmations from all others
the struggled

K. H. (V.)

into a disputation,
to depend and B
Quiet to fighting

a newspaper squabble over "cigarette
papers" and "brown
ers". I did not ask either of you
or figure as modern Don
Quixotes for the honour of

K. H. (VI.)

Amiable character
for the friendly an
If you would, how
"work for yourself and for humanity" for the

those, and we thank you
quite unpartial introduction
ever subtitute the words

K. H. (VII.)

There is neither friend nor wilful deception, but we have to deal with our laws & regulations.

I have good hopes that the Lyons may find less difficulty than any other in the correct appreciation of our true position. Mr Lyons read Hall's Essay on a New Economy, he has expressed the idea that

. . . . .

"A living dog is worth two dead lions" In the absence of such an abstract, impossible and imperfect God, preferance the presence of that less perfect tho' less impossible one may prove of some benefit — even to himself — whom I thank for the interest he has in my chela — Master

K. H.

K. H. (X)

It is just because the lot of the understand rightly the doctrine of the chief it cannot be employed in this direction. It is only the intellectual in that can do rightly and to sympathise with being improperly carried on. But fortunately buried deep under a mistaking this letter for the high-flown prove the graded verily all that our attention for no dogmatically as it were, to Chaos. We give at times, only prime necessity.

K. H.

D (I)

Memorandum.

Since it is considered desirable to col-
-lect evidence regarding the occurrence of
occult phenomena during Mme Blavat-
-sky's absence, I shall say here a few

. . . . .

in private correspondence to theoso-
-phical friends in London and
New York, especially the account of

. . . . .

After receiving this reply I went up
to the Shrine to look for the pocket
but by mistake, but I found it
had disappeared. The key being in

D (II)

[illegible]

3. REPORT OF MR. F. G. NETHERCLIFT, EXPERT IN HANDWRITING, ON THE BLAVATSKY-COULOMB DOCUMENTS.

10, Bedford Row, W.C.
March 17th, 1885.

In compliance with your instructions, I have carefully examined and compared the several documents you have submitted to me for my opinion as a Professional Expert in handwriting, which are contained in Two Packets as follows :—

Packet 1.

Consists of an Envelope marked 3, in which is contained a slip of paper the writing on which commences, "The Mahatma has heard," &c. A Telegram in a different handwriting. An envelope addressed Madame E. Coulomb. A letter on green paper; and a letter on pink paper. In answer to the first question in my instructions the whole of these documents, with the exception of the Telegram, were written by Madame Blavatsky.

The Envelope marked 7 containing a scrap of ruled paper marked 10, the writing on which commences "*La poste*," &c., is by the hand of Madame Blavatsky.

An Envelope directed Mme. and Mon^r. Coulomb is likewise to Madame Blavatsky's hand.

An Envelope marked 10, containing a letter marked 2 the writing of which commences "*Ma belle chère amie*," is likewise by the hand of Madame Blavatsky.

* * * * * *

An Envelope marked 28 containing a letter of several pages written in violet ink. The whole of this is written by Madame Blavatsky.

An Envelope marked No. 11, containing a letter written in violet ink commencing "*Ma chère Madame Coulomb*," is all by the hand of Madame Blavatsky.

Packet 2.

An Envelope, postmark "Cambridge," containing a letter on foreign paper addressed to Mr. Myers in the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.

Scrap written in pencil commencing "Damodar send me," &c., in the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.

Envelope containing 2 sheets foreign paper dated Elberfeld, addressed to Mr. Myers, in the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.

A letter one sheet addressed to Mr. Myers commencing "You are very kind," &c., in the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.

A letter consisting of a sheet and a-half addressed to Mr. Myers

commencing "It does seem extraordinary," &c., in the undoubted handwriting of Madame Blavatsky.

* * * * *

On placing Madame Blavatsky's genuine or acknowledged handwritings in juxtaposition [with the doubted ones], I really cannot see that there has been any attempt to disguise the hand [in the latter]. Every characteristic of her handwriting may be traced throughout. Some of the writings appear more rapidly executed than others; as will always be observed in looking at a mass of correspondence; but all the writings I have mentioned as being positively written by Madame Blavatsky, are undeniably hers without disguise. If she intended any of them to be in a feigned hand, I can only say that the disguise is so flimsy that any Expert would not notice the attempt.

* * * * * *

(Signed) FREDERICK GEORGE NETHERCLIFT

April 7th, 1885.

[The asterisks indicate the position of passages about Mr. Damodar's writing, and the K.H. writings to which Mr. Hodgson has referred on p. 282, as those which were originally submitted to Mr. Netherclift. No statements of Mr. Netherclift about the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters themselves have been omitted. A second batch of Blavatsky-Coulomb letters was submitted shortly afterwards to Mr. Netherclift, who returned them all in a packet along with the undoubted writings of Madame Blavatsky entrusted to him for comparison. This packet of writings was endorsed by him as follows: "The whole of the writings contained in this packet are by the hand of Madame Blavatsky, whether acknowledged to be genuine or otherwise. They vary in the degree of care with which they are written, but in my opinion there is no attempt to disguise the hand.—(Signed) F. G. N."]

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4. NOTE ON CERTAIN PHENOMENA NOT DEALT WITH IN MR. HODGSON'S REPORT.

BY MRS. H. SIDGWICK.

There are certain narratives of phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society which have been brought to the notice of the Committee, which have not come within the scope of Mr. Hodgson's investigations. The Committee think, however, that in forming a judgment of the whole evidence the reader should have before him as full an account as possible of all such phenomena as there seems to be a *primâ facie* difficulty in explaining by the recognised laws of nature, and they have, therefore, asked me to put together in the present note the residuum

of narratives with which Mr. Hodgson has not dealt, and to append such remarks as seem to me to throw light on them.

I may observe that all to which there will be occasion for me to refer were printed in our first report; the only partial exception being an incident described by Mr. Rudolph Gebhard (see p. 385), of which we had received no written account when the first report was printed, and which we, therefore, there very briefly mentioned. No later phenomena have come under our notice.

The phenomena I shall have to discuss consist of four cases of letters received in a mysterious manner, and four cases of supposed "astral" apparitions. The mysterious element can be easily eliminated in one of the letter-phenomena, and in the case of an apparition of which Madame Blavatsky was the alleged percipient. As regards the other cases of letters, it is difficult, I think, with our present knowledge, to suggest a completely satisfactory explanation; but with the evidence before us of an elaborate combination, under Madame Blavatsky's direction, to produce spurious marvels, I cannot attach much weight to this difficulty. The remaining cases of apparitions are undoubtedly interesting, but for reasons which I shall give later on, I do not think that stress can be laid upon them as evidence for the occult powers of "Mahatma M." and Mr. Damodar.

The following account is from Dr. Hübbe Schleiden, who is a well-known German savant and publicist, author of "Ethiopien," and other works. Madame Blavatsky was in England at the time of the incident.

Elberfeld, August, 1884.

Dear Madam,—You requested me to state to you the particular circumstances under which I received my first communication from Mahatma K.H. I have much pleasure in doing so.

On the morning of the 1st of this month Colonel Olcott and I were travelling by an express train from here to Dresden. A few days before I had written a letter to the Mahatmas which Colonel Olcott had addressed and enclosed to you, which, however, as I now hear, never reached you but was taken by the Masters whilst it was in the hands of the post officials. At the time mentioned I was not thinking of this letter, but was relating to Colonel Olcott some events of my life, expressing also the fact that since my sixth or seventh year I had never known peace or joy, and asking Colonel Olcott's opinion on the meaning of some striking hardships I have gone through. In this conversation we were interrupted by the railway-guard demanding our tickets. When I moved forwards and raised myself partly from the seat in order to hand over the tickets, Colonel Olcott noticed something white lying behind my back on that side of me which was opposite to the one where he was sitting. When I took up that which had appeared there it turned out to be a Tibetan envelope, in which I found a letter from Mahatma K. H., written with blue pencil in his well-known and unmistakable handwriting. As there were several other persons unacquainted to us in the compartment, I suppose the

Master chose this place for depositing the letter near me where it was the least likely to attract the unwelcome attention and curiosity of outsiders. The envelope was plainly addressed to me, and the communication contained in the letter was a consoling reflection on the opinion which I had five or ten minutes ago given on the dreary events of my past life. The Mahatma explained that such events and the mental misery attached to it were beyond the ordinary run of life, but that hardships of all kinds would be the lot of one striving for higher spiritual development. He very kindly expressed his opinion that I had already achieved some philanthropic work for the good of the world. In this letter were also answered some of the questions which I had put in my first-mentioned letter, and an assurance was given me that I was to receive assistance and advice when I should be in need of it.

I dare say it would be unnecessary for me to ask you to inform the Mahatma of the devoted thankfulness which I feel towards him for the great kindness shown to me, for the Master will know of my sentiments without my forming them into more or less inadequate words.—I am, dear madam, in due respect, yours faithfully,

HÜBBE SCHLEIDEN.

To Madame Blavatsky, Elberfeld, Platzhoffstrasse, 12.

Elberfeld, 9/11/84.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your question about the letter from Mahatma K. H., which I received in a railway carriage of an express train while in motion, I beg to say that it appears to me absolutely impossible that the letter could have been brought into the train by any supposed agent of Madame Blavatsky's. It is true we had not changed carriages since leaving Elberfeld, but the letter did not at all fall out of the air, but was found behind my back when I moved, and must, therefore, have been deposited between my back and the cushion of the seat against which I was lying. There was no possibility of getting there for any matter in one of the three or four aggregate states known to our Western science. Besides, Madame Blavatsky could have nothing to do with this letter, which was a reply to questions which I had written on Tuesday, the 29th July, and which left Elberfeld on that or the following day for London, addressed to Madame Blavatsky. Now, these questions could not have been delivered in London before Thursday or Friday of that week, and a reply could, in the ordinary postal way, not have been in Elberfeld before Saturday or Sunday. The event of my receiving the reply of the Mahatma, however, occurred on Friday morning, the 1st August. I may mention here that Madame Blavatsky assured me she never found my questions enclosed in the letter to her; these must have been taken out while in the hands of the post. My best proof of the genuineness of this phenomenon, I find, though, is the contents of the letter, for it was not only a reply to the said questions, but also referred to the conversation I was just at that time having with Colonel Olcott. I cannot doubt that this handwriting of the Mahatma must, therefore, have been precipitated by him at that very instant and transmitted to me by a magic process which lies beyond the power of ordinary men.—I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

HUBBE SCHLEIDEN.

To F. W. H. Myers, Esq., Cambridge.

A few months earlier a letter is said to have fallen in a railway carriage occupied only by Colonel Olcott and Mr. Mohini, in the express train between Paris and London. But Madame Blavatsky and Babula were then in Paris or its neighbourhood, and though Colonel Olcott and Mr. Mohini both maintain that the letter could not have been placed in the compartment before they started, in such a manner as to fall in the course of their journey, they have both shown themselves to be too inobservant and inaccurate as witnesses for their conviction on this point to be of much value. But in Dr. Hübbe Schleiden's case I do not feel able to make a definite suggestion as to how the letter reached him by natural means ; for, as I have said, Madame Blavatsky was in England, and we cannot point to any known agent of hers whom we know to have been at Elberfeld at the time. Still, we cannot say that there were none, or even that one did not accompany Colonel Olcott and Dr. Hübbe Schleiden in the railway carriage. The relevancy of the Koot Hoomi letter to (1) Dr. Hübbe Schleiden's questions in his letter to Madame Blavatsky, and (2) to his conversation with Colonel Olcott, I am unable to treat as evidentially important, without more accurate knowledge as to the contents of the two letters, since I cannot regard it as improbable beforehand that the conversation should take the particular turn which rendered the Koot Hoomi letter appropriate. I do not profess, however, as I have said, to give a completely satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. I am merely suggesting possibilities and giving reasons why I cannot, under the circumstances, attach weight to it as evidence of occult agency. Other simpler and easier explanations may suggest themselves to the reader's mind. It must be borne in mind that the training for adeptship under Madame Blavatsky's supervision is not unlikely to include orders which must be blindly carried out, to convey letters mysteriously to other people.

I give next Mr. Rudolf Gebhard's account of his experience, written out by him for Mr. Hodgson. This phenomenon also must, I think, remain without special explanation. It is unfortunate that Mr. Gebhard did not write an account of it at the time it occurred, as it is of course possible that, after an interval of three months, some important detail may have escaped his memory.

Adyar, December 31st, 1884.

Dear Sir,—Complying with your request I shall give you in the following an account of a phenomenon as witnessed by me in my father's house some couple of months ago.

Before I describe what has happened, allow me to say a few words about myself ; it will serve to show that I am better adapted than most other people to advance an opinion on these subjects.

Since my earliest boyhood I have always had a taste and a knack for conjuring tricks. When in London I took lessons there from a professional conjurer, Prof. C. E. Field, a man whom I consider to be one of the best

sleight-of-hand men I ever met. Later on I made the personal acquaintance of most of our leading performers in that line and exchanged tricks with them; there is not a single line of conjuring I am not acquainted with, may that be coin or card tricks, or the so-called anti-spiritualistic tricks in imitation of a spiritualistic séance. I then think that when such a phenomenon takes place in my presence, it is quite a natural thing for me to keep my eyes wide open, in order not to be deceived by a trick, and this is the reason why I think myself especially qualified to advance an opinion about the matter on hand.

Account of a Phenomenon that occurred in Elberfeld (Germany), on September ---, 1884.

At 9 p.m. of the above named date a small circle of friends, Theosophist and non-Theosophist, were sitting in the drawing-room of my father's house (Platzhoffstrasse 12). Madame Blavatsky, who was one of the party, was seated on a couch in the middle of the room, and the rest were seated in a semi-circle around her.

Whilst the conversation was going on Madame Blavatsky suddenly looked up, and taking a listening attitude said there was something going on in the room, but that she could not then make out for certain what it was.

Mrs. H., an American lady and a clairvoyante, said that she had felt an influence since some time already, and Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. H. then saw like a ray of light going towards a large oil painting hanging over a piano in the same room.

My mother, sitting with her back to the piano and opposite a looking-glass, said that she had seen in the glass like a faint flash of lightning. After a minute or so Madame Blavatsky asked the party what they would like to take place, as she now felt sure that the "Master" would do something for us that night.

Different requests were made, but finally it was unanimously resolved "*that a letter should be asked for, addressed to my father, and treating on a subject that he should mentally wish for.*" (I draw your attention to the three points; nobody knew beforehand that the whole party would choose a letter; second, that my father should be the addressee; third, what subject my father might be thinking of. Madame Blavatsky did not influence our choice as she did not advance any suggestion.) Madame then said she saw something going on with the picture above spoken of and that probably we should find something there. I accordingly got up and examined that picture, but could not find anything. As the picture was fastened to the wall in a slanting position, the top part hanging over, I lifted it off the wall and examined carefully every inch of it. No letter! The space then between the wall and the back of the picture was fully eight inches and perfectly lit up, as there was a gas bracket on each side of it. I let the picture fall back and said I could not find anything, but Madame Blavatsky told me to try again, and I repeated my examination in the same way. Not contented with that I got up on the piano (a grand,) and there again looked behind the picture and passed my hand along the top of it, twice. Nothing! (I had been searching all this time for a letter, not for another article where perhaps a slip of paper had

escaped my attention.) I turned round to Madame Blavatsky, saying that I could find nothing, when she exclaimed, "There it is!" I turned sharply round and a *letter* fell down from behind the picture on the piano. I picked it up. It was addressed to *my father*, ("Herrn Consul Gebhard") and treated of the subject he had been *thinking* of.

Now I wish to draw your attention to some important points.

1. There was no secret receptacle either in the frame or at the back of the picture. 2. The letter was in size 5in. by 2½in. *not* folded up into a smaller compass. 3. I was the only one who came near the picture; all the others kept their seats except one gentleman, who got up, but whom I did not allow to handle the picture. Madame Blavatsky, seated all the time on the couch, distant four to five yards. 4. Between the time I last touched the picture and the moment the letter put in an appearance there elapsed from 15 to 20 seconds. After Madame Blavatsky had said "There it is," I turned round. The letter then had not appeared but came in view about one second after that. How could Madame Blavatsky have seen it? 5. The letter lay on the piano about *five inches off the wall!* The picture frame at the bottom part touches the wall, because as I said before the top part hangs over. Now there may be space enough for a letter, being flat against the wall, to glide through, but then that letter, continuing its way, *ought* to drop behind the piano (*i.e.*, between the wall and the piano and from there on to the floor), as the piano does not touch the wall. How can it be found five inches off the wall? 6. The subject my father had in his mind was known to me, because I knew he had that very morning received a letter from my brother in New York on some personal matter, and when the letter had been decided upon by the party I whispered to my father, "Ask for an answer on that letter, this morning," and he said he would.

I consider this a most complete phenomenon, and I challenge any conjurer of to-day to repeat it, and I am willing to pay £100 to see it done by a conjurer under the same conditions. Perhaps Mr. Maskelyne (Messrs. Maskelyne and Cooke, Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly), who has done already so much to detect mediumistic frauds (?), will take up this challenge.

If there is any further information you want, I am entirely at your service.—I remain, dear sir, your obedient servant,

R. Hodgson, Esq., Adyar. RUD. GEBHARD.

I learn from Mr. Hodgson that, in reply to his inquiries, Mr. Gebhard stated that he did not think that a confederate could have thrown the letter without its being observed, but he did not seem to have previously contemplated the possibility of a confederate having been present.

The following is an account of another letter-phenomenon by a lady resident in London, and known to some members of the Committee:—

One morning in July, [1884,] I was called by Madame Blavatsky to her room where she was still in bed. She desired me to open a drawer and give her out a letter which was lying there closed and addressed. I did so. She asked me to notice that the letter was addressed in the handwriting of a person whom I knew, that it was fastened, and apparently had not been

opened. She then took a match and having lighted it proceeded to burn the letter. I protested against this being done, but she answered "It is the Master's orders," and further added, "You had better go to your room and meditate." I went upstairs into my room and shut the door. I remained there some time considering the whole affair. The window of the room, which was at the top of the house, was wide open and looked out into a garden. Before the window was a dressing-table on which was a pink cloth; there was no mirror on the table, only one or two small articles of toilet, and the sun was shining full into the room. I went to the window without any definite reason, and as I approached the table I perceived on the pink cover a large white envelope. I took it up, looked at it, and found that it was closed and evidently contained a letter, but there was no superscription. I had the letter in my hand for a little while and then looked at it again. To my great surprise I found that where, but a few moments previously, there had been a blank space, there was distinctly visible a name and address written in purple ink, in a handwriting which I well knew as being that of one of the Mahatmas. The name and address was that of the writer of the letter I had previously seen burned.

A phenomenon of this kind may be, and in this case was, as I understand, very impressive to the witness, without carrying conviction to other people. For it is impossible for them to feel sure that it was adequately distinguished from what, I suppose, we are all constantly liable to, the mere non-observation of something which was there all the time. It is possible also that some combination of substances may have been used instead of ink, which would become coloured (temporarily at any rate) by exposure for a few minutes to the air. A chemist, well qualified to give an opinion, tells me that he thinks such a combination might be used; but we have never seen and have no access to the writing in question, and without this it is of course impossible to obtain an expert's opinion of any value as to whether this particular writing could have been so produced or not. I do not myself think it likely that it was so produced.

As to a post-card received by Mr. Keightley in Paris, on which Mahatma M.'s initials were written, and a letter which Madame Blavatsky professed to read without opening, also in Paris, it is unnecessary to say more than that Babula seems to have intervened between the postman and the recipient in both cases. The letters probably came by an earlier delivery than that by which they appeared to arrive.

I proceed to "astral" apparitions. In August, 1884, Mr. Myers received the following letter from Mr. Pâdshâh, a young Parsee gentleman and a Theosophist.

77, Elgin Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
Saturday, August 16th.

Dear Mr. Myers,—Madame has just told me that she saw Damodar last night, quite distinctly, standing in a corner facing the chair in which she was

seated in the drawing-room. There were present in the room, Mr. and Mrs. Oakley, Mr. Gebhard, and others, who do not seem to have known or felt his presence. Madame tells me that he had come to ask what it was she had told him about some trunk the night before. It appears she had told him the previous night to take care in the Custom House of a certain trunk taken by Babula, who has proceeded to India to-day. Damodar, unable, however, to make himself more distinct, as Madame desired, seems to have not understood her. So he appeared again this morning more than once, asking, "Why do you not answer about the trunk?" Madame tells me she related the appearance the night before to Mrs. Z.,* Mrs. X.,* and Miss Z.* The circumstance would have been thought of no more, but on my consulting Madame this afternoon about some articles about to appear in *The Theosophist* she naturally spoke of Damodar; and among other things, very enthusiastically of his latest development. It occurred to me that this was a splendid chance for the Society for Psychical Research; you had repeatedly desired me to commit to paper what I have seen or might see, and there are many friends in England and India who are ready to trust my word. I suggested I should write to you, and wait for Damodar's letter, where he *might* refer to his astral presence. But that would be no test. I suggested an immediate despatch of a telegram, and also a letter to you signed by Mr. Keightley and Mr. Gebhard, who had come some time before, and myself. Mr. Keightley made some difficulties as to the value of the test, alleging that our word may not suffice for the Society for Psychical Research. I prefer to think otherwise. And, accordingly, the telegram is decided upon. It is in these terms:—

To Damodar, *Theosophist* Office, Madras.

Telegraph instantly what you told me last night.

BLAVATSKY.

You will see that I have suggested the telegram should be from Madame Blavatsky, to undo any difficulty Damodar might make to reply to others—for instance, to the Society for Psychical Research.

Madame is going to-day to Elberfeld, and I shall open the answer as soon as Damodar telegraphs it, and send you a copy.

I hope Damodar will make no difficulties now, and the test will be, we trust, if not complete, at least of considerable scientific value.—I remain, dear Mr. Myers, yours sincerely,

B. J. PADSHAH.

The telegram received from Mr. Damodar in reply seemed distinctly irrelevant. It ran: "Master wants you here to-night don't fail look into your pocket."

On August 30th Mr. Myers proceeded to Elberfeld and inquired of Mr. Keightley (a Theosophist and a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, who was staying at Mr. Gebhard's along with Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Mohini, Colonel Olcott, &c.), whether he had received Mr. Damodar's telegram and what he thought of it. He replied that the party had left London on August 16th, and arrived at Elberfeld on the 17th. On arriving they were met by a telegram from Mr. Pâdshâh, reporting Mr.

* Fictitious initials

Damodar's reply. The whole party, said Mr. Keightley, were surprised and distressed at what seemed to them also the conspicuous failure of the intended test. Madame Blavatsky said that she had in fact received such a message, and had found such a letter in her pocket; but, of course, recognised the inadequacy of such statement. It then occurred to her to consult her private note-book. This was said to be contained in a despatch-box which had been in Mr. Keightley's charge from the time when it was packed and locked, just after the telegram had been sent to Damodar, and just before the party left London by an evening train, August 16th, for Elberfeld, *viâ* Queenborough and Flushing. She at once asked Mr. Keightley to go and fetch the despatch-box. In the note-book was found the entry here translated, which was then seen by all present. It is written partly in Russian, partly in English. The words in italics are in English in the original.

"I saw suddenly Damodar this August 15th. While looking on I called, trying to find out some one near me to call attention to him. I was sitting under the looking-glass, and tried to make myself heard by Mrs. Z., who was sitting near Mrs. Oakley. Upon seeing him, I said to him : *Damodar, can't you make yourself visible to all?* Instead of answering, he says to me something very strange, that he had seen me the night before, and could not understand what I wanted from him. He said : *You came to me about two. I could not understand what you were asking me for. Is it for a trunk sent here?* Then a few minutes later he again appeared and said : *Master wants you here to-night. Don't fail. Look into your pocket.*"

On Wednesday, September 10th, a letter from Mr. Damodar was received at Elberfeld by Madame Blavatsky in the presence of Mr. Keightley, who noted its registered envelope ;* and believes that the letter had gone first to London and been forwarded to Elberfeld.

The letter—which all who have examined it believe to be in Mr. Damodar's handwriting—is as follows :—

Adyar, Madras, 16th August, 1884.

Respected Upasika,—I could not make out what you wanted here when you came here on the morning of the 15th at about two or three of Madras time. So in the night I attempted to come and ask you. It was between 10 and 11 in the night here; so it must be between five and six in the evening of London time. Who was that gentleman sitting near you under a big looking-glass and who was that short old lady about? I think there were several others in the room at the time ; but I could not make out how many or who

* Mr Keightley noticed that the envelope was registered, with *Damodar*, he believes, written in the corner, and that the letter was actually in the envelope —the letter being in Damodar's handwriting. But Mr. Keightley and Madame Blavatsky between them then lost the envelope. We have, however, ascertained that a registered letter answering to the description of this one reached London on September 7th. It left Bombay on August 19th, and therefore probably was sent from Madras on August 16th, or 17th.

they were. If I had known that at that time you would be amidst so many people I would not have attempted to come. I might have seen you later, when you were alone. And why was it that you asked me to make myself visible to all? You know I am too much of a beginner yet, in this line. was only because you asked me to do so, I attempted. Whether I succeeded or failed, I do not know. And in all this affair, the main object I came for was not quite accomplished. I wanted to know exactly what you had come here for? I heard something about a trunk; but whether you wanted me to take care of something you had sent or whether you wanted me to send you something I do not quite remember. However, I have sent you a parcel and I believe it is that which you mean. Did you find in your pocket that Thibetan order from the MASTER to come here, to notify you about which he sent me to you again? I hope yourself, nor the friends who were there, will not speak about this to any one and not make a public talk of it in the Society for Psychical Research and such other places. I am sure Mr. Ewen and others would have done it, if I had not asked you privately to prevent the publication of the fact of Mr. Ewen having seen me when I came to see you and Colonel Olcott and committed a blunder. I hope I have not committed a mistake in sending you the parcel.

Ever yours respectfully and sincerely,
DAMODAR K. MAVALANKAR.

It certainly cannot be said that the possibility of collusion between Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar is in this case excluded. But though on the one hand it may seem strange that a planned imposture should not have been better carried out, it must be observed on the other hand that there are points in the evidence which look decidedly suspicious. Of course, if there was imposture—as, considering what we now know about both Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Damodar, I cannot myself profess to doubt—we cannot be sure of discovering the precise *modus operandi* by merely reflecting on the phenomena intended to appear. But the following may be suggested as a possible course of events.

Let us suppose that some time in July, after she had begun her residence at Elgin-crescent, and could therefore describe the looking-glass and the lady, Madame Blavatsky wrote to Mr. Damodar telling him to post a letter on August 16th, such as that we have printed, and that she would take care to make it correspond with events in London; and further, that when the day came she performed more or less imperfectly—or perhaps only spoke of—her part of the programme, but forgot the "Master-wants-you-here-to-night-look-in-your-pocket" part. Let us further assume that the telegram to India was no part of the original plan, and that Mr. Damodar was left to his own devices in replying to it. It would not be unnatural that he should reply as he did, that being, in fact, the only thing he was supposed to have *told* her; about the trunk he was supposed to have *asked* her. I cannot regard it as at all satisfactorily established that Madame

Blavatsky had no opportunity of obtaining access to her note-book between the time when the telegram was sent to Mr. Damodar and the time when the book was shown to the party at Elberfeld; and I think the entry may have been made, or, at any rate, the last sentence added, in that interval;—either after Mr. Damodar's telegram was received, or at some previous moment, when it recurred to her memory that he was to be supposed to have made that remark about the Master. Thus all that occurred would be accounted for.

It is possible that the entry in Madame Blavatsky's note-book may have been made much earlier—at the time when she first communicated the plan to Mr. Damodar—and corrected afterwards; for the names of the persons present—Mrs. Z. and Mr. and Mrs. Oakley—are written in lead pencil over the original purple pencil, rendering what is underneath illegible. But I am not myself inclined to believe that the greater part of it* was written at this earlier date, because if it had been, I think that Madame Blavatsky's and Mr. Damodar's descriptions of the scene would have agreed better than they do. Madame Blavatsky's phrases, "I called, trying to find out some one near me" . . . "tried to make myself heard by Mrs. Z.," &c., do not correspond well with Mr. Damodar's question about the gentleman "sitting near" her.

There is another point which strikes me as somewhat suspicious about Madame Blavatsky's entry in her note-book, and which strengthens my impression that it was made after the telegram was sent. For what purpose was it made? Why, if it was merely as a record of an event interesting to herself, and not for comparison with an expected letter from Mr Damodar, should she put in so uninteresting a fact as that she was sitting under the looking-glass? But if it was intended for this latter object, it would have been natural to show it to some one at the time the sending of the telegram was being discussed, had it been then in existence, and thus to improve the test. I think it probable, therefore, that the entry was made after the telegram was sent, though very likely before the answer was received.

The allusion at the end of Mr. Damodar's letter is to an apparition of him seen by Mr. E. D. Ewen, of Chattisgarh, Central Provinces of India. Mr. Ewen, who is a Scotch gentleman of honourable repute, whose organisation is highly nervous, saw Mr. Damodar (with whom he was acquainted) in "astral" form, as he supposed, on May 23rd, 1884, in London. On his mentioning this at a meeting of our Society, on May 28th, Mr. Damodar was at once telegraphed to by Colonel Olcott (Mr. Myers being present) in the following words:

* It is noticeable that the first sentence is written in blue pencil, and the rest in purple, with the exception of the corrections in lead pencil. This suggests that the whole note was not written at the same time.

"Olcott to Damodar, Adyar, Madras. Have you visited London lately? write Myers full details." To this telegram no reply was received, from which it is a natural inference that Mr. Damodar was unaware of the vision, though he *may* have had other reasons for his silence. His mentioning it in his letter of August 16th proves nothing, of course, since there had then been more than time to acquaint him by post with the facts. We are thus left without any evidence to distinguish Mr. Ewen's experience from a merely subjective hallucination.

Two other visions I have to deal with. The first is an experience that occurred to Mr. Vsevolod Solovioff, Page of Honour to the Czar, and son of the tutor of the late Czar, and a Russian author of high repute. He describes what occurred as follows :—

"1 Octobre, 1884, Paris.

"Ayant reçu une lettre de ma compatriote, Mme. Hélène Blavatsky, dans laquelle elle m'informait du mauvais état de sa santé et me priait de venir la voir à Elberfeld, je me suis décidé à faire ce voyage. Mais puisque l'état de ma propre santé me forçait à certains ménagements, j'ai préféré m'arrêter à Bruxelles, que je n'ai jamais vu, pour me reposer, la chaleur étant accablante.

"Je suis parti de Paris le 24 Août. Le lendemain matin, au Grand Hôtel de Bruxelles où je m'étais arrêté, j'ai rencontré Mlle. A. (fille de feu ambassadeur russe à——et demoiselle d'honneur de l' Impératrice de Russie). En apprenant que je me rendais à Elberfeld pour voir Mme. Blavatsky, qu'elle connait et estime beaucoup, elle s'est décidée à m'accompagner. Nous avons passé la journée ensemble, comptant partir le lendemain par le train de neuf heures du matin.

"A huit heures, étant déjà complètement prêt à partir, j'entre chez Mlle. A. et je la trouve dans un grand embarras. Toutes ses clefs, qu'elle a l'habitude de garder toujours sur elle dans un petit sac et qu'elle a eu dans ce sac en se couchant, avaient disparu pendant la nuit, quoique la porte de sa chambre fut fermée à clef. Ainsi toutes ses malles étant fermées, impossible d'emballer les effets dont elle venait de se servir. Nous fûmes obligés de remettre notre départ jusqu'au train d'une heure de l'après midi, et fîmes venir le serrurier pour ouvrir la plus grande malle. Lorsqu'elle fut ouverte toutes les clefs que nous cherchions se trouvèrent au fond de la malle, *ainsi que la clef de cette malle, attachée comme d'habitude avec les autres.* Ayant à nous toute notre matinée, nous voulûmes faire une promenade, mais soudain je me sentis dans un état d'étrange faiblesse et en proie à un irrésistible besoin de dormir. Je me suis excusé auprès de Mlle. A. et me suis retiré dans ma chambre, m'empressant de me mettre au lit. Mais je ne pus m'endormir et restais les yeux fermés, lorsque tout à coup, dans l'état de veille, j'ai vu devant mes yeux fermés toute une série de paysages inconnus, qui se sont gravés dans ma mémoire avec leurs moindres détails. Lorsque cette vision fut dissipé, je me sentis remis de ma faiblesse et me rendis auprès de Mlle. A., à laquelle certainement j'ai raconté ce qui venait de se passer en lui dépeignant les paysages dans tous leurs détails.

'Nous sommes partis par le train d'une heure, et voici qu après une

demi heure de route Mlle. A. me dit en regardant par la fenêtre : 'Tenez, voici un de vos paysages !' Je l'ai reconnu à l'instant, et jusqu'au soir j'ai revu, les yeux ouverts, tout ce que le matin j'avais vu les yeux fermés. J'étais content d'avoir raconté ma vision en détail à Mlle. A., car elle pouvait en attester la réalisation. Il faut dire que la route entre Bruxelles et Elberfeld m'est complètement inconnue, car c'était la première fois de ma vie que je visitais la Belgique et cette partie de l'Allemagne.

"En arrivant à Elberfeld le soir, nous nous sommes arrêtés dans un hôtel et nous nous hâtâmes de nous rendre auprès de Mme. Blavatsky dans la maison de M. Gebhard. Le même soir, les membres de la Société Théosophique qui entourent Mme. Blavatsky nous ont montré deux superbes portraits à l'huile des Mahatmas M. et Koot Houmi. Le portrait de M. surtout produisit sur nous une impression extraordinaire, et ce n'est pas étonnant qu'en revenant à notre hôtel nous en parlions encore et l'avions devant nos yeux. C'est à Mlle. A. de raconter ce qu'elle a vu et senti pendant la nuit suivante. Mais voici ce qui m'est arrivé :—

"Fatigué par le voyage, je dormais paisiblement lorsque tout d'un coup je fus réveillé par la sensation d'un souffle bien chaud et pénétrant. J'ouvre les yeux et dans la faible clarté qui entrait dans la chambre par les trois fenêtres, je vois devant moi une grande figure d'homme vêtu d'un long vêtement blanc et flottant. En même temps j'ai entendu ou senti une voix, qui me disait, je ne puis préciser en quelle langue, bien que je le compris parfaitement, d'allumer la bougie. Je dois dire qu'au lieu de m'effrayer je restais tout à fait tranquille, seulement je sentais mon cœur battre avec une force redoublée. J'ai allumé la bougie et en l'allumant j'ai vu à ma montre qu'il était deux heures du matin. La vision ne disparaissait pas. C'était un homme bien vivant qui était devant moi. Et j'ai reconnu à l'instant même en lui le bel original du portrait que nous avions vu le soir. Il s'assit près de moi sur une chaise, et commença à me parler. Il parla longtemps, touchant les questions qui m'intéressent, mais la plus grande partie de cet entretien ne peut être rapportée ici car il s'agissait de choses tout à fait personnelles. Je puis dire, cependant, qu'entre autres il m'a annoncé que pour le voir *dans son corps astral* j'ai dû passer par beaucoup de préparations, et que la dernière leçon me fut donnée le matin même lorsque j'ai vu, les yeux fermés, les paysages que je devais revoir en réalité le même jour. Puis il me dit que je possède une grande force magnétique en voie de développement. Alors je lui demandai ce que je devais faire avec cette force. Mais, sans répondre, il disparut.

"J'étais seul, la porte de ma chambre était fermée à clef. J'ai cru à une hallucination et même je me suis dit avec effroi que je commence à perdre la tête. A peine ai-je eu cette idée que j'ai revu à la même place l'homme superbe aux vêtements blancs. Il hochait la tête et en souriant me dit : 'Soyez sûr que je ne suis pas une hallucination et que votre raison ne vous quitte pas. Blavatsky vous prouvera demain devant tout le monde que ma visite était réelle.' Puis il disparut. J'ai constaté à ma montre qu'il était près de trois heures. J'ai éteint la bougie et je me suis rendormi immédiatement d'un profond sommeil.

"Le matin, en arrivant avec Mlle. A. près de Mme. Blavatsky, la première chose qu'elle nous dit avec son sourire énigmatique : 'Eh bien ! comment

avez-vous passé la nuit?' 'Très bien,' lui ai-je répondu, et j'ai ajouté, 'Vous n'avez rien à me dire?' 'Non,' fit-elle, 'je sais seulement que le Maître a été chez vous avec un de ses élèves.'

"Le soir du même jour M. Olcott a trouvé dans sa poche un petit billet, que tous les théosophes ont reconnu pour être de l'écriture de M., conçu en ces termes: 'Certainement j'étais là, mais qui peut ouvrir les yeux à celui qui ne veut pas voir?—M.'

"C'était la réponse à mon incredulité, puisque toute la journée je tâchais de me persuader que ce n'était qu'une hallucination, ce qui fâchait Mme. Blavatsky.

"Je dois dire qu'à peine revenu à Paris, où je suis actuellement, mes hallucinations et les faits étranges qui m'entouraient se sont complètement dissipés. "VSEVOLOD SOLOVIOFF."

This was certainly a striking experience. M. Solovioff tells us that he tried to persuade himself throughout the following day, till he received the note, that it was a hallucination, but it was very unlike the hallucinations that are known to occur to sane and healthy persons. I do not myself think that there is the same difficulty in supposing it to have been an unusually vivid dream. It will be observed that no satisfactory test of an objective origin is afforded by the occurrences of the next day. Madame Blavatsky's remark that the Master and one of his pupils had been with him, was a perfectly safe one. "The Master" would do either for Koot Hoomi or M., and the Chela would cover a considerable range of other possibilities; while, if Madame Blavatsky had been wrong in assuming that the question "Vous n'avez rien à me dire?" indicated that there had been an experience of some sort, the non-seeing of the Master could be accounted for by a want of sufficient development on the part of M. Solovioff; or in whatever way the non-seeing of the Chela actually was accounted for. The contents of the note found in Colonel Olcott's pocket added no confirmation, and the note might easily, it would seem, have found its way there by natural means without his knowledge. We have not the details of Mdlle. A.'s experience, but I believe it consisted in a dream or vision, more or less similar to M. Solovioff's. It is possible that, if we had the details, we might find it more probable than not that the dreams were telepathically connected: but the similarity of circumstances and conditions, of trains of thought and emotions, before retiring to rest, might easily lead to similar nocturnal experiences.

Since writing the above I have learnt that, owing to events which have since occurred, M. Solovioff no longer regards his experience as affording any evidence of occult agency.

If M. Solovioff's experience was a dream, we have no reason for regarding the following experience of Mrs. Gebhard, with which I will conclude, as anything but a waking one.

Mrs. Gebhard, of Elberfeld, well known to one member of the Committee, writes as follows with regard to an incident which occurred

at a meeting of the London Lodge of the Theosophical Society, on April 7th, 1884. On that occasion, Madame Blavatsky, who had come in unexpectedly, and was sitting among the audience, suddenly called to Mr. Mohini, as though she saw some one. Mr. Mohini joined her in a lobby, and appeared also to perceive some one, whom he saluted with respect. Colonel Olcott's speech, however, was not interrupted, and nothing was said to show who it was that Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Mohini thus greeted At the end of the meeting, they both stated that they had seen Mahatma M.

"On the 7th of April last, being at a meeting of the Theosophical Society at Mr. Finch's rooms, Lincoln's Inn, I had a vision, in which I saw the Mahatma M. At the moment I was listening attentively to Colonel Olcott's opening speech to the Society. I saw standing on my right side, a little in front, a very tall, majestic-looking person, whom I immediately recognised to be the Mahatma, from a picture I had seen of him in Mr. Sinnett's possession. He was not clad in white, but it seemed to me to be some dark material with coloured stripes, which was wound round his form. The vision lasted only a few seconds. As far as I could learn, the only persons besides myself who had seen the Mahatma were Colonel Olcott, Mr. Mohini, and, of course, Madame Blavatsky. "MARY GEBHARD."

This may have been a *collective* hallucination, and as such would have been very interesting; but we have not the contemporaneous and independent accounts of Mr. Mohini and Colonel Olcott as to dress, &c., nor the evidence as to the time of the appearance, which would be required to prove this.

We have then, as I said at the beginning, three experiences, one of them adapted to corroborate the assertion that Mr. Damodar can project his "astral form," and the other two apparently confirmatory of the existence of Mahatma M., and in two out of these three cases the percipient was probably completely awake. It must, however, be remembered that one result of the investigations of the Literary Committee is that merely subjective hallucinations occur to sane and healthy persons considerably more frequently than is generally supposed; and secondly, that what makes these experiences available as evidence for Madame Blavatsky is her previous allegation that Mr. Damodar and Mahatma M. were liable to appear, while the expectation caused by this allegation may have operated in producing the hallucinations, or determining their form.

In any case, though the experiences are interesting and important in relation to the general investigations of the Society—yet in the absence of other evidence for the existence of M., or for Mr. Damodar's power of voluntarily appearing; and in the absence also of such evidence in each instance as we should require, if it stood alone, to distinguish it from a merely subjective experience—they cannot be held to prove any of the powers claimed for "Adepts" and their disciples.

5. DETAILS OF THE EVIDENCE REFERRED TO ON PAGE 207.

In July, 1879, shortly after he had urgently represented to Madame Blavatsky the desire of himself and other members of the Theosophical Society, in London, for independent proof of the existence of "Adepts," Mr. C. C. Massey found in the minute book of the Society a letter addressed to him, and purporting to come from one of the Adept "Brothers"; Madame Blavatsky being then in India. This discovery was made at the lodgings of a member of the Society (who was at that time a non-professional medium), and in whose custody the minute book then was. The book was brought to Mr. Massey by this medium in connection with the business of the Society. The medium will be here described as X., and the medium's "control" as Z.*

In May, 1882, Mr. Massey was shown a letter addressed to X. (who had then ceased to reside in this country), apparently in Madame Blavatsky's handwriting, dated 28th June, 1879, and contained in an envelope bearing the registered London post-mark, 21st July, 1879. He took a copy of the first part of the letter, which was as follows:—

My Dear Good Friend,—Do you remember what Z. told or rather promised to me? That whenever there is need for it, he will always be ready to carry any message, leave it either on Massey's table, his pocket, or some other mysterious place? Well now there is the *most important need* for such a show of his powers. Please ask him to take the enclosed letter and put it into M.'s pocket or in some other still more mysterious place. But he *must not know* it's Z. Let him think what he likes, but he must not suspect you had been near him with Z. at your orders. He does not distrust you, but he does Z.

Also if he could treat L. L. with some Oriental token of love it would be right, but none of them must suspect Z. of it, therefore it is more difficult to make it to do it (*sic*) than it would otherwise be were it to be produced at one of your séances . . . &c.

Mr. Massey was not at that time at liberty to take the otherwise obvious course of communicating on the subject with Madame Blavatsky or X. (with neither of whom, moreover, was he then in correspondence), and it was not till some months later—autumn of 1882—that, the circumstances of the Society seeming to him to require the disclosure, he communicated the facts privately to friends in it.

It is noteworthy that a letter written by Madame Blavatsky to Mr. Massey on July 2nd, 1879, four days after the date of the letter to X., seems mainly written in order to say that the London Fellows of the Theosophical Society are not to have phenomena, and to explain why. She says in it: "I tell you as a fact that the desires of the London

* The suppression of these names is by request of Mr. Massey. It is not material to publish them for the present purpose.

Fellows have been the subject of earnest consultation among our Brothers. Some have been half inclined to gratify the wish for phenomena. . . . . But it has always ended in the unanimous conviction that to do this, would only degrade adeptship, and help the false theories of Spiritualism." Knowledge of the letter found in the minute book seems therefore to be implicitly denied. Mr. Massey endeavoured to obtain some explanation of it from Madame Blavatsky, but without success.

It was not until May, 1884, that on receiving a letter from Madame Blavatsky—the first for several years—on another matter, he sent her a copy of so much of the letter to X. as he had transcribed, and obtained in reply an acknowledgment that she was the author of all that part of it which concerned him. The following are extracts from her letter:—

Enghien, Friday.

All I have the honour now of telling you is—*on my theosophical word of Honour*,—1 That I am the author of but the first part of the letter you quote, *i.e.* a few hurried lines to X. after receiving the letter addressed to you and received by me at Girgaum, Bombay—asking X. to remind Z. of his promise and convey the letter to you by any means *provided they were occult.** My authorship begins with "My dear good friend"—and ends with—"he does not distrust you but he does Z." What follows after *has never been written by me*, nor have I any knowledge of it, all you may say to the contrary. Whether the remainder of it is harmless or not; and whether you are at a loss to conceive *why* it should be forged—all this is flapdoodle for me. I *have not written it* and that's all sufficient *for me;* whatever it is for you. Who the devil may be "L. L." is immaterial; since the Masters do not evidently want me to see at the bottom of the trick. *It is forged*—that's all I know; as many other things were, and may be yet—for your special benefit, as I think. I had for years and entirely lost every remembrance of this letter and now it comes to me as a flash back with all its details. When Olcott spoke to me of it I had no clear remembrance of it and now I have. . . . . And now to the point. What do you find of so *deceitful* and *unpardonable* in this *first* part of my letter, which, as you think, is really the only one that incriminates me? I may be also lacking—in your code of notions of honour—"a sense of the commonest morality"—and if so, then all I can say, it must be so *in your sight*, surely not in mine. I have not, nor have I had, in writing it the smallest or faintest notion I was thereby *deceiving you*, trying *to impose upon you*, &c., &c. Do you call *withholding facts* one has no right to enter upon —deceiving? The letter forwarded to you *was* genuine, from as genuine a "Brother" as ever lived; it was received *phenomenally* by me in the presence of two theosophists who asked me what it was and whom I told it was none of their business. Was I *deceiving* them also? I was ordered to have it delivered into your hands, but was not told how and left to do the best I

* This proviso does not appear in the letter to X.

knew how. I asked Olcott, how I was to send it over to you and he said he did not know ; and it was he who suggested Z. saying "Cant you send it over to him as it came to you and then have him deliver it to Massey if it is so difficult for you to send it direct?—I remember saying to him that it *was* difficult and that I would anyhow ask Z. to drop it somewhere. I do not know whether he understood what I really meant; and if he did, he has long ago forgotten all about it. But I remember it was through him that the idea about Z. came into my head. . . . . And would I have tried to deceive *you*, at that time, above all? You who had entire confidence* in me, who had declared as much in the Theosophist, you whom I was so proud to have in the Society, I could have cheated you like a *paid* medium! . . . to say that in the case of *that* letter I had plotted *consciously* to deceive you,—I say *it is this* which is an *infernal* lie—whoever says so! . . . . In your case, Masters had forbidden me to help you in your dealings with mediums—to encourage them *even* with X., for fear you should never learn to discern occult from Spiritual phenomena; and this is why instead of writing to you—"Go to X. and you will get a letter from a Brother in Scotland through Z."—I acted as I have. That I saw nothing in it then, as I do not see now, of so dreadful, is only a proof that I have not received my education in London and that our notions of the honourable and the dishonourable differ. . . .

There are three points which may be specially noted in this letter. First, the part of the letter to X. acknowledged by Madame Blavatsky clearly indicates a plan of imposing on Mr. Massey as a manifestation of the power of the Mahatmas a phenomenon which she knew not to be due to any such agency. Secondly, the whole letter to X. as above quoted suggests a strong suspicion that she intended the phenomenon to be produced by perfectly natural and normal agency. This suspicion, however, would be most strongly suggested by the part of the letter which does not relate to Mr. Massey. Accordingly, Madame Blavatsky's method of dealing with the situation in which she finds herself placed is to acknowledge the authorship of the part of the letter which she had, apparently, some hope of explaining to Mr. Massey's satisfaction, while denying the authorship of the latter part. Her method of dealing with the Blavatsky-Coulomb correspondence is precisely similar. Thirdly, her explanation, however ingenious, is not perfectly consistent, for it is impossible to explain (1) Why she did not send the "Brother's" letter direct to Mr. Massey by post, unless she wished to make him believe it had reached him by occult means; (2) Why she made no allusion to it when she wrote to him about letters and phenomena on July 2nd, 1879, and stated so positively that there were to be no phenomena, unless she wished him to believe that she had nothing to do with it—that it had not passed through her

* It may be observed, however, that Mr. Massey's confidence in Madame Blavatsky had not prevented his urgent requirement of proof of the "Adepts" which should be independent of any such confidence.

hands; and (3) how a "Brother" in Scotland could be so ignorant of geography, or about Madame Blavatsky's occult acquirements, as to think it desirable to send a letter for Mr. Massey in London round by Bombay, instead of posting it himself at the nearest post-office.

The following further facts may be noted:—(1) That "K. H.," in letters which have been seen by Mr. Massey, avowed and defended Madame Blavatsky's authorship of so much of the letter as she herself afterwards admitted, and similarly denied the parts denied by her. (2) That X. absolutely denied to Mr. Massey all knowledge whatever of Madame Blavatsky's letter, or of having seen the letter enclosed in it before it was discovered by Mr. Massey in the minute book. (3) That "K. H.," in a letter which Mr. Massey has seen, attempts to reconcile this contradiction by suggesting that X. received the letter in a mediumistic state of trance or quasi-trance!

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II.

SOME HIGHER ASPECTS OF MESMERISM.

By Edmund Gurney and Frederic W. H. Myers.

Τοῦτο μόνον πεισθέντες ὅτῳ προσέκυρσαν ἕκαστοι.
—Empedocles.

After years of neglect, Mesmerism is once again, though in a tone less violent and defiant than heretofore, making a very distinct claim to serious attention. It has not, indeed, passed the stage of having its existence widely doubted; but those who grant its existence are more and more impressed with a sense of its importance—not as a mere isolated group of marvels, but in virtue of its intimate relations with psychical research in general; and it is with this view of it that we are ourselves concerned in the present paper. We have already dealt at some length with the primary thesis of the *reality* of Mesmerism.* We have considered adverse theories, and endeavoured to show that, beyond the recognised effects of attention and inhibition which are broadly classed under the name of Hypnotism, there is sufficient evidence for a specific influence whereby certain individuals can originate in certain others a well-marked group of physical and mental phenomena. The topics with which we have further to deal are of wider scope, and stranger complexion. They are three in number, and may be briefly designated as (1) the mesmeric treatment of disease; (2) silent "willing" and "willing" at a distance; (3) clairvoyance.

The three classes differ among themselves in their relations both to science and to mesmerism proper. In the first class—that of "mesmeric healing"—a very large number of cases fall within (or at any rate not much beyond) the limits of admitted physiological law; and, so far, are not (like some of the effects discussed in former papers) crucial tests of a specific mesmeric influence. Some of them may be ascribed to the recognised "action of the mind on the body"; others may be, at most, merely *hypnotic* in origin—due, that is, to the profound nervous change which is now so widely admitted as a true effect of monotonous sensory stimulation. It is possible, indeed, that in proportion as the student realises the complexity and profundity of the changes induced, he will be disinclined to assign rigid limits to the possible methods of inducing them—and the more so if, mingled with the easily explicable cases, he

* *Proceedings*, Vol. I., p. 251, &c.; Vol. II., p. 201, &c.; and p. 289, &c.

encounters others to which (as before) the theories of imagination and of hypnotism seem manifestly inappropriate. Yet even of these latter cases, where mesmeric influence has to be accepted, and orthodox physiology is so far left behind, some sort of physiological picture of the events is still conceivable. The same may be said of our *second* class of cases, those of silent or distant "willing." For the *rapport* here implied may be represented as only a special extension of that "telepathic" sympathy between two organisms, the doctrine of which is slowly creeping within the circle of scientific acceptance, and may almost be said to tremble on the confines of orthodoxy. With our *third* class—clairvoyance—it is far otherwise; and this class is to be doubly distinguished from the others. On the one hand, it carries us at a bound beyond all conceivable limits of physiological explanation; while on the other hand it is not *primâ facie* suggestive of any mesmeric influence at all. Mesmerism, if that is indeed the means by which the clairvoyant state is induced, is here no more than the gate which introduces us to an unknown world; and the question of the method of induction (hypnotic or mesmeric) sinks, one may say into insignificance, in comparison with the extraordinary problems presented by the condition itself.

We are fully aware of the difficulties which such language suggests, and of the attitude of contemptuous disregard which it is apt to provoke. That attitude is, indeed, one which, we think, admits here of special excuse. For of all subjects Mesmerism is, perhaps, the one that has suffered most from its own supporters; and he who attempts to form a judgment of it from its literature finds himself too often wading through a morass of unstable theory, played over by the *ignis fatuus* of an ill-trained imagination. Even attempts at more direct study are apt to lead the inquirer into dismal realms of credulity, ignorance, and imposture; while the *genuine* facts, like other rare vital phenomena, have had no particular tendency to spring up among the persons best fitted to weigh or record them. It is comparatively seldom that a competent eye has been ready to note them as they arrived; and enthusiasts have been wont to embroil what philosophers have declined to disentangle. Such a statement is itself a lesson of caution; and in attempting here a somewhat more accurate treatment, it is rather with the facts than with their explanation that we shall be concerned. So far from solving difficulties, our task will be rather to indicate where they lie, and to bring out their true magnitude. But as regards the facts themselves, we hope to show that insurmountable as the *à priori* objections to them may seem, and embedded as the record of them too often is in futile and flighty speculation, the evidence is still such as no *à priori* objections can suffice to invalidate. Considering how often *primâ facie* contradictions in Nature have been afterwards

harmonised, it is too late in the day for positive testimony of the quantity and quality which is forthcoming on these matters to suffer a permanent eclipse; and it is beyond question that the confidence of denunciation with which that testimony has been swept out of court has been in inverse ratio to the care with which it has been examined.

As regards the first of our topics—mesmeric treatment of disease—though it was here that the aim was most popular and the evidence most abundant, there were special reasons why it never effected any permanent lodgment in the public mind. The first of these reasons lies in a single word—anæsthetics. At the very moment (1846) when mesmerism was being forced upon the profession by the cases of painless operations which were recorded almost weekly, "animal magnetism," in the *Lancet's* words, was "superseded" by the inhalation of ether. "Hurrah! Rejoice!" wrote Mr. Liston in the *North British Review*, "mesmerism and its professors have met with a heavy blow, and great discouragement"; and although the exultation might perhaps have been better bestowed on the boon to sufferers than on the blow to rivals, the fact was beyond a doubt. For whereas curative mesmerism claims to possess two main powers, the power of rapidly *anæsthetising* and the power of gradually *vitalising*—assisting, that is to say, by some change in circulation or innervation the curative processes of Nature—it is plain that the frequent and familiar sight of the *first* of these powers is almost a necessary pre-requisite for the patience needed to await the slow operation of the *second*. While Esdaile was constantly performing the most terrific operations without evoking a groan, the agency which he used received such an advertisement as induced people to wait long, and try patiently, in order to find out all that that agency could do. But the new anæsthetics—more rapid and more certain than mesmerism in Europe has ever been—took from the mesmeriser's hands the very patients on whom he might have proved his powers at a stroke. When there ceased to be any brilliant and unmistakable achievements to which he could point—when no one any longer begged to try his art for the excision of a tumour or the removal of a limb—his merely restorative passes, so often continued without obvious results for many a weary hour, seemed as devoid of reassuring potency as the Prophet's prescription, "Wash in Jordan and be clean."

Nor are further reasons hard to find why mesmeric treatment should languish, when once the uniqueness of its claim was gone. It was tedious to the patient, and it was not remunerative to any one else. Not one, not even Mesmer himself, ever made a fortune by its aid. Nor has it those characteristics which sometimes make patients secretly cling to remedies that their medical advisers laugh at. The success of patent pills, for instance, depends either on capital or on cathartics. If the

vendor can paint their name on every rock, in sight of every railway, in the United States, he may make them of what he pleases. If he cannot push them thus, he must teach them to make their own way by producing *some* manifest effect, though it may not be precisely the effect which he claims for them. Now, mesmerism would never pay to advertise; and in a great majority of cases where it is tried on white men, it produces no effect at all.

So far, then, the advocates of curative mesmerism might fairly complain of bad luck; but there were further sources of weakness in their own camp.

We have spoken of the *quantity* of evidence which they brought to bear; but the reception and the rejection of this evidence have, we think, been equally uncritical. It seems to have been thought necessary either to accept every reported case as conclusive of the justice of the mesmerist's claim, or to refuse to attach the slightest importance to a single one of them. Fairly regarded, the cases seem to demand most careful distinction. The evidence of the mesmeric effects on *sensibility*, not only in the production of anæsthesia but in the relief of chronic pain, seems *primâ facie* overwhelming; and in the same class we may include the benefit accruing from the production of *sleep* in cases (such as chorea and delirium tremens) where narcotics are unadvisable or useless. But it is far otherwise with the evidence for the actual curing of disease. It is easy to see beforehand how the testimony in these two classes is certain to differ. Pain is a subjective fact, the attestation of which always has come and always must come from the *patient*, and the value of such *lay* evidence was as great 40 years ago as it is now; nor do the facts of sleep, and the power of observing its beneficial effects, belong more to one generation than another. But the value that can be attached to the evidence of the *experts* of the past diminishes, as time goes on, with the advance of diagnosis and treatment; and the impression produced now on a medical expert, as he turns over the 13 volumes of the *Zoist*, might probably be that, of the cases competently observed at the time, the proportion is small indeed where the alleged facts may not be accounted for, either by a mistaken diagnosis, or at any rate by a substitution of the *laissez-faire* system for the previous violent treatment by blistering, purging, and bleeding. Similar cures, he would say, are effected now without mesmerism and without medicine. Moreover, the mesmeric cases, both at home and abroad, are recorded—though often fairly enough for the popular eye—with an exasperating lack of technical detail; and the area from which confident conclusions can be drawn is thus much restricted. It is disappointing, for instance, to have to pass over case after case of extremely rapid healing of violently inflamed knees, just because the reporter of them has neglected to state whether the limb had been

previously kept quiet, and so leaves it open to suppose that it had not, and that simple rest was the cause of the cure. Then the *ipsissima verba* of the patient are given with rather too serious an air. However conscientiously a lady may have "taken her £25 worth of Godbald's balsam," we find it hard to believe that she habitually "brought up more nourishment than she swallowed"; "leprosy" is not likely to be produced by drinking cold water while hot; and "having to walk with two sticks" should not be too often accepted as definitely diagnostic of rheumatism. It is only fair, however, to say that the circumstances were such as to make certain defects of description almost unavoidable. Cases which should have been among the best were those which doctors had despaired of, and where naturally no professional opinion was taken immediately before the new treatment began. Such cases were contributed to mesmeric records either by the successful "magnetisers," who, however honest and benevolent, were not sufficiently alive to the importance of cross-examination; or by the patients themselves, whose style sometimes did more honour to their hearts than to their heads. But if unfortunate phrases are sometimes used, this is a danger from which few are exempt when in contact with facts which they know to be genuine, but which they cannot understand; and where there is a backbone of strong cases, to decide the more doubtful ones always *against* the witness would clearly be quite unfair.

The canons of evidence which may reasonably be applied to this class of phenomena are such as even laymen may venture to indicate:—

(1.) The case should be reported throughout by a medical man; or, at the very least, there should be a medical man's *diagnosis* and *prognosis* of the patient's malady before mesmerism is resorted to, and satisfactory evidence of the restoration to health.

(2.) The case should be reported, as nearly as may be, at the time, and publicly, so that objections may be taken to it before the circumstances are forgotten.

(3.) The case must be one in which no other form of medical treatment has been concurrently employed.

(4.) The recovery should be such as cannot reasonably be attributed to the *vis medicatrix naturæ.*

(5.) The influence of imagination should be, as far as possible, excluded. This can sometimes be done with completeness: as when the passes are made upon a person blind, asleep, delirious, comatose, or demented; or upon an infant or brute beast; or even on a person who has never heard of mesmerism, and pays no attention to what is being done. It should be noted, however, that the exclusion is not one which the logic of the case rigorously demands. Imagination is an ingredient which, though it does not figure in prescriptions, few practitioners would care to see expunged from their list of remedies; and we may grant

that it has often materially assisted mesmerism, just as it has materially assisted amulets, bread-pills, and the Pharmacopœia itself. But if the beneficial effects, in cases where the patient knew that mesmerism was being employed, are all to be ascribed to imagination, then mesmerism may, at least, claim the power of evoking the imagination to a degree and in a manner in which nothing else has ever evoked it, from Holloway's ointment to fragments of the True Cross.

Now, bearing the above canons in mind, and making every allowance for exaggeration and inaccuracy, we do seem to find a residue of cases where the evidence of a specific influence is hard to controvert, and, at any rate, never *has* been controverted in a serious manner. Of this residue we desire to be nothing more than remembrancers. We are far, indeed, from the presumption of deciding where doctors disagree, or rushing in where surgeons fear to tread. We are not going to say a single word which either arrogates medical knowledge to ourselves, or reflects in the slightest degree on orthodox medical practice. We shall err, if we err at all, by an even exaggerated deference to the dicta of the Faculty. It is true, we know enough of the history of medicine to recall instances, not a few, where novel remedies have run away with one and another sane practitioner, whom luck and enthusiasm have enabled to report a list of cures that have somehow never got confirmed by subsequent experience. But the group of the "mesmerists," here and on the Continent, was too large, and their evidence too concordant, to be easily dismissed on such analogies as this. And it does not seem rash to assert that, when a number of experienced physicians and surgeons agree in maintaining that in certain cases they have found a certain method of treatment effective, we are *primâ facie* bound to attend to them—yes, even though a still larger number of physicians and surgeons should denounce the first set as fools and liars, on the ground that they themselves have *not* tried the treatment in question, and are certain that if they *had* tried it they would have found it absolutely inert. So if some medical controversialist shall roundly charge us with impudent ignorance for holding that, among some thousands of inconclusive cases, there may be here and there a conclusive one, we shall console ourselves with the reflection that we are martyrs to our faith in the honour and veracity of various eminent members of his own profession.

We confess, for instance, that we should very much like to elicit some serious criticism on the medical careers both of Mr. Braid and of Dr. Esdaile. The amount of their success seems to be just one of those facts as to which a kind of "conspiracy of silence" has really existed; and this is the stranger in that Braid's name, as a scientific discoverer, is now widely celebrated; while Esdaile had the unique good fortune to secure the favour of the Governor-General of India, to

control a large Government hospital, and to have his reports officially published. It is true that the tide of neglect is beginning to turn; but among living Englishmen, capable of appreciating the significance of what these men did, how many could, at this moment, stand an examination in the couple of small and unpretending volumes which record their work? It may, perhaps, be said in reply that Braid was a *hypnotist*, who disowned mesmerism; and that, though Esdaile was a professed mesmerist, yet, as his favourite method of treatment was gentle rubbing, his cases fell well within the hypnotic theory, and are valueless in support of mesmerism proper. This excuse for neglecting them, whatever it may be worth, could hardly be made by those—the majority, we think, of the professed opponents of mesmerism even in our day—who have never distinguished hypnotic and mesmeric phenomena, but have swept all alike under a common condemnation. But the objection is still worth considering, inasmuch as it suggests what is really an important fact—that, next to ether and chloroform, Braid's great discovery must rank as the chief cause of the collapse of the mesmeric crusade. Having ascertained the genuineness of that abnormal state into which sensitive "subjects" can be thrown by a strained fixation of their eyes, and having rightly found the immediate cause of that state in a profound and peculiar nervous change, Braid had a ready explanation for all his cures. His "profound nervous change" was wide and vague enough to cover anything. And when, in addition to the physical peculiarities of the state, such as insensibility and rigidity, it is observed that the *mental* condition of hypnotised "subjects" is often one of marked mono-ideism—of strong and one-sided attention—then many familiar experiences come in to the assistance of the hypnotic theory. "The influence of mind on body" is a medical common-place; and if there is a state in which the mind is abnormally concentrated on the bodily condition, it is in that state that this influence is likely to be at its maximum of intensity. In this way the influence of attention and expectation, which Braid himself most carefully distinguished from the curative influence of the purely nervous change, came after his time to be an accepted part, and, indeed, chief feature, of the anti-mesmeric doctrine.

But while the point of Braid's work—the establishment of a unique nervous change—was thus, to a great extent, concealed and confused, a piece of simple fact, which might well have suggested a truer interpretation of his results, passed unnoticed and unrecorded; to wit, that those results were not and could not be repeated, even by those who most admired them. The power of fixation of the eye to initiate peculiar physical and mental phenomena did not perish with Braid, and the means of inducing the hypnotic state have even been considerably extended since his death; but his series of cures—which on the hypnotic

theory, ought to have been equalled by any practitioner who chose to take the minimum of pains for the maximum of effect—has not had half-a-dozen rivals in the last 40 years. Even apart from the ulterior medical effects, his power of producing what he calls the "nervous sleep" was altogether exceptional; and the number and certainty of his successes must be astounding to all who have had—what he himself seems to have lacked—the opportunity for comparing the results which he obtained by what he imagined to be purely hypnotic "means" with those of others. And inasmuch as he was careful to avoid a dogmatic denial of the possibility of specific "mesmeric" power, his memory will not be wronged by suggestion that, if that power be a reality, he must unknowingly have possessed a considerable share of it. We have more than once pointed out how little the significance of the *rarity* of strong operative power has been realised, and how feeble have been the attempts to account, by such considerations as the temperature and moisture of the hand, for the enormously different degrees in which different persons can produce and control the characteristic hypnotic effects. And this argument for the reality of mesmerism will only be reinforced and extended if the further phenomena of healing be taken into account. For so far as the evidence goes, it seems that persons of strong curative power are exceptional, even among those in whom the power of sending persons into the "magnetic" sleep is strongly developed.

The case of Dr. Esdaile is, at first sight, different; inasmuch as he employed many assistants, and found that, with care, they were all able to produce the trance condition in almost any Hindoo who presented himself. Still, the proof of the exceptional susceptibility of the Indian temperament to hypnotic manipulation cannot possibly affect either the fact that in England similar results can be produced by only a small minority of persons, or the argument from that fact—that these exceptional persons possess an exceptional power. And fortunately in Esdaile's case such arguments can well be spared; for the proofs which his pages supply, of the reality of the specific influence, are of a far more direct and crucial kind. We may quote a single instance.

It may be remembered that in a former paper we recounted some experiments of our own, tending to show that inanimate objects could be imbued with the operator's influence in such a manner as to be afterwards detected by a sensitive "subject." * Such a phenomenon is, indeed, in England, among the rarest that mesmerism presents; and the attribution to the "magnetisation of an object" of effects which a

* *Proceedings*, Vol. I., p. 261. The alternative explanation would be hyperæsthesia of (we think we may say) a quite unexampled degree, in a person who gave no other sign of any abnormalities of sensation whatever.

few precise experiments would at once show to be due to the imagination of the person who handles it, is one of the commonest of mesmeric fallacies. We have seen the fingers of a "subject" suddenly cramped at the touch of a "magnetised" penny, so that he was unable to drop it even when offered five pounds to do so; we have seen his whole body convulsed when his finger was dipped into a glass of "magnetised" water; but the cramp and convulsions were quite equally violent when the previous "magnetisation" was a fact having no existence except in his own imagination. With the more sensitive Hindoos, however, the genuine phenomenon appears to have been more readily obtained, and Esdaile gives the following account of his application of it to therapeutic purposes:—

From multiplied experiments in six different hospitals, I should as soon doubt the power of fresh water to quench thirst as that of mesmerised water to induce sleep, in persons who have already felt the mesmeric influence. Here also it will be said that smell and taste, suggestion and imagination, and no extraneous influence, produced the result. I repeat that the only experiments on which I rely were *first trial*; they were made, at intervals of months and years, in six different hospitals, and my test experiments were thus conducted: the mesmerised water was medicated with tincture of rhubarb, tincture of cardamoms, aromatic spirit of ammonia, &c., and given to the patients at their usual time of taking physic, so that it was impossible to excite suspicion or expectation of anything unusual in them. The result was that a very large proportion of susceptible subjects were so profoundly entranced on the first occasion that they might have been operated on without pain; and their unhealthy sores were frequently burned with undiluted nitric acid without their feeling it, when sleeping from the effects of mesmerised water. What more effectual precautions could be taken by those who deny any external influence, I cannot in my simplicity imagine.

And here a comment suggests itself for which we would specially bespeak attention. Why is Esdaile's word to be taken when he tells us that he produced anæsthesia by hypnotic passes, and not when he tells us that he produced anæsthesia by "mesmerised water"? * Among the more instructed portion of the medical world, *hypnotic anæsthesia* has come, in recent years, to be an accepted fact. As yet it may be only a few who realise the extent to which the phenomenon can be carried; but the doctrine is finding its way into first-class medical handbooks; and its scientific future is indicated by that clearest sign, that those on whose minds it has dawned mention it with a fine air of having known about it all along, and even make use of its sober and

There is, however, another possible hypothesis which must not be lost sight of,—namely, that the effect, though a real one, was not due to the water, but to the idea in Esdaile's own mind. The case would then be very similar to some of the instances given below, of the production of the trance by the exercise of will.

orthodox character to point a moral against the heretical vagaries of "mesmerism." Now, to accept the doctrine of hypnotic anæsthesia is almost synonymous with accepting Esdaile as one of the ablest and most trustworthy of modern scientific discoverers: no doctrine could well be more intimately associated with the name of a single man. Nor do instructed physicians shrink from acknowledging this: among a skilled minority, the fame of Esdaile now ranks almost on a par with hat of Braid.* But is it not a little curious that the laudatory notices, in which he is beginning to figure as one of the great founders of hypnotic science, contain no hint of his strenuous and persistent advocacy of mesmerism, still less of the experiments by which he justified the faith that was in him? Writers who now, for the sake of discrediting mesmerism, find it convenient to take their stand on *hypnotism* as an old-established science, with Esdaile for its corner-stone, should at least remember (1) that he was the warmest champion of the cause which they attack; (2) that his "hypnotic" and his "mesmeric" work stand exactly on a par as regards evidence; (3) that for long years even his "hypnotic" work received from the "scientific world" nothing but incredulity and scorn. Is it not, perhaps, easier to suppose that this same scientific world may still fall short of infallibility, than that there were *two* Esdailes, performing experiments in the same place at the same time, one an investigator of extraordinary vigour and skill, the other a credulous dupe, if not a wilful impostor?

It must, however, be admitted that Esdaile's powers as a theorist and expositor were by no means on a par with his courage and practical sagacity; and it is not clear that he ever himself distinguished the instances which, like those above quoted, are distinct evidences of mesmerism, from the ordinary run of his cases, where anæsthesia was produced by monotonous rubbings and passes. The phenomena are all mixed up together in his random talk about the out-flowing of a "nervous fluid," which he seems to have regarded as always on tap in any healthy human body. Turning from him to his contemporaries in England, and especially to Dr. Elliotson, we find a similar want of discrimination. The pages of the *Zoist* are permeated by the doctrine that the mesmeric power is one which almost all possess in a very appreciable degree; and it is probable that the violent collision of this doctrine with men's pre-conceptions and experiences did not a little to cast the reality of the power into discredit. The magnitude of the claim made could not but be contrasted with the smallness of the area with in which it was even pretended to be justified. In mesmeric hospitals it was not the patients but the healers who were lacking; and though the militant party might maintain that this was only because so few persons seriously attempted

* We refer specially to Dr. Bastian's admirably judicious articles "Braidism" and "Mesmerism," in Quain's *Dictionary of Medicine.*

the art, yet it is certain that the attempt must have been made again and again in a small way, by persons who would only too gladly have gone on, had they detected the slightest symptoms of success.* And the cause would have had a sounder basis had this been seen, and its moral acknowledged.

The mention of Dr. Elliotson suggests a further drawback with which the mesmeric cause in England had to contend in its most critical hour. The bitter and scornful tone which that fiery champion of strange discoveries adopted seems to us to have been as ill-adapted as any tone could be to ensure their reception. He should surely have remembered that any considerable disturbance of traditional views is almost necessarily received at first with resentment; and that although the man who is merely advertising his own merits may often gain by a little assumption, the disinterested advocate of new truths will find it essential to be almost apologetically urbane. But, nevertheless, though Dr. Elliotson's tone was overbearing, he did most vigorously marshal fact and argument to back it up; whereas his opponents, whose rejoinders (thanks to the almost arrogant candour of the *Zoist*) can be traced with ease through the medical journals of the time have certainly not produced counter-statements of a sufficiently definite kind to dissolve away the nucleus of solid evidence to which we have above referred. The supposed exposure of the Okeys by Mr. Wakley is not now worth discussion; on the *Lancet's* own showing it was one of the hastiest and clumsiest of all the hasty and clumsy attempts which have been made to disprove new phenomena by men who have never condescended to comprehend them. And the rest of the solid opposition resolves itself into an attempt (which on our principle of not attempting to decide on any disputed medical point, we may readily count as successful) to show that in some of the minor cases recorded in the *Zoist* the conditions which we have above numbered as third and fourth were not fulfilled—that is to say, that the patient's cure may have been owing to other remedies, or to the operation of

* Such incidents as the following—*minus* its happy termination—must have occurred often enough during the last forty years. One of the present writers, having discovered that a boy with a bad poisoned finger was daily visiting an amateur mesmerist to have the pain removed, undertook the office of healer, and invited the patient to come to his room at the usual time. Every means was taken to impress him with a belief in the superior power and experience of his new operator; and a considerable time was laboriously spent in making the orthodox passes over the inflamed member. Its owner's politeness, and his evident struggle to believe that he felt some difference, were a touching spectacle. But the pain was too real for the fiction to be kept up or the sufferer kept waiting; and half-a-minute of light passes (without con ct of any sort) from his usual operator sent him away smiling, and safe from enemy for at least twelve hours to come.

nature. These substantive objections cover a small part indeed of the field; but, on the other hand, we find plenty of language of a kind which reminds us that *heat* must sometimes rank as a very low form of energy. We give a few samples below.*

Did space permit, it would be easy to multiply indefinitely such inelegant extracts, and to show that, however successful the onslaught on mesmerism in England may have been, there is little in its literature which can be appealed to with satisfaction by anti-mesmerists of a calmer

* "The mesmero-mania," says one doctor in the *Medico-Chirurgical Review*, "has nearly dwindled in the metropolis into anile fatuity; but lingers in some of the provinces with the gobemouches and chaw-bacons, who, after gulping down a pound of fat pork, would, with well-greased gullets, swallow down such a lot of mesmeric mummery as would choke an alligator." "We regard the abettors of mesmerism as quacks and impostors," says the *Lancet*; "they ought to be hooted out of professional society." The "subject," or, as Mr. Wakley more graphically puts it, "the patient, alias the victim, alias the *particeps criminis*," is almost as bad as the operator; and even the man who reads about such performances is "a leper (*sic*) who must be taken with his spots." The only doubt seems to be whether we may exult, with the sanguine *Lancet*, in the conviction that "the brood of mesmerism must in no long time utterly destroy their own loathsome dam"; or must tremble with the gentler spirit of Dr. Riadore, before the softly-fanning manipulator, as

"Our nation's *terror*, and her *bloody scourge*."

We do not, however, altogether fail to find the utterances of a more practical spirit and a calmer sceptism. One surgeon demands that Government should "interfere most imperiously," and adds, with a true tactical instinct, "I would have the legislative measure without waiting for any investigation." And an eminent surgeon remarks, "If each patient were to testify to the truth of his statement, I should still remain incredulous. I know human kind too well to be deceived." Testimony, indeed, must be worse than superfluous to one fore-armed with so complete an assurance of human unreliability. But some practitioners appear to have had access to an intuitive knowledge of a yet higher type. "The strong blasts from the Terrible One," says the Apothecary of the Middlesex Hospital, "which have swept over my soul, as I have read, seen, and heard related the varied deceptions which have been set forth by the disciples of mesmerism, have fully convinced me that it is an infernal system, whose coming is after the working of Satan," &c., &c., and "closely allied to that terrific and unpardonable sin—blasphemy against the Holy Ghost."

We may seem here to have reached a kind of climax. But there is yet one remark which deserves citation, as a warning of the perilous confusion into which the mind of a professed healer may fall, in the desperate effort to save *amour-propre* and mate an antagonist. Dr. ——, objecting before the Medico-Chirurgical Society to the confirmation of some minutes which recorded that a certain paper had been read—which paper contained an allusion to an operation performed under mesmeric anæsthesia—contended that, even if this account were true, "the fact was unworthy of their consideration; because pain is a wise provision of nature, and patients ought to suffer pain while the surgeon is operating; they are all the better for it, and recover better." Unluckily for himself, Dr. —— gave utterance to this dogma on the very eve of the discovery of chloroform.

age. We think, indeed, that any unbiassed person who is at the pains to study the controversy in detail will feel that, whatever might have been the effect of better strategy on the other side, and however popular, uncritical, and old-fashioned much of the mesmeric testimony may now look, Bertrand, Pététin, and Elliotson were, at any rate, left in possession of the field; and that the *primâ facie* case is still in favour of those who maintain that our sanative armoury has been enriched by an agent of singular, though uncertain and limited, power. And if it be only fitting that the vigour of the scrutiny should be jealously proportioned to the strangeness of the facts, we still fail to see why the researches into mesmerism, which the general progress of science must undoubtedly extend and renew, should be vulgarised on any side by the slightest taint of acridity or scorn. In this problem, as in many others which concern life, it is possible that the final solution may not yet have been surmised by anybody; but there is no reason why all parties should not cordially unite in seeking it.

It would be impossible within the limits of this paper to cite *verbatim* a sufficient number of cases to give any fair idea of a class of evidence whose force must of necessity be cumulative. If only a few examples be considered, however extreme the condition, and however rapid the improvement, it might be maintained as conceivable that nature had come to the rescue at that precise moment. The impressive points are (1) the strong similarity of cases coming from so many independent quarters, and (2) the perpetually recurring concomitance of amendment with the first application of the treatment, of relapse with its casual intermittence, and of steady recovery with its regular employment. The concomitance is far too marked to admit of being referred—like the list of cures which have, from time to time, obtained for a spurious remedy some amount of professional vogue—to luck, to rest, or to mal-observation. A careful collation of testimony indicates pretty distinctly the sort of maladies in which there was found to be an appreciable prospect of success. First, in simplicity, though not in number, come the cases where the benefit is due to the production of sleep—whether the benefit takes the negative form of anæsthesia during an operation, or the positive one of restoration and revival. Here, if we could forget the *general* argument for mesmerism, drawn from the rarity of the power to produce the effects, the hypnotic hypothesis has most to be said for it. The second class of cases includes the relief and removal of pain of all sorts—whether the results of accident, as sprains or burns, or such morbid affections as tooth-ache, rheumatism, and lumbago. Here, again, the hypnotist would probably refuse to recognise any special argument for the "mesmeric" influence. In cases where both pain and treatment are restrictedly local, he might represent the relief as an inhibitory effect, induced by the gentle

cutaneous stimulation; seeing that such stimulation is capable of throwing muscles into violent spasms, he might conceive it as equally capable of influencing the sensory centres. Even so, we might remind him that the relief of pain without loss of *sensation* is a very different thing from the production of insensibility, which is the common result of hypnotic manipulations. But it would be more difficult to describe as purely hypnotic phenomena, cases of relief in deeply-seated affections, where the treatment was applied neither at the seat of the pain, nor in such a way as to produce the general hypnotic condition. And the difficulty is still further increased in many of the cases of nervous disturbance which form the third great class. That class includes neuralgia, chorea, hysteria, some paralyses, perhaps epilepsy, and chronic nervous exhaustion in its many perplexing and distressing forms. Experience seems to show that instability of nervous condition is itself a sign of mesmeric susceptibility, the susceptibility in many recorded cases ceasing with recovery; and it is a satisfaction to think that in this way the weak and hysterical may at any rate reap some benefit from their peculiarities. Now here, so far from necessary was it that the patient should be "hypnotised" by the process adopted, that a slight drowsiness was sometimes the utmost of which he or she was conscious, while on other occasions even this was absent; and Braid's theory of a sudden and profound nervous change as the source of the curative effects—a convenient one as long as insensibility, automatic obedience, the transition to coma, and the other striking features of hypnotism, are present to bear witness to its reality—ceases to be plausible when the effect perceptible at the time is no more than is induced in scores of instances every day by the sound of the sea, or the voice of the preacher.

Still, however genuine, mesmerism is neither a panacea, nor (in the medical sense) a specific; while even on the most enthusiastic view of its chances with the best-suited cases, the difficulty would remain of finding any considerable number of reliable operators. But there seems at any rate no objection to making the search for these as wide as possible. The idea of *danger* from the process is supported only in cases where it has been most crudely and ignorantly applied. Ranked on a par with nursing operations, which require sense and care, but not talent or education, and performed under due professional superintendence, we think that it need give rise to no fear or hesitation whatever. Earnestly, however, as we desire to see the experiment widely and systematically made, we cannot pretend to pre-judge the issue. As far as the English race is concerned it may well be that even Dr. Bastian's temperate forecast is over-sanguine; and that, beyond sporadic successes, the curative effect isnot destined to rank as more than one among the various departments of a more general scientific problem. But on that

ground alone it is entitled to a place in any discussion, however cursory, of mesmeric phenomena.

We now pass to our second main topic; the mesmeric effects which the "subject" exhibits without any preliminary affection either of his senses or of his ideas; as when the mesmerist, though in the company of the "subject," gives no sign or hint of his intention to exercise his power; or when the two are separated, either by a mere wall, or by the interval of a few streets, or by a longer distance. The effects in question embrace both (1) the definite induction of the mesmeric state, and (2) the compulsory performance by the "subject," while in that state, of some act "willed" by his controller. It may be observed, by the way, that if we examine the question as to the efficacy of the will in cases of ordinary mesmerisation, we find a certain conflict of testimony. Some operators have noted that their passes were ineffectual unless accompanied by distinct intention and volition. The Rev. C. H. Townshend made this observation in an experiment with the celebrated naturalist, Agassiz, whom he was mesmerising while himself more or less distracted by the non-arrival of some expected letters. "Although I was at the time engaged in the mesmeric processes to all outward appearances as actively as usual, my patient called out to me constantly and coincidentally with the remission of my thought, 'You influence me no longer; you are not exerting yourself.'" And Dr. Esdaile gives the same account even of the very definite manipulations of his Hindoo assistants, where, if anywhere, the effects might have been naturally attributed to a purely physical influence. Elliotson, on the other hand asserts that his own manipulations were often successful, however mechanically and inattentively carried out; Bertrand (*Du Magnétisme Animal*, p. 241) makes a similar remark; and their view certainly seems the most natural one in respect of all cases of hypnotisation where there is no reason to suppose any specific influence to be at work. In other cases, it would be a very possible assumption that the state of nervous activity which admits of influencing another nervous system is one that normally corresponds to a sense of determined effort; and this element, of course, assumes unique prominence in the "willing" cases which we are now to consider.

Our first instance shall be from Esdaile (*Natural and Mesmeric Clairvoyance*, pp. 227-8.)

I had been looking for a blind man upon whom to test the imagination theory, and one at last presented himself. I placed him on a stool without saying a word to him, and entranced him in ten minutes without touching him. This man became so susceptible that, by making him the object of my attention, I could entrance him in whatever occupation he was engaged, and at any distance within the hospital enclosure. . . . My *first attempt* to

influence the blind man was made by gazing at him silently over a wall, while he was engaged in the act of eating his solitary dinner, at a distance of twenty yards. He gradually ceased to eat, and in a quarter of an hour was profoundly entranced and cataleptic. This was repeated at the most untimely hours, when he could not possibly know of my being in his neighbourhood, and always with like results.

With this case we might compare Reichenbach's account of repeatedly *waking* a somnambulist by the mere exercise of will (*Der Sensitive Mensch*, Vol. II., pp. 665-6); and another similar instance in the Report of the Committee of the French *Royal Academy of Medicine*, published in 1831. This Committee stated that they could not doubt the reality of the effect produced on one of their subjects by an influence exercised "without his knowledge and at a certain distance from him." But the instances which they report are less striking than the following. In the *Zoist* for April, 1849, Mr. Adams, a surgeon of Lymington (writing some four months after the incidents occurred), describes how a medical student, a guest in his own house, twice succeeded in mesmerising the man-servant of a common friend at a distance of nearly 20 miles, the time when the attempt was to be made having in each case been privately arranged with the man's master. On the first occasion, the unwitting "subject" fell at the time fixed, 7.30 p.m., into a state of profound coma not at all resembling natural sleep, from which he was with difficulty aroused. He said that "before he fell asleep he had lost the use of his legs; he had endeavoured to kick the cat away and could not do so." On the second occasion a similar fit was induced at 9.30 in the morning, while he was in the act of walking across a meadow to feed the pigs.

As regards the further class of cases, where a definite action or course of action is produced by silent or distant control, the first thing to remark is that many phenomena are popularly referred to this category which have not the slightest claim to a place in it. There is a popular idea that such cases are not rare, and depend merely on strength of will; but no reliance whatever can be placed on the alleged instances. Science has often exposed—and will probably have often to expose again—the fallacy which attributes the ordinary successes in the "willing-game" to anything more than an unconscious reading of slight muscular hints.*

* Even in the "willing-game," however, as we have more than once pointed out, exceptional cases occur by which this theory of unconscious guidance appears to be somewhat severely strained. For instance, in one case that has come to our knowledge, the blind-folded "percipients" who were willed to do the most unlikely things, as soon as they were lightly touched by the "agents," "would suddenly dart off towards the object of the 'willing,' passing round the various articles of furniture as if seeing them; often so rapidly that we (the agents) could not keep up with them, and *so detaching themselves from our touch.* They stated that they had no idea of what they were doing, but *felt, as it were,* a

Again, we have probably all of us heard someone claim to have made someone else look round, in church or theatre, by fixing an intent gaze on him; but such cases must clearly be reckoned as mere illusions of *post hoc propter hoc*, of successes noted and failures forgotten. Equally fallacious are most of the cases that are claimed as distinctively "mesmeric." The common platform exhibition, where a profession is made of "willing" a particular person to attend, and he rushes into the room at the appointed moment, is not due to any influence then and there exercised, but is the effect of the command or threat impressed on his mind when in its wax-like condition of trance on a previous evening. Nor, as a rule, do the cases where "subjects" are said to be drawn by their controller from house to house, or even to a distant town, prove any specific power of his will, or anything beyond the *general* influence and attraction which he has established, and which is liable every now and then to recrudesce in his absence, and to manifest itself in this startling form.

Very much rarer are the really crucial cases, where the intended effect—the origination or inhibition of motor-impulses—is brought about at the moment by a deliberate exercise of volition; but for a certain number of them the evidence is such as it would be absurd in us—who have ourselves witnessed the phenomena—to reject. Several sets of experiments have been recorded in our *Proceedings* whereby the "subject's" power of response to a question was shown to be at the mercy of the unexpressed will of his controller—that will being directed, during a long series of trials, in accordance with an arbitrary list of *yeses* and *noes* drawn up by ourselves.* One series of trials conducted by Professor Barrett, gave 43 successes without a single failure. In the last six of these trials, the mesmerist, who was a complete stranger to the "subject," was at a distance of seventeen feet from him, outside a door, through a narrow chink in which he received from Professor Barrett one or other of two cards, containing respectively the words *yes* and *no*. The question, "Do you hear me?" was every time addressed to the "sub-

blind force compelling *them to certain definite actions.*" Now, the interesting point of this case is that some *specific influence* seems really to have been exerted; the percipients being considerably exhausted by two or three minutes of the performance, which also "gave them a queer *égaré* look afterwards." The moral, from a hygienic point of view, is the very one which we are persistently urging from a scientific point of view—namely, that the "willing-game" should be played in some form which *involves neither contact nor movement.* Let the "willer" concentrate his thoughts on some object (card, name, number, scene, taste, tune, or whatever it may be) which the subject is to *name.* Records of successful experiments of this sort are gradually being accumulated; but the general acceptation of thought-transference might be indefinitely hastened if we could induce more people to make trials.

* *Proceedings* Vol. I., p. 256; Vol. II., pp. 13-17.

ject" by Professor Barrett. To ensure a neutral tone, he took care (after the first 12 trials) not to know himself which of the two cards he gave to the mesmerist until after the result, which, according to the will that had been exerted, was either the answer "yes," or silence. We have not been equally successful in trials directed to control of movements of a more visible sort; but we occasionally meet with cases where attempts to make people look round, &c.—valueless in the casual form that they ordinarily assume—have been made the subject of more careful and persistent experiment. The Rev. J. Lawson Sisson, Rector of Edingthorpe, North Walsham (whose interest in mesmerism, like that of so many others, began with the discovery of his own power to alleviate pain), tells us that he has made several definite trials on sensitive "subjects" with complete success. When one of these "subjects" was walking many yards in front of him, engaged in conversation and totally unaware of his attention, "I could," he says, "by raising my hand and *willing* it, draw her head quite back." Quite recently, we are told, a similar power was repeatedly exercised on a patient by the house-physician of a large London hospital. But it is, of course, far more satisfactory if some more marked interference with normal conduct can be induced. The following experiment of Mr. Sisson's was performed on an incredulous lady, whose first experience of the subject had been a few moments' subjection to the slightest possible hypnotic process in the course of the evening.

Conversation went on to other topics, and then followed a light supper. Several of the gentlemen, myself among the number, were obliged to stand. I stood talking to a friend, against the wall, and at the back of Miss Cooke, some three or four feet off her. Her wine-glass was filled, and I made up my mind that she should not drink without my "willing." I kept on talking and watching her many futile attempts to get the glass to her mouth. Sometimes she got it a few inches from the level of the table; sometimes she got it a little higher, but she evidently felt that it was not for some reason to be done. At last I said, "Miss Cooke, why don't you drink your wine?" and her answer was at once, "I will when you let me."

The *Zoist* contains several well-marked cases of the same kind. Thus Mr. Barth there records the case of a patient of his own (Vol. VII., p. 280).

When she wished to leave the room, I could at any time prevent her by willing that she should stay, and this silently. I could not arrest her progress whilst she was in motion, but if she stood for a moment and I mentally said "Stand," she stood unable to move from the spot. If she placed her hand on the table I could affix it by my will alone, and unfix it by will. If she held a ruler or paper-knife in her closed hand, I could compel her by will alone to unclose her hand and drop the article. Frequently when she has been at the tea-table, and I quite behind and out of sight, have I locked her

jaws or arrested her hand with her bread-and-butter in it, when half way betwixt her plate and her mouth.

Mr. N. Dunscombe, J.P. (Vol. IX., p. 438), records of himself that, having attended some mesmeric performances, he was for some time at the mercy of the operator's silent will.

He has caused me, by way of experiment, to leave my seat in one part of my house, and follow him all through it and out of it till I found him. He was not in the room with me, neither had I the slightest idea of his attempting the experiment. I felt an unaccountable desire to go in a certain direction.

The Rev. L. Lewis (Vol. V., p. 324) describes the assumption by a young lady, under the influence of the silent will of his son, of several distinctly marked *rôles*—among others, those of the Queen and of Sir R. Peel. And more remarkable still are the cases of acts performed under the silent control of Mr. H. S. Thompson, of Moorfields, York, of which we have elsewhere given one or two instances. The recorders of these experiments have unfortunately seldom recognised the need of making clear to the reader that all chance of physical indications was excluded; and it is, we know, difficult to convince persons not present at the time that adequate precautions have been taken. But after a little experience such precautions are not really difficult to take.

It will be observed that we have cited one case where mesmeric *sleep* was induced at the distance of fifty miles; but there is hardly any well-attested record of the induction of *actions*, when the "willer" and the "willed" have been further removed from one another than two neighbouring rooms. The liability to have definite acts compelled from a distance, which figures in romance and in the popular imagination as the natural and terrible result of mesmeric influence, is precisely the result for which we can find least evidence. Our friend, Mr. B., however, to whose powers of this kind we have elsewhere referred, has supplied us with an instance where the impulse to action was transferred, though imperfectly, over a distance of five miles. The case is worth quoting, though the agency cannot be shown to have been specifically mesmeric.

On Wednesday, July 26th, 1882, at 10.30 p.m., I willed very strongly that Miss V., who was living at Clarence Road, Kew, should leave any part of that house in which she might happen to be at the time, that she should go upstairs to her bed-room, and remove a portrait from her dressing-table.

On the Friday following I received a letter, saying that on the above day, and at the time above mentioned, Miss V. experienced a strong influence to go and remove *something* from her dressing-table, but she was not sure as to the exact article. She obeyed the impulse, and removed something, but not the portrait determined upon by myself.

At the time of the experiment, I was at a distance of five miles (viz., Southall, Middlesex) from the lady in question.

[This account was drawn up for us in 1883, from an entry in a diary written immediately after the occurrence.]

On Thursday, July 27th, without having seen or had any communication with Mr. B., Miss V. wrote to him as follows :—

"What were you doing between 10 and 11 o'clock on Wednesday evening? If you make me so restless, I shall begin to be afraid of you. I positively *could not* stay in the dining-room, and I believe you meant me to be upstairs, and to move something on my dressing-table. I want to see if you know what it was. At any rate, I am *sure* you were thinking something about me."

Mr. B. then wrote and told Miss V. that the object he had thought of was Mr. G.'s photograph. She answered :—

"I must tell you it was not G.'s photo, but something on my table which, perhaps, you would never think of. However, it was really wonderful how impossible I found it to *think* or do anything until I came upstairs, and I *knew* for *certain* that your thoughts were *here;* and in fact it seemed as if you were very near."

[Miss V., whom we regard as a completely trustworthy witness, has since given an independent account, agreeing with the above in every detail, to one of the present writers, who has also examined the original letters.]

Similarly there are a few cases on record where *hallucinations* have been induced by the will of a distant operator. And such exceptional command of the sensory faculties of another is, from our point of view, of even greater interest than the command of his actions; for it forms a specially convenient link between the ordinary "thought-transference," which deals with simple and unemotional impressions, and those strong invasions of the senses or the mind by the presence of friends who are really dying or in some unusual state of excitation far away, of which we have already given some account (and hope soon to give a much fuller one) under the title of "Phantasms of the Living." The examples which we have already published have been unconnected with mesmerism. But in the following case, if correctly described, the *rapport* seems to have been distinctly due to previous mesmerisation. Mr. John Moule, of Codicote, near Welwyn, who gives the account, is personally known to one of us. He tells us that, as a young man, he had considerable success in mesmerising his friends.

In the year 1855 I felt very anxious to try and affect the most sensitive of my mesmeric subjects away from my house and unknown to them. I chose for this purpose a young lady, a Miss Drasey, and stated that some day I intended to visit her, wherever she might be, although the place might be unknown to me; and told her if anything particular should occur, to note the time, and when she called at my house again, to state if anything had occurred. One day, about two months after (I not having seen her in the interval), I was by myself in my chemical factory, Redman's Row, Mile End, London, all alone, and I determined to try the experiment, the lady being in Dalston, about three miles off. I stood, raised my hands, and

willed to act on the lady. I soon felt that I had expended energy. I immediately sat down in a chair and went to sleep. I then saw in a dream my friend coming down the kitchen stairs, where I dreamt I was. She saw me, and suddenly exclaimed, "Oh! Mr. Moule," and fainted away. This I dreamt, and then awoke. I thought very little about it, supposing I had had an ordinary dream; but about three weeks after she came to my house, and related to my wife the singular occurrence of her seeing me sitting in the kitchen, where she then was, and that she fainted away, and nearly dropped some dishes she had in her hands. All this I saw exactly in my dream, so that I described the kitchen furniture and where I sat as perfectly as if I had been there, though I had never been in the house. I gave many details, and she said, "It is just as if you had been there." After this she made me promise that I would never do it again, as she would never feel happy with the idea of me appearing to her. Some time after this she left this country for Australia, and died a few years afterwards.

[This case is, of course, somewhat weakened by the fact that the intended trial had been mentioned—though some time before—to the "subject."]

So much for our second head, which brings us nearly to the end of our space. Reserving our final topic—clairvoyance—for independent treatment, we may conclude with a brief summary of the ways in which our review of mesmerism, as so far published, appears to us to have differed from former discussions of the subject. In the first place, while making a clear distinction between Hypnotism and Mesmerism, we have maintained the independent reality of both sorts of phenomena. We have thus, on the one hand, separated ourselves from the writers on mesmerism who, in ignorance of the work of Braid and his followers, and judging from purely superficial indications, have confused together all the phenomena at which the ordinary uninstructed person will gape, and have attributed to some mysterious agency effects which science clearly perceives to be due to a peculiar nervous condition, induced by a particular sort of stimulation. On the other hand, we have equally separated ourselves from the party who find in this peculiar condition, and in the mono-ideism and automatic obedience which it entails, a key to the whole range of the phenomena. For we have both pointed out facts in the ordinary path of hypnotic experiment, which had never been faced, or in any way explained by the hypnotic theorists; and we have further devised special experiments, as precise as their own, with the express view of eliminating the factors on which they relied. The complete success of these experiments was too much in accordance with the testimony of previous observers to cause us much astonishment; our own claim is for the first time to have established their truly crucial character by carefully distinguishing them from the cases to which the hypnotic theory may be reasonably applied, and by emphasising which "hypnotists" have always seemed to themselves able to refute "mesmerists."

We then pointed out how, in many cases, mesmerism seems only to determine with special certainty events which are found also capable of spontaneous occurrence—that the power seems to be that of directing and controlling nervous conditions previously observed, or, at any rate, previously existing. In the department of somnambulism the natural phenomena are as distinct as the induced, and have been as distinctly recorded; but, as regards the sanative influence of one organism on another, this, until specialised by mesmerism, was, by its very nature, so vague and diffusive that we can, perhaps, point to no more exact record of it than is contained in the widely-spread popular belief in physical sympathies and antipathies, and in the beneficial influence on the old of contact with the young. The notion of mesmerism as directing and concentrating influences which yet may assert themselves in its absence, was again strongly suggested in the obvious relationship which the domination of an absent person by the specific power bears to the experimental cases of thought-transference and "willing," and to the spontaneous cases of telepathic apparitions. And the same notion will find further confirmation in connection with the topic of clairvoyance.

But our main object throughout has been to stimulate rather than to expound—to suggest questions rather than to resolve them. The immediate need is a far larger body of contemporary evidence. The subject is, no doubt, one which, on its practical side, demands care and caution, but there is no reason why experiments should be confined to the hospital, or even to the "psycho-physical laboratory." Experiments, for instance, in "community of sensation" or in "silent willing" depend, in no way, on the presence of morbid or hysterical subjects, and are well worth trying by any patient observer who can induce the necessary trance. Some experienced guidance is needed at the outset, and such guidance it is one of the objects of the Society for Psychical Research to afford. But it would be a grave retardation of science were it assumed that this strange *metapsychosis* was a medical curiosity alone. It is much more than this. It is the key which seems likeliest to unlock the mysteries of attention and memory; of sleep, dreams, and hallucination; of "double consciousness" and of religious ecstasy. It is by thus throwing the mental machinery slightly out of gear that we discern the secrets of its adjustment, or (to use a more fanciful metaphor) "the soul that rises in us, our life's star," acquires from this displacement a sensible parallax, and reveals laws of its motion which direct introspection could never discover. Those who engage in this as in other branches of psychical research must be prepared to face much wearisome failure, much deceptive ambiguity. Yet thus, perhaps, may they with most reason hope to lay the corner-stone of a valid experimental psychology, and to open up our deepest inlet into the inner man.

[Since the above paper was written, the views therein expressed concerning the existence, limits, and varieties of mesmerism, as a therapeutical agency, have received remarkable and unexpected corroboration from some results which had not been made public in England at the time that we wrote. The origin of the important hypnotic work at the town of Nancy, in France, dates from many years back, when Dr. Liébeault first established himself there in private practice. His labours have of late years received recognition from the authorities of the medical school; and in the Hôpital Civil, for the first time since the days of Elliotson and Esdaile, hypnotism is now being practised on a large scale by a physician of repute. Professor Bernheim is preparing a second edition of his book, "La Suggestion Hypnotique," in which his recent observations on the therapeutical aspect of the subject will be included. Through his kindness, and that of Dr. Liébeault, we have ourselves witnessed their methods; and, in company with Dr. A. T. Myers, have examined many of their patients. The conclusions to be drawn seem to be completely congruous with those which, in the foregoing article, we have derived from the earlier records. The success attained has, in the very large majority of instances, consisted in the relief of pain and the removal of functional disturbances—that is to say, in results which (as we have pointed out) afford little if any proof of a specific or "mesmeric" influence; and Dr. Liébeault's work, "Du Sommeil et des Etats Analogues," published in 1866, is in fact opposed to the "mesmeric" hypothesis. But further experiences, especially with very young children, have now convinced him that the hypothesis which we have advocated in respect of a certain residue of cases is fully justified, and that a specific influence is in some cases exercised; and this view he has with great candour expressed in a recent tractate, "Le Zoomagnétisme.'

In view of the Nancy record, it might seem that the prospects of this form of treatment were, after all, rather brighter than we have supposed. But we are bound to add that the remarks made above in relation to Esdaile's Hindoos, as to differences of susceptibility in different nations, appear to a very considerable extent to hold good of the French temperament, as compared with the English. A far larger proportion of patients are distinctly affected in the Nancy wards than our own English experience would have led us to anticipate. At the same time, what we saw there cannot but increase our desire to see the same line of experiment boldly entered upon, or at any rate fairly recognised, by English medical men. No patient has ever been the worse for it; and the alleviation in certain cases seems to be of a more pronounced kind than is safely attainable in any other way.]

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL MEETING ON

July 10*th*, 1885.

The sixteenth General Meeting of the Society was held at the rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, on Friday, July 10*th*, 1885.

Professor Balfour Stewart, F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Mr. Malcolm Guthrie read part of the following paper:—

III.

FURTHER REPORT ON EXPERIMENTS IN THOUGHT-TRANSFERENCE AT LIVERPOOL.

By Malcolm Guthrie, J.P.

In November, 1883, I read a paper before the Society for Psychical Research on some experiments in thought-transference carried on by Mr. James Birchall and myself, many of them in the presence of various members of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, who took an interest in the investigation. The experiments were resumed and carried on till Christmas, when I was obliged, by ill-health, to discontinue all further intellectual work.

However, as I had commenced the investigations, and as it appeared that the cases of the possession of the power were very few, I considered it my duty to pursue the inquiry in the interests of science; and my first endeavour was to secure the aid of some good scientific authorities. I first asked my cousin, Dr. Guthrie, Professor of Physics at South Kensington, to be present. He, however, was only able to attend one evening and part of another, and expressed no opinion. I therefore made it a rule that I would entrust the investigation to no one who would not promise to attend four evenings at least, as, moreover, I found the presence of strangers sometimes disconcerting. In the spring of 1884 I was fortunate enough to secure the assistance of Dr. Lodge, Professor of Physics, University College, Liverpool, whose report was presented to our Society and was published in Vol. II. of the *Proceedings*. This report vouched for the genuineness and accuracy of the experiments, and contained an account of some new arrange-

ments. In the autumn I also had the company of Dr. Herdman, Professor of Biology at the same college. We were sufficiently successful under his observation, but not as much so as previously.

In the summer we lost the services of one of our percipients, Miss Edwards, who left to be married and was no longer available. Miss Relph, however, kindly continued to give her assistance at meetings during the autumn, which were attended by Dr. Herdman, Mr. R. C. Johnson, F.R.A.S., Mr. H. E. Rensburg, and others.

At Christmas there was an interregnum, owing to Miss R. suffering from a quinsey, and we did not resume work until the month of April. Dr. Herdman was not able to attend, on account of extra work connected with the new marine biology studies; but he recommended three medical men, of whom one only, Dr. Hyla Greves, was able to take up the inquiry. Dr. Hicks, President of the Microscopical Society of Liverpool, also joined in the inquiry; and these two gentlemen have both expressed themselves as perfectly satisfied with the fact of the mental transference of impressions without contact from one person to another, as exhibited by our varied experiments. Throughout the studies of the autumn and winter I have had the valuable assistance of Mr. R. C. Johnson, and of Mr. James Birchall, the hon. secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool.

I have noticed a falling off in the facility and success of our experiments since our first great results were obtained. I do not know to what cause to attribute this declension. Personally, I find I am not equal to my former self in my power to give off impressions, and if I exert myself to do so I experience unpleasant effects in the head and nervous system. I therefore seldom join in the active experiments, but leave the thinking for the most part to others. Then we have lost one of our percipients; and as the novelty and vivacity of our séances has departed there is not the same geniality and freshness as at the outset. The thing has become monotonous, whereas it was formerly a succession of surprises. We have now nothing new to try. I do not know if there is loss of power on the part of the percipient; it is just as likely that the agents are in fault.

I have been, I need hardly say, very anxious to find additional cases of percipiency, and I have induced quite a number of people to make trials in this direction, but hitherto without any satisfactory result. I have, indeed, heard of several apparently genuine cases, but have never been able to get at them. There has always been a reticence which has caused me to meet with disappointment, when I have expressed a desire for a scientific investigation. Some cases reported to me turned out to be simply varieties of the willing-game done under contact, and evidently the result of unconscious muscular indications. One case I investigated, in which five or six

persons were supposed to possess the power, was evidently explainable by the limited number of objects experimented with, all known to the supposed percipients, and conjured up by them in the mind's eye. This was merely a case of guessing.

I have not much in the way of novelty to report beyond my previous range of experiments. These included the successful transfer, with and without contact, of (*a*) visual impressions, actual and imagined, extending up to complicated pictures; (*b*) impressions of pains under contact, and (*c*) impressions of tastes and smells under contact; (*d*) impressions of names and numbers, with and without contact; (*e*) willing without contact. Dr. Lodge tried the remarkable experiment of two independent visual impressions, transferred at the same time by two agents to the mind of one percipient, which resulted in a combined impression, in which the two originals were absolutely united. At the suggestion of Dr. Herdman, we tried pains without contact. The percipient, blindfolded and isolated, sat with her back towards the company, who simultaneously inflicted upon themselves a pain in a given spot, and this has been repeatedly indicated with great exactness by the percipient. Another novelty has been the transference of imagined tunes. This has not been done without contact, and naturally gave rise to the inquiry whether the notion of tune could have been transferred by muscular indications. We therefore tried to transfer tunes by muscular indications to all the persons present, but failed; and it seems not unreasonable to suppose that a person who is on his guard can prevent himself from conveying the sharply-defined rhythm of a tune by a series of pats or sudden pressures on another person's hand; and also that without *consciousness* of the rhythmic indications on the percipient's part, the tune could not be identified.

Some recent experiments in the presence of Dr. Greves have been a little remarkable as illustrating the phenomena of inversion and reminiscence. It has been observed that visual impressions are sometimes given right as left, and left as right In many cases lately pains have been correctly localised, but placed on the right side of the body instead of the left, and on the left side instead of the right. Then as to reminiscence—in some taste experiments recently, it happened three times running that the taste which the percipient described was not the one which the agent was at that moment tasting, but the one which he had been tasting in the preceding trial a minute before, none of the substances having been named during the course of the experiments. In looking back over the volumes of diagrams I possess, I find that a good many which I considered failures at the time are evidently due to reminiscence of the preceding diagram which had not, in the majority of instances, been shown to the percipient in the interval. My atten-

tion was first called to a case of this kind by Dr. Guthrie in regard to one of the drawings executed in his presence.

We have now a record of 713 experiments, and I recently set myself the task of classifying them into the 4 classes of successful, partially successful, misdescriptions, and failures. I endeavoured to work it out in what I thought a reasonable way, but I experienced much difficulty in assigning to its proper column each experiment we made. This, however, is a task which each student of the subject will be able to undertake for himself according to his own judgment. I do not submit my summary as a basis for calculation of probability. A few successful experiments of a certain kind carry greater weight with them, than a large number of another kind; for some experiments are practically beyond the region of guesses. I doubt, indeed, if any amount of calculation of probabilities will help to convince of the trustworthiness of the experiments. One successful evening when the conditions are strict is absolutely convincing; and the simple genuine truthfulness of the percipients is a better guarantee than any amount of subsequent cross-examination as to the conditions of trial.

The following is a summary of the work done, classified to the best of my judgment.

FIRST SERIES.

Experiment and Conditions.	Total.	Nothing perceived.	Complete.	Partial.	Misdescriptions.
Visual—Letters, figures, and cards—Contact	26	2	17	4	3
do. do. do. Non-contact...	16	0	9	2	5
Visual—Objects, colours, &c.—Contact	19	6	7	4	2
do. do. Non-contact	38	4	28	6	0
Imagined visual.—Non-contact	18	5	8	2	3
Imagined numbers and names—Contact and Non-contact	39	11	12	6	10
Pains—Contact	52	10	30	9	3
Tastes and smells—Contact	94	19	42	20	13
	302	57	153	53	39
Diagrams—Contact	37	7	18	6	6
do. Non-contact	118	6	66	23	23
	457	70	237	82	68

There were also 40 diagrams for experimental evenings with strangers, in series of sixes and sevens, all misdrawn, and not fairly to be reckoned in the above.

457 experiments under proper conditions.
70 nothing perceived.

387

319 wholly or partially correct; 68 misdescriptions = 18%

SECOND SERIES.

Experiment and Conditions.	Total.	Nothing perceived.	Complete.	Partial.	Misdescribed.
Visual—Various objects—Contact	18	3	7	7	1
do. do. Non-contact	15	6	2	3	4
Visual—Cards, &c.—Contact	18	1	7	2	8
do. Non-contact	3	—	—	—	3
Imagined visual	1	1	—	—	—
Imagined numbers and names—Contact and Non-contact	1	—	—	—	1
Pains—Contact	21	—	6	7	8
Tastes and smells—Contact	6	—	1	2	3
	83	11	23	21	28
Diagrams—Contact	8	2	4	2	—
do. Non-contact	32	2	12	11	7
	123	15	39	34	35

Total	123	Complete and partial ...	73
Nothing perceived ...	15	Misdescriptions... ...	35
	108		108

This table exhibits 32% failures, as against 18% of the first set.

THIRD SERIES.

Experiment and Conditions.	Total.	Nothing perceived.	Complete.	Partial.	Misdescribed.
Visual—Various objects—Contact	10	2	3	2	3
do. do. Non-contact	28	4	8	10	6
Visual—Cards, &c.—Contact	5	1	1	1	2
do. Non-contact	20	5	3	8	4
Imagined visual	3	1	1	0	1
Imagined numbers and names	3	2	0	1	0
Contact and Non-contact	4	1	1	1	1
Pains—Contact	22	3	8	4	7
do. Non-contact	14	2	8	0	4
Tastes and smells—Contact	18	1	4	2	11
Tunes—Contact	6	2	3	0	1
	133	24	40	29	40
Diagrams—Contact ... do. Non-contact } Only a few, classed in above as objects.					

Total	133	Completely or partially correct	69
Nothing perceived	24	Misdescribed	40
	109		109

Showing a further declension of success from the second series or 37% of failures.

I append the record of a few of our evenings. I may remark that since November, 1883, owing to a suggestion of Dr. Guthrie's, the objects in all our visual experiments have been placed on a screen fixed to the back of the chair upon which the percipient is seated, blindfolded—the agents taking their places in front of the screen at a distance generally of three or four feet. In previous experiments of this kind the percipient, blindfolded, had faced the agents, the object or diagram experimented with having been placed at a distance behind the percipient, and the agents looking over her shoulder. I do not consider that the change of position made any difference in the result of the experiments.

The following examples will give the most important of the results from the point where my former account broke off. In every case all the experiments made on that occasion are given.

London, 24th November, 1883. Evening.

Present: Miss Relph, Miss Edwards, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Guthrie. Visitors expected, but it was hoped they would not come, the company feeling dispirited. Miss Relph proposed to try some of the experiments in colours and outlines. Miss Relph was blindfolded and isolated, all joining in as operators.

1.—A round red spot on satin was exhibited on a black background, behind the subject.	Not seen at all.
2.—A pink diamond.	Reply — "Colour bluish green." Afterwards said to be a diamond.
3.—A strip of green ribbon of this shape	Reply—"It is green . . shape square with a quarter cut out, thus

Somebody proposed experiments in tastes, and Mr. G. suggested a few preliminary experiments in the transference of pains. This being received with zest by the company, Miss Relph became the subject, and Mr. Hughes, taking her hand, received the following pains :—

Positions.

Percipient + Table

Mr. H. agent.
+
+ Mr. G.
operator.

+ Miss E. or Miss R.
as spectator.

1.—Little finger, right hand, pinched.	Subject pointed out the spot exactly.
2.—Lobe of left ear pinched.	Ditto.
3.—Right upper arm pinched.	Ditto.

Miss E., who had not tried this experiment before, here expressed a wish to become the subject.

4.—Left hand pricked with a pin.	Said she felt by the shaking that they were doing something to the left arm, so this experiment was abandoned.
5.—Right ankle severely pinched.	Subject: "Oh!" putting her hand to the spot.
6.—Back of neck pinched.	Spot indicated by subject.
7.—Left nostril tickled with the corner of a piece of paper. Mr. H. suffered very much.	"Something funny," putting her hand to the part, and then suddenly started as if the sensation had become unbearable.

Mr. G. here asked Mr. H. to come away for consultation. Miss Relph attended to the fire, and Mr. H. obeyed Mr. G.'s silent directions to take off one of his shoes. Poker put in fire by Mr. G. on returning.

8.—Inside middle of left foot pinched.	Subject indicated the spot.
9.—Front of neck pinched.	Ditto.
10.—Hair of head pulled.	Nothing felt.
11.—Violent pressure of Mr. G.'s hands round Mr. H.'s right wrist.	"Something tight, like a band round the wrist."
12.—Pressure of nail between knuckles of the same hand.	Still felt pain in the right wrist.
13.—Red hot poker held by Mr. G. while Mr. H. put his hand over it, and drew it away when the heat became unbearable.	"Something about the right hand as if I wanted to take hold of something and then drew it away, as if I was frightened to take hold of it."

N.B.—In answer to question afterwards subject said she did not feel the sensation of heat.

14.—Top of left instep pricked with two pins quickly.	Left foot indicated—then suddenly, "Oh! my! did you ever feel pins and needles."
15.—Top of right arm pinched.	Spot indicated by subject.

Here Mr. G. tried, as subject, to receive a pain. He felt a slight sensation in the middle joint of the right little finger, and thought of naming the spot, but thought it would only be a guess and refrained. It afterwards appeared that the pain was located there. He tried another and failed to receive any impression.

Tastes were next tried.

1.—Miss Relph, with Mr. H. as agent. Citric acid.	"Acid . . . makes the mouth feel rough and the teeth inside . . . might be——" Nothing else said.

2.—Miss Relph with Mr. G. Cloves.	"A sharp taste but very pleasant." (After a while.) "Now it is becoming bitter." N.B.—The taste of cloves changes in the mouth.
3.—Miss Relph with Mr. H. Coffee. The sample had no smell, being very old and the aroma all gone.	Miss Relph said: "Tastes rather like coffee."

At this point all the objects for taste were removed from the room—they had been placed behind a screen.

4.—Miss Relph and Mr. H. Vinegar.	"Sour and nasty . . . it isn't vinegar, is it?" (Mr. H. remained silent some time as if implying a negative.) "Is it some kind of sauce with vinegar in it?" (Another long pause.) "No; I can only taste vinegar."
5.—Miss E. and Mr. G. Olive oil.	Nothing perceived.
6.—Mr. G. then took Miss Relph's hand.	"Is it oil like in sardines?"
7.—Miss E. and Mr. H. Mustard.	Described as something hot.

Here some experiments in willing the action and position of the arms were tried without success.

Then the experiments in pains were resumed. Miss Relph and Mr. H.

16.—Back of neck pinched with scissors.	"Dull pricks back of neck."
17.—Tumbler half full of cold water grasped in Mr. H.'s right hand.	"Is it something in the right hand?" (going through the action of grasping something upright) . . . "a sort of cold feeling."
18.—Water dropped in drops upon Mr. H.'s right hand.	Miss Relph said: "What are you doing with water?—I feel some splashes on the left arm." (There were some splashes and the experiment was abandoned.)
19.—Nostrils tickled.	Could not say, but kept putting her hand to her nose as if feeling very uncomfortable.
20.—Pricking with two pins between thumb and forefinger of right hand.	"I feel a pricking here"—indicating the spot with precision.

December 5th, 1883.

Present: Mr. Guthrie, Miss Relph, Miss Edwards, and Miss Redmond.
An informal meeting.

Mr. G. in contact with Miss E.

Figure 15 thought of. Failure.

Mr. G. thought of a name, "Mary Queen of Scots," and tried contact with Miss E. Failed. Then with Miss R. and failed. Then all thought of it, Miss R. being the subject. She said, "Ann—James—William," and then gave it up.

1.—Miss Redmond and Mr. G. tasted powder of dried celery.
In contact with Miss Relph and Miss E. Miss E. said "Celery."

2.—Miss Redmond tasted and smelled camphor.
These two experiments were imperfect.
Miss Relph and Miss E. were then left in one room, and a trap-door in the wooden partition was opened into the next room, the space being filled up with a frame covered with india rubber, and fitting tightly. A slit in it admitted the passage of the operator's hand, which was in contact with both the subjects. There was no other means of communication; and no scent perceptible to normal organs could pass from one room to the other.

3.—Miss Redmond tasted powdered nutmeg.
Miss E. said "Ginger." Miss Relph: "Nutmeg."

4.—Mr. G. tasted powder of dry celery.
Miss E.: "A bitter herb."
Miss Relph: "Something like camomile."

5.—Miss Redmond tasted coffee.
At the same time, without any previous intimation, Mr. G., with two pins, pricked the front of the right wrist of Miss Redmond.
Miss E. said: "Is it a taste at all?" Mr. G.: "Why do you ask?" Miss E.: "Because I feel a sort of pricking in the left wrist." Told it was the right wrist, but she said she felt it in the left. Miss Relph: "Is it cocoa or chocolate?" Answer given in the negative. Miss E: "Is it coffee?"

6.—Mr. G. tasted Worcester sauce.
Miss Relph: "Something sweet . . . also acid . . . a curious taste."
Miss E.: "Is it vinegar?"

7.—Miss Redmond smelled eau de Cologne.
Miss Relph: "Is it eau de Cologne?"

8.—Miss Redmond smelled camphor.
Miss E.: "Don't taste anything."
Miss Relph: Nothing perceived.

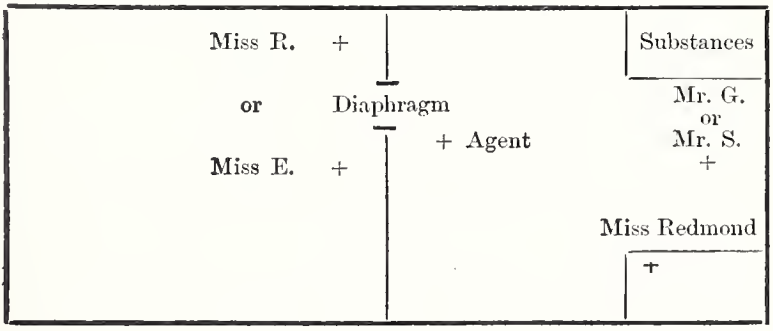
9.—Mr. G. smelled carbolic acid.
Miss Relph: "What you use for tooth-ache . . . creosote."
Miss E. afterwards said she thought of pitch.

10.—Mr. G. Right instep pricked with pins.
Miss E. said on face, then on left shoulder; then Miss Relph said pain was on right foot.
Pain immediately changed to left foot. Miss E. said pain was on left foot. Both maintained their opinions.

December 11th, 1883.

Present: Messrs. Guthrie and Steel, and afterwards Miss Redmond in one room, and Miss Relph and Miss Edwards in the adjoining room, the agent's hand being passed through the slit as before. For the most part Mr. G. only (besides the agent) knew the substance employed.

This is a plan of the two rooms :—



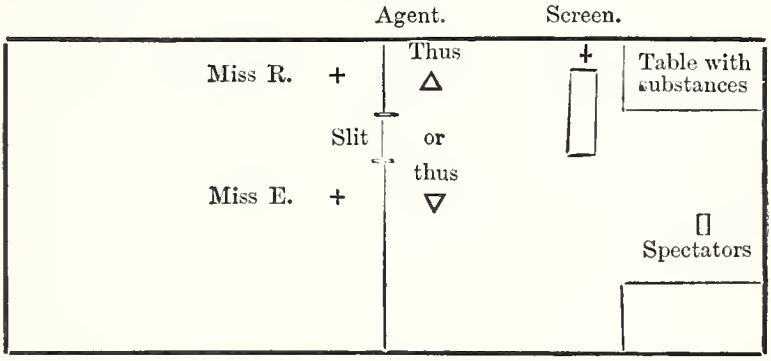
Sometimes the subjects were told the nature of the experiment—sometimes not.

1.—6. 2. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—Spanish liquorice.
6. 6. "Something juicy and sweet . . . Anything like Spanish liquorice?"
2.—6. 8. Miss Relph with Mr. S. Cheese.
6.10. "Something sweet . . . No flavour."
3.—6.11. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Cheese.
6.12. "Still taste liquorice."
4.—6.12. Miss E. with Mr. G. Cheese.
6.13. "Pepper or spice."
5.—6.15. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Smell—creosote.
6.18. "Creosote or tar."
6.—6.19. Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—peppermint lozenges.
6.20. "Sweet . . . chocolate?"
7.—6.21. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—peppermint lozenges.
6.24. "Acid drop . . . sweet . . . Cannot distinguish any flavour . . . Acid drop or raspberry drop."
8.—6.30. Miss E. with Mr. S. Horehound and aniseed lozenge.
6.33. "Sweet and rather sickly." Mr. S. said it was a correct description.
9.—6.35. Miss E. with Mr. G. Smell—lavender water.
"A scent—lavender water or rondeletia."
10.—6.37. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—camomile.
6.40. "Something fearfully bitter."

11.—6.41. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—musk lozenges.
6.44. "Is it sweet? . . . musk, I think."
12.—6.47. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—cheese.
6.48. "Don't taste anything." (No successes with cheese.)
13.—6.49. "Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Smell—salts.
6.52. "Are you smelling anything? . . . A raisin."
14.—6.53. Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Smell—salts.
6.54. "Is it smelling salts?"
15.—Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—anchovy sauce.
"Are you tasting something?"
16.—Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—anchovy sauce.
"Is it something pleasant . . . anything like vinegar? . . . Don't know what it is."
17.—7.4. Miss Relph and Miss Redmond. Taste—nutmeg.
"Something hot and spicy . . . seems to be something like spice . . . Is it nutmeg?"
18.—Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—quinine.
"Are you tasting anything? . . . Something nasty . . bitter."
19.—Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Taste—quinine.
"Is it anything like . . . Oh, it's bitter! but I don't know what it is."
20.—Miss Redmond with Mr. G. Smell—camphorated spirit.
"A smell . . . Is it lavender water? . . . Another smell, but I cannot make it out."
21.—Miss Relph, with Mr. G. Taste—coltsfoot.
"I don't get anything at all."
22.—Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—coltsfoot.
"I don't get anything."
23.—Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—coffee.
Nothing perceived.
24.—Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—coffee.
"Is it chocolate? . . . No; I don't get it."
25.—Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Smell—onion.
"Smelling a lemon, or something like an orange or a lemon . . . Something hot . . . something that makes the nose feel funny, as if one would like to rub it . . . It makes the tears come in my eyes, as if I was smelling onions . . . If it is not an onion, I don't know what it is."
26.—No notice was taken of the foregoing; and, as if in despair, Mr. G. requested Miss Relph to try.
Miss Relph said: "An onion . . . oh! quite strong."
27.—Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—vinegar.
"Seems as if you had some liquid, but don't know if it has any taste."
28.—Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Taste—vinegar.
Nothing perceived.
29.—Miss Relph with Mr. G. Smell—French polish.
"Smells like vinegar or some kind of sauce." The bottle of stuff was afterwards smelled by Miss Relph, but she could not tell then what it was.

17th December, 1883.

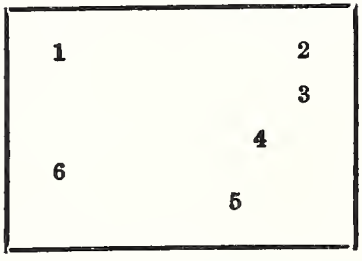
Present: Professor Balfour Stewart, Mr. Guthrie, Miss Redmond, and afterwards Mrs. Guthrie, in one room; and Miss Relph and Miss Edwards in the other room. Thus:—



The subjects were told that the experiments would be in tastes, smells, and pains, but they would be varied without specifying the nature of each one. The substances used were not known to the spectators till after each experiment. These experiments were made with contact through the slit, as above described; and perfect silence was observed during their progress. All the observations made by the percipients are recorded, and the answers made to inquiries of percipients were not made till the conclusion of the experiment.

1.—6.24. Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—musk lozenge.
6.25. "Is it musk?"
2.—6.25. Miss E. with Professor S. Taste—substance not recorded.
6.26. "Anything bitter? . . . Cannot get anything."
3.—6.27. Miss E. with Mr. G. Taste—salt.
6.28. "Anything spicy?" (N.B.—The taste was a mixture of musk and salt.)
4.—6.29. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—salt.
6.30. "Beef-tea, or Liebig's Extract of Beef." (N.B.—Taste was a mixture of musk and salt.)
5.—6.31. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—salt.
6.34. "Like salt."
6.—6.40. Miss E. and Miss Relph with Mr. G. Smell—smelling salts. Nothing discerned.
7.—6.43. Miss E. and Miss Relph separately with Mr. G. Taste—tincture of quinine much diluted.
Miss Relph: "Something acid." Miss E.: Nothing discerned.
8.—6.45. Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Smell—lavender water.
6.47. "Is it a scent? . . . lavender water."
9.—6.48. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Taste—peppermint lozenge.
6.52. Nothing discerned.
10.—6.52. Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Taste—peppermint lozenge.
6.59. "Something hot . . . cayenne? . . . It's hot . . . something very hot."

11.—7. 0. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Smell—smelling salts.
7. 4. "Smelling something . . . don't know what . . . Is it aromatic vinegar?"
12.—7. 5. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Pain—front of left wrist pricked with pins.
7. 9. "Is it a pain? . . . A funny sensation in the left wrist."
13.—7.10. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Pain—left ear pinched.
7.10. "Pain in left ear."
14.—7.11. Miss E. with Miss Redmond. Pain—nose tickled with piece of paper.
Nothing discerned.
15.—7.19. Miss Relph with Miss Redmond. Pain—nose tickled with piece of paper.
Nothing discerned.
16.—7.20. Miss E. with Professor S. Smell—substance not recorded.
"A smell, but I cannot tell what."
17*—7.25. Miss E. with Mrs. G., sen. Smell and taste—creosote.
7.27. "Is it that horrible stuff—tar?"
18.—7.29. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Taste—Spanish liquorice.
7.34. "Something sweet and hot."
19.—7.35. Miss Relph with Mr. G. Pain—sole of right foot pricked with pins.
Failure. Professor S., who was with the subjects, reports that Miss E., not in contact, located the pain in the right foot.
20.—7.50. Miss Relph with Mrs. G., sen. Smell—onion.
7.51. "Are you smelling some kind of fruit?"
7.52. "Is it an onion?"
21.—7.53. Miss Relph with Mrs. G., sen. Taste—Spanish liquorice.
7.54. "Tasting something . . . liquorice."
22.—7.55. Miss Relph with Mrs. G., sen. Pain—nose tickled.
Pain in right hand—afterwards foot.
23.—8. 0. Miss Relph and Miss E. with Mr. G. Pain—chin pinched.
Nothing discerned.
24.—8. 4. All the company now met in one room, Miss Relph being placed with her face in the corner and blindfolded. Thus:—



1. Miss Relph.
2. Professor S.
3. Mrs. G.
4. Miss Redmond.
5. Miss E.
6. Mr. G.

Mr. G. produced a bunch of small keys, hanging on a chain, from his pocket, and held them up behind Miss Relph. The experiment took about five minutes.

Miss Relph said: "Is it something bright? like a lot of icicles hanging down."

25.—Professor S. wrote down "Tom Thumb," and passed it round, telling Miss Relph we were going to think of a fancy name.
Miss Relph received no impression.

The spring of 1884 was taken up by experiments under the supervision of Dr. Lodge, already reported in the *Proceedings*, Vol. II., pp. 189-200.

November 6th, 1884.

Present: Miss Relph, Miss Redmond, Mr. Guthrie, and Professor Herdman.
Percipient: Miss Relph. Object on a screen at the back of her chair.

No contact.

1.—Object—Red paper cut in the form of an egg-cup with a white egg in it.
Miss Relph: "It is something red; longer than wide." She could not describe the shape.

2.—Object—Blue paper cut in the form of a jug.
Miss Relph: "Is it blue? wider at the top, then goes in, then wider again . . . It looks like a jug." (See drawing—handle reversed.)

3.—Object—Red paper cut in the form of a vase.
Miss Relph: "Is it red? . . . I can get the colour, nothing more."

4.—Object—A new nutmeg-grater.
Miss Relph: "It is something bright . . . silver or steel . . . long and narrow."

5.—Object—A round wooden counter on a black ground.
Miss Relph: "I can't see anything at all."

6.—Object—A red counter.
Miss Relph: "Is it red? . . . It is round and red."

7.—Object—No. 5 over again.
Miss Relph: "Is there any red about it? . . . Yellowish red—a kind of light."

8.—Object—Silver paper cut in the form of a teapot.
Miss Relph: "Is it bright silver, something like a kettle? . . . A teapot."

9.—Object—A long yellow rectangular paper.

Miss Relph: "Is it yellow? . . . It seems longer than wide."

10.—Object—A sovereign.
Miss Relph: "Is it bright yellow? . . gold . . Is it round?"

11.—Object—The three of hearts.
Miss Relph: "Is it a card with red spots? . . . Three, one above the other."

12.—Object—The five of spades.
"Is it another card with five black spots?"

13.—Object—The eight of diamonds.
"Is it a card with a lot of spots? . . . red . . . the ten?"

14.—Object—A card with two red X's.
Miss Relph: "Is it something yellow and bright?" . . . I see no shape at all . . . Is it a card with red spots? . . . I see no shape."

15.—No object. We thought of a white X on a black ground.
Miss Relph: "I see something white and black . . . I see two lines."

November 13th, 1884.

Present: Misses Relph and Redmond; Messrs. Guthrie and Johnson; and Professor Herdman.

Pain Experiments.

Percipient: Miss Relph, blindfolded. Contact.

1.—Mr. J.'s left arm pinched.
Miss Relph: "Somewhere about this" (left) "arm." She indicated the right spot.

2.—Mr. G. twisted a cord tightly round Mr. J.'s right wrist. (No contact.)
No result.
Contact with left hand. Miss Relph: "Is it this" (right) "wrist?"

3.—Mr. G. rubbed a grater on Mr. J.'s left hand. (Contact with right hand.)
Miss Relph pointed to the place and said: "It is a nipping pain."

Object Experiments.

1.—Object—A bird's-claw brooch, with silver.
No result. Nothing seen.

2.—Object—Small letter "d."
Miss Relph: "Are there black lines on a white ground?" ("Yes.") "I can't see any distinct shape. There seems to be a line down and another going round." ("Can you draw it?") "Yes." Miss Relph then drew

3.—Object—The small letter "k."
Miss Relph: "It seems something the same as the last, a white ground and dark lines . . . I can't see anything distinctly."
No result.

4.—Object—A gold horseshoe on black.

Miss Relph: "Is it something bright and yellow?" ("Yes. What shape is it?") "I can see no shape." No further result.

5.—Object—The capital letter Q, white and black.
Miss Relph: "Is it round, with something at the bottom?" ("Yes.") "It might be a letter." ("Which letter?") "Is it O or Q?"

6.—Object—The letter T.
Miss Relph: "Is it another letter? . . . Is it anything like a T?"

7.—Object—A pair of scissors on a white ground.
Miss Relph: "Is it bright like silver? . . . It seems wider than long, but I can't see any distinct shape." No further result.

8.—Object—Red paper cut in the form of a teacup and saucer.
Miss Relph: "It is red." ("What shape is it?") No shape visible.
9.—Object—Blue paper cut in the form of a jug.
Miss Relph: "Is it square? . . . I still see red, also blue . . . It is wider at the bottom and goes up narrower . . . Are there two objects?" ("No.")

1.—We agreed to think of the number 4.
Miss Relph: "Is it 3 or 5?" ("No.")
2.—Number 18 thought of, and contact.
Miss Relph: "Is it 3? . . . Is it 9?" ("No.")

Pain Experiments. With contact.

1.—Back of Mr. J.'s neck scratched with pin.
Miss Relph: "Is it the back of the neck?"
Right.
2.—Mr. J.'s left shoulder pricked.
Miss Relph pointed to the right place.
3.—Mr. J.'s left wrist squeezed.
Right.
4.—Mr. J.'s left ankle squeezed.
Right

Without contact. Miss Relph, blindfolded and isolated, seated with back to company—a suggestion of Dr. Herdman's.

1.—Back of left hand pricked.
Guessed rightly.
2.—The left lobe of the ear pricked.
Also guessed rightly.

November 20th, 1884.

Present: Misses Relph, Redmond, James; Messrs. Guthrie and Johnson; and later, Professor Herdman.

Percipient: Miss Relph.

1.—Object—A red ball on a blue ground.
Miss Relph: "Is it orange or yellow, and round?"
2.—Object—The three of spades.
Miss Relph: "Is it a card? . . . with black spots? . . . I think there are four or five . . . in a straight line."
3.—All pricked the left wrist with a pin. No contact.
Miss Relph: "Is it in the left hand?" (Pointing to the back near the little finger.)
4.—All twisted thick wire round the third finger of the left hand.
Discovered correctly, but one joint lower down.
5.—Object—A silver egg-cup.
Miss Relph: "Is it something like silver? . . . standing up?"
Miss Relph could not describe the shape.

6.—Object—A square patch of blue silk.
Miss Relph: "Is there a lot of blue about? . . . Is it square?"
7.—Object—The figure 7—black on white.
Miss Relph: "I think I see some black lines." Miss Relph could not define further.
8.—Object—A red chess queen.
No result.
9.—Object—A square patch—dark red.
No impression. It was rather far from the light.
10.—Object—A round red patch on a white ground.
Miss Relph: "Is there a lot of red? It seems to be round."
11.—Object—The two of spades.
Not made out. Impression of a lot of colours.
12.—We all thought of a carrot.
No result.
13.—Object—A silver spoon.
Miss Relph: "There seems to be something long standing up . . . silver or steel." Miss Relph could not get any shape.
14.—Object—The two of hearts.
Miss Relph: "Is it a card with two red spots? . . . They look like hearts."
15.—Object—A card with two red X's.
Miss Relph: "Is it a card with two red spots?"
16.—Object—A square patch, red.
Miss Relph: "I see a lot of red . . . Is it square?"
17.—Object—The ace of clubs.
Miss Relph: "Is it a card? . . . The ace of clubs."

November 27th, 1884.

Present: Miss Relph and Miss Redmond; Messrs. Guthrie, Rensburg, and R. C. Johnson.

Percipient: Miss Relph.

1.—Mr. G. pinched Mr. J.'s arm. Contact.
Immediately discovered.
2.—Mr. G. pinched Mr. J.'s right hand.
Immediately discovered.
3.—No contact as above. All pricked the right hand.
Miss Relph (after a minute): "I feel a tingling at the *back* of my right hand."
4.—Object—The ten of clubs.
Miss Relph: "It seems to be a card with black spots . . . four or five . . . It is not distinct."
5.—Object—A white jug.
No result.
6.—Object—A square of blue silk. No contact.
No result. Contact with Mr. J. Miss Relph: "Something blue." Miss R. could not see any shape.

Percipient: Mr. Rensburg, in contact with Mr. G.

7.—Mr. G.'s left arm pinched.
Rightly discovered.

8.—Object—Square red patch.
Nothing seen in two minutes.

Percipient: Miss Relph. Contact with Miss Redmond.

9.—Object—Shape of a diamond, pink.
Miss Relph: "Are there black lines?" No result.

10.—Mr. G. pinched Miss Redmond's second finger of the right hand.
The exact spot was discovered in a few seconds.

Miss Relph in contact with Mr. R.

11.—Mr. G. pinched Mr. R.'s right ear.
Miss Relph felt pain in the left ear.

12.—The left ankle pinched.
Discovered immediately.

13.—The back of neck pinched.
Discovered immediately.

14.—Pressure of the left wrist.
A numb pain immediately felt, like being asleep.

15.—Object—A pink diamond on a black ground.
Miss Relph (in a minute): "Is it pink? . . . It seems wider than long."

16.—Object—A blue square on a black ground.
Miss Relph: "Is it blue?"

17.—Object—A silver basket on a black ground.
Miss Relph: "Is it silver? . . . Is it like scissors?"

Percipient: Miss Relph. No contact.

18.—Object—A bunch of keys.
No result.

19.—Object—Bright steel gas pliers.
Miss Relph: "Is it yellow, or golden?" Shape not made out.

20.—Object—A red bell.
Miss Relph: "Is it red? . . . Is it longer than wide?" Shape not made out.

21.—Object—A gold chain belonging to Mr. Rensburg.
Miss Relph: "Is it bright—gold? . . . Like a chain? . . . Mr. R.'s watch-chain."

22.—Object—A latch key on black ground.
Miss Relph: "Is it something standing up? . . . Is it long—curved?"

23.—Object—A gold watch.
Miss Relph: "Is it bright? . . . gold . . . round . . . a little ring at the top . . . a watch."

24.—Object—Diagram:

Not discovered.

December 4th, 1884.

Present: Misses Relph and Redmond; Messrs. Guthrie and Johnson, and Professor Herdman.

Percipient: Miss Relph. No contact. Professor Herdman left the room, made a drawing, returned, and placed it on the screen.

1.— No result.

2.— For this a square was drawn, one side being partially broken in. (Query?—Mirage of first in mind?)

3.— Result— Top part first and then the

4.— Mr. J. only agent. Drawn.

5.— Mr. J. only agent. Result— and

and on a second trial the figure was drawn correctly.

6.— Mr. J. only agent. No result.

7.— Professor H. only agent. Result—

8.— Professor H. only agent. Result—

9.— All agents. Result—

10.— All agents. Result—

11.— All agents. No image at all.

NOTE.—This set of diagrams is of course a very unsuccessful one. It is introduced in order not to break the rule of giving the *complete* results of each evening's trials.

EXPERIMENTS IN PAIN TRANSFERENCE.

Actual Pains. No contact as described before.

12.—All scraped the left wrist with pins.
Miss Relph: "It is in the left wrist, like being scratched."

13.—Left ankle pricked.
Found at once.

14.—Pricked behind left ear.
Not found.

15.—Pricked right knee.
Rightly discovered.

16.—Pricked right shoulder.
Rightly discovered.

17.—Hands burned over gas.
Miss Relph: "It is like a pulling pain . . . Then tingling, like cold and hot alternately." (Hands indicated.)

Imaginary Pains. No contact.

18.—Biting the end of the tongue.
No result.

Actual Pain.

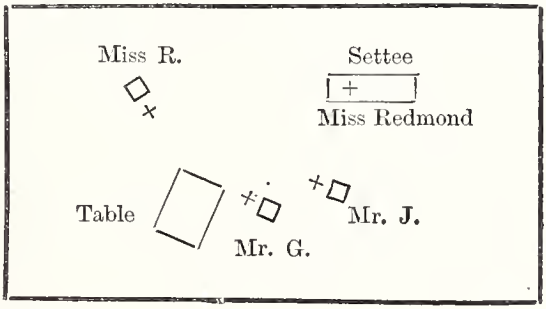
19.—Biting the end of the tongue.
Miss Relph: "It is in the lip or the tongue.

December 18th, 1884.

Present: Misses Relph and Redmond; Messrs. R. C. Johnson and M. Guthrie.

Professor Herdman was expected, and while waiting for him it was determined to try some new experiments. Mr. J. proposed the transference of pains through obstructions, and Miss Relph went into the next room, separated by a wooden partition. Two experiments were tried, but in neither instance was anything felt; one guess was made, but it was wrong.

On Miss Relph's return, Mr. G. proposed thinking of a word, and wrote "Victoria" on a card, which was silently passed round. This was the position:—



Nothing was perceived.

Mr. G. then proposed pictures, and it was understood that pictures from the Autumn Exhibition would be thought of. Mr. G. wrote on a card, and passed round silently, "Too Late," the name of a well-known picture, and

one easily to be remembered. In five minutes Miss Relph said, "Is it 'Too Late'?" ("Yes.") "Oh, it came to me so quickly—in two or three seconds after I started." ("Did you see it, or did the idea come to you?") "I saw it." ("Why did you not name it before?") "I wanted to make sure, and it would not go away."

Mr. G. then wrote as before, "The Last Supper, by Leonardo da Vinci." In about five minutes Miss Relph said: "Is it the last days of somebody? Somehow there seems to be a dying man and a lot of people in the room. A bed with a dying man, and someone holding a paper or something to him, or else he is holding it. I don't remember the picture." Miss R. was then told it was not in the Autumn Exhibition, as she seemed to think, but that she knew the picture. She said: "It can't be the Death of Nelson." Mr. G. explained that he imagined a long table covered with a pure white table-cloth, in a room, with people behind it. Miss R. said: "I saw a lot of heads straight up and down, like as if kneeling on the other side of the bed." ("What picture do you think it was?") "The Last Supper." Mr. G. inquired as to the details of the picture, as he had imagined Christ to be holding a large goblet in His hand, and Judas leaning over between Him and John, dipping something into it. This in explanation of part of Miss R.'s description.

The picture of "Dante meeting Beatrice and her Two Companions," in the Autumn Exhibition, was then tried, but nothing was perceived.

The above is recorded by Mr. G. The following is by Mr. J.:—

Mr. G. then left the room, and the name of a picture, "The Flight into Egypt" (by Goodall), was written by Mr. J. and passed to Miss Redmond. In about four minutes Miss Relph said: "Is it the Flight into Egypt? I see it quite distinctly."

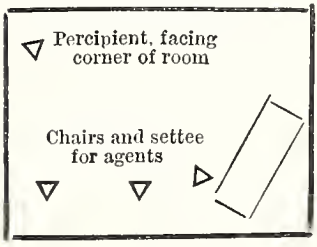
In the same way Miss Redmond and Mr. J. agreed to think of the portrait of "Miss Mary Anderson" in same exhibition, but after a similar interval had elapsed with no result the experiment was discontinued.

Miss Redmond then left the room, and Mr. J. thought of "Ellen Terry as Portia," which was named correctly in about two minutes.

Mr. J. then thought of the "Spirit of Music." In two or three minutes Miss Relph said: "Gelert comes into my mind." On being informed that this was incorrect, she said she could not see anything else.

"The Druidess," a water colour, was then thought of by Mr. J. This also was not seen.

UNIVERSAL POSITION FOR NON-CONTACT EXPERIMENTS.



Perfect silence. No one allowed to speak; Mr. G. merely saying: "This is an object experiment." "This is a pain experiment." "Now we are ready, Miss Relph."

Folding Screen, measuring, when opened out, 8in. high by 12in. long.

Chair for percipient.

March 25th, 1885.

Present: Dr. Hicks, Messrs. Guthrie, Birchall, and R. C. Johnson; and Misses Redmond and Relph.

1.—Miss Relph, in contact with Dr. Hicks.
Doctor's left arm (biceps) pinched by Mr. G.
Pain said to be in left shoulder.

2.—Miss Relph. No contact.
All pricked palm of left hand with pins.
Answer—"Is it a tingling pain in the hand, here?" (placing her finger on the palm of the left hand).

3.—The same. No contact.
All pricked back of their necks with pins.
Answer—"Is it a pricking in the neck?" (touching the back of the neck near centre, a little to the right).

4.—The same. No contact.
Object—Mr. G. held the back of his gold watch against his coat.
Answer—"Are you looking at something yellow? . . Is it round; something like an orange? . . . But it is not an orange."

5.—The same. No contact.
Mr. G. held as before a pair of bright steel pincers (closed).
Answer—"Is it something bright? . . . saw a flash of bright light, but no shape."

6.—The same. No contact.
Object—A piece of bluish-green silk, this shape.
Answer—"Is it blue? A greenish blue? Shape not well defined."

7.—The same. No contact.
Object—A diagram, drawn by Dr. H. in another room, and then brought in. Shape was a square.
Answer—No result.

8.—Same repeated; but Miss Redmond and Mr. G. left the room, and Dr. H. as chief agent. No contact.
Answer—"Are there three lines in it? . . . anything like a triangle? . . . am doubtful as to any shape . . . cannot fix the lines."

9.—The same. No contact.
Object—Letter S.
Answer—"Is it anything like a bell—narrow at top, and growing wider at bottom?"

0.—All present. No contact.
Object—Letter P. Miss Relph was placed with her face to the light, and the object was kept in shade, to test any effect of light.
Answer—No result at all.

1.—The same. No contact; and Miss Relph in same position.
All looked intently at the illuminated gas globe.
Answer—"Is there any colour about what you're looking at? . . . is there any green? . . . Don't see anything, except a white light without shape.

12.—The same. No contact.

Object as above; but the other gas being put out, Miss Relph now faced only the shaded wall.

Answer—"Is there any red or pink about it?"

13.—The same.

Object—Word "Richard" to be thought of. Miss Relph told we were going to think of a name.

Answer (after a long interval)—"Is it something beginning with an S?"

April 15th, 1885.

Present: Dr. Hicks, Messrs. Guthrie and Birchall; Misses Redmond and Relph.

Miss Relph in adjoining room, alone.

1.—6.45. Miss Relph. Contact through trap-door with Mr. B., who tasted sugar.

6.50. Answer—Coffee.

2.—6.51. Same. Contact with Dr. Hicks.

Tasted peppermint.

6.53. "Something that makes the tongue feel dry and rough."

6.54. "Has a sweet taste."

3.—6.56. Same. Contact with Dr. H.

Doctor's lobe of right ear pinched with American wood letter clip by Mr. G.

6.58. "Is it something on the right side of the neck?" (pointed to the lobe of the right ear).

4.—7. 0. Same. Contact with Dr. H.

Mr. G. pricked the Doctor's right ankle, on the outside.

7. 3. "Is it in your arm?" (Dr. H.: "No.")

7. 5. "I don't feel anything."

5.—Miss Relph, in contact with Miss Redmond.

(Note.—Percipient unaware of the nature of this experiment.)

7. 6. Agent tasted musk lozenges.

7.10. "Can't feel any pain . . . It is something sweet . . . Are you tasting something? . . . I can taste something quite sweet."

7.12. "Can't tell what it is."

6.—The same. Contact as above. Again ignorant of nature of experiment.

7.15. Miss Redmond smelled lavender water on a scented handkerchief.

7.15. "Are you smelling something?"

7.19. "Some kind of scent . . . I don't know . . . Is it lavender water?"

7.—7.21. The same. Contact with Mr. G., who tasted salt.

7.25. "Are you tasting sweet biscuits?"

7.28. "Are you tasting parsley or celery?"

8.—7.30. The same. Contact with Dr. H., who tasted alum.

7.35. "Are you tasting something sweet?" (Dr. H., feelingly: "No Miss Relph, I am not!")

9.—7.36. Miss Relph. Contact with Dr. H., who smelled carbolic acid.
7.40. Are you smelling something? . . . salts." (Dr. H.: "I am smelling something, but it's not salts—ammonia.")
7.41. "I smell something, but don't know what it is . . . It's not nice—not a scent."
Miss Relph ignorant of the nature of the experiment.

10.—7. 0. Same. Contact with Mr. G.
7.45. Mr. G.'s little finger of left hand pinched by the wooden clip.
7.47. "No, Mr. Guthrie, I don't get anything."

April 21st, 1885.

Present: Messrs. Guthrie and Birchall, and Miss Relph.

1.—Miss Relph, in contact with Mr. B.
Object—A bright steel key suspended upright against Mr. G.'s coat.
Answer—"Saw something bright for a moment . . . like an upright line."

2.—Miss Relph, in contact with Mr. G.
Mr. G. looked intently at Mr. B.
No result.

Miss Redmond here entered the room, and remained.

3.—The same, in contact with Mr. G.
Object—The earring in Miss Relph's ear.
Miss Relph twice put her hand to this ear, saying she felt something there.

4.—Miss Relph. No contact at first, and then with Miss Redmond.
All thought of the tune "Auld Lang Syne," Mr. G. beating time behind the percipient.
Answer—"Auld Lang Syne."

5.—Miss Relph, in contact with Mr. B.
Object—Imaginative picture, the Three Graces in marble. Mr. B. said he was unable to form a definite conception of the group.
No result.

6.—The same. Contact with Mr. B.
Object—A tune, "Girl I left behind me."
No result. Percipient could not banish "Auld Lang Syne" from her mind.
N.B.—A second experiment with a tune, not noted, was unsuccessful, "Auld Lang Syne" still haunting Miss Relph's mind.

May 6th, 1885.

Present: Messrs. Guthrie, Birchall, and R. C. Johnson; Misses Redmond and Relph.

1.—Miss Relph. No contact.
All pricked front of left arm above the elbow.
Answer—The pain was fixed almost immediately on the spot.

2.—The same.
The three gentlemen pricked just above the left ankle.
Answer—The seat of the pain was again fixed accurately, almost on the instant.

3.—The same.

All pricked right arm just above the wrist.

Answer—"I am not quite sure, but I feel a pain in the right arm, from the thumb upwards to above the wrist."

4.—The same.

All thought of the number 84.

Answer—"Is there an 8 in it?" (Mr. G.: "There's more than one thing.") "Yes . . . there's something else." (All here signalled to think of the 4.) Miss Relph said she would be unable to do more.

On being questioned, said she *saw* the figure. It was not a conception, but a visible object.

5.—The same.

All thought of the name "Esmeralda."

Answer (after a short interval)—"No; I don't think of anything at all." Mr. Johnson then took contact, but no result followed.

6.—The same.

Object—A square of yellow, set against a black hat on the table. A large piece of blue paper was near it.

Answer—Percipient at first caught a glimpse of yellow for a second, and then saw a colour, blue or green.

7.—The same.

All thought of the tune, "Home, Sweet Home."

No result.

Mr. B. then took contact. No result; but when asked if she had no thought of any tune, said, "Was it 'Home, Sweet Home'?"

8.—The same.

Mr. G. and Miss Redmond alone thought of the air "Ehren on the Rhine."

No result.

Miss Redmond then took contact, and percipient named the air.

9.—The same. Mr. B. in contact.

All thought of the air, "Jenny Jones." The hands not clasped in contact, but held flat against each other.

Answer—"The Meeting of the Waters."

10.—The same. Mr. B. in contact.

"Bonnie Dundee" thought of.

No result.

June 4th, 1885.

Present: Mr. Guthrie, Dr. Greves; Misses Relph and Redmond.

Miss Relph percipient throughout.

1.—Mr. G. in contact.

Dr. G. pricked knuckle of left forefinger of Mr. G. with a pin; but Miss Relph failed to perceive any pain.

2.—No contact.

Object—Piece of green ribbon.

"Is it green? . . . Is it longer up and down than from side to side?" (moving fingers to indicate its shape.)

3.—No contact.

Object—A round piece of scarlet material.

"Is it pink? . . . Cannot tell shape, outline appears indistinct."

4.—No contact.

Object—Six of diamonds.

"Is it white? . . . I see black spots on it." In reply to "How many?" Miss Relph answered, "Six. Is it the six of clubs?"

5.—No contact.

Object—Letter M.

"Is it black and white? . . . I see up and down lines, seem to run together. . . . Cannot make them out distinctly."

6.—No contact.

Object—Miniature green kite, with red tail and tassels.

After some time she said: "I don't see anything distinctly, but at first I thought I saw something red."

7.—Dr. G. alone present. Mr. G. and Miss Redmond in adjoining room. No contact.

Object—A piece of cardboard, about size of ordinary playing card, with five large blue figures like "inverted commas" on it.

"Is it blue? . . . I see nothing but curves, which run into each other. . . . It is wider at the top and bottom than in the middle, where the blue colour is very distinct. . . . Cannot see any separate marks."

8.—Dr. G. alone present. No contact.

Object—Letter P.

"Is it black and white? . . . It looks something like an umbrella upside down; or like part of an anchor with one half gone." d (N.B.—Miss Relph evidently had an inverted image of the letter, and failed to recognise it as the letter P.)

June 11th, 1885.

Present: Messrs. Guthrie, Johnson, Greves; Misses Relph and Redmond. Miss Relph percipient throughout.

1.—No contact.

Mr. G., Mr. J., and Dr. G. pricked the inner side of left ankle.

"I feel a pain in the left ankle. It is just on the outside." (pointing to the corresponding spot on the outer side of the ankle.)

2.—No contact.

Same three pricked a spot immediately beneath the *right* collar bone.

"I feel a pain in my *left* shoulder." (pointing to exactly the corresponding spot on the opposite side.)

3.—No contact.

Same three pulled hair at back of head; but Miss Relph did not perceive any pain at all.

4.—Miss Redmond here came in.

No contact.

Object on screen—Nine of hearts.

Percipient did not see anything.

5.—No contact.

Object—Ten of clubs.

"I see something white with black rings on it." In reply to how many, "They seem to be moving about. Are there three?"

6.—No contact.

Object—An equilateral triangle in black and white.

Miss Relph for some time could not see anything. Mr. G. then left the room. (He subsequently stated that he felt rather fatigued and worried, and thought the experiments might succeed better in his absence.) After a few minutes Miss Relph said, "I see up and down black lines on a white ground, but cannot tell what shape it is."

7.—Object—A piece of crimson material. [ ]

"Is it red? . . . It is nearly square, longer one way."

8.—Mr. G. here came in again.

Object—Figure 5.

"Is it black and white? . . . Cannot tell shape."

9.—Mr. Johnson alone present as agent. No contact.

Object—Same figure 5.

"Can only see black lines . . . cannot tell shape."

Pains.

10.—With contact. Mr. J. in contact.

Mr. J. applied pair of pincers to back of right ankle, immediately above heel.

"I feel a dull aching pain in the right ankle."

11.—Mr. J. in contact.

Pincers applied by Dr. G. to skin on inside of left forearm.

"I feel a pain in the left wrist, shooting up arm."

12.—Dr. G. in contact.

Mr. G. pinching skin on left side of neck with pincers.

Almost at once: "I feel a pain in my neck" (pointing to identical spot).

13.—Dr. G. in contact.

Mr. G. pinching skin on back of right calf.

"I feel a pain in the left knee."

14.—Dr. G. in contact.

Mr. G. pinching skin of neck immediately below chin.

"I feel a kind of irritation all over face, beginning in chin and passing down neck. It is getting painful."

Tastes.

15.—Dr. G. in contact, having taken a little salad oil.

"I feel a cool sensation in my mouth, something like that produced by sal prunelle."

16.—Mr. J. in contact, having tasted Worcestershire sauce. (Mr. J. left room, to avoid uncorking bottle in room.)

"I taste something oily; it is very like salad oil." (N.B.—Nothing had been said at all about the substances tasted either by Dr. G. or Mr. J.) A few minutes after contact with Mr. J. had ceased, Miss Relph said, "My mouth seems getting hot after the oil."

17.—Dr. G. in contact, having tasted bitter aloes.

"I taste something frightfully hot . . . something like vinegar and pepper . . . It is Worcestershire sauce."

18.—Mr. Guthrie in contact, also having tasted bitter aloes.

"I taste something extremely bitter, but don't know what it is, and do not remember tasting it before . . . It is a very horrid taste."

July 1st, 1885.

Present: Dr. Greves, Messrs. Guthrie, Birchall, and Johnson; and Misses Relph, Redmond, and McLeod.

1.—6.50. Miss Relph. No contact.
All pricked inside of right wrist.
6.51. "Is it a pain in the right foot?"
6.52. "I feel a pain in the right foot."

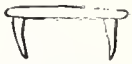
2.—6.53. Miss Relph. Mr. G. in contact.
Mr. G.'s little finger left hand pinched by Dr. G.
6.53½. "Is it here?" (touching side of palm on left hand).

Miss Redmond and Miss M. here entered the room.

3.—Miss Relph. No contact.
6.55. Object—Mr. G.'s gold watch, face in front.
6.57. "Are you looking at something red?" (Mr. G.: "No.")
6.59. "No; I don't know what it is."

4.—Miss Relph. No contact.
7.0. Object—An orange.
7.1. "Is there anything yellow?"
7.2. "Just a round yellow thing." (Asked if she could tell the shade of yellow, said: "It's rather a deep shade.")

5.—Miss Relph. No contact.
7.4. Object—A penknife, white haft, two blades open.



7.6. "Seems to be something bright . . . some kind of metal."
7.7. "Don't know what it is . . . seems to be something bright . . . standing up like . . . but can't see the shape."

6.—Miss Relph. No contact.
7.10. Object—Mr. G.'s watch again, face in front.
7.14. "Can still see something bright . . . like up and down."
7.15. "Don't know what it is . . . Seemed to see something red once . . . then it seemed something like gold."
7.16. "Is there anything round? Seems to be something round . . gold."
7.17. "Is it anything like a locket or a watch? Doesn't look as large as a watch."
N.B.—All the agents not at equal distances from the object.

7.—Miss Relph. No contact.
7.20. Object—a diagram: a square, side 1in. All agents at same distance.
7.21. "Is it yellow?"

7.25. "No, I don't see anything . . . Thought I saw something yellow."

Miss Redmond here took contact, and was the only agent.

7.27. "No, I don't get it."

8.—Miss M. Contact with Mr. G.

7.30. Mr. G.'s left little finger pinched with pincers by Mr. J.

7.31. "Pain here" (touching right arm under elbow). This arm was in contact.

7.33. "Feel it in this" (the left) "arm."

9.—Miss M. Miss Redmond in contact.

7.34. Same pain as above, given by Mr. G.

7.35. "In thumb, left hand."

10.—Miss M. Contact with Miss Redmond.

7.36. Agent pinched just above left wrist by Dr. G.

"Seems to be a pain about my left elbow."

7.37. "In this" (the left) "arm."

11.—Miss M. No contact.

7.39. Object—An orange.

7.43. No reply being made, Mr. G. asked if she got anything at all. Answer—"No; once I saw something white and straight."

Mr. G., Miss R., and Miss M. here left the room.

12.—Miss Relph. No contact.

7.45. Object—A diagram; a triangle.

Agents (Dr. G., Mr. B., and Mr. J.) within 2ft. of object.

7.47. "Is it black, on a white ground? Can see a line straight across."

7.48. "And then there seem to be two lines coming down." (Percipient shaped with her hands in the air, as if tracing a V.) . . . "And then they get lost . . . something like an unfinished V."

7.49. "It's like—hazy . . . Can see the top very clearly . . . but not . . ."

7.50. While still blindfolded, drew a figure thus

13.—Miss Relph. No contact.

7.51. Object—A diagram; square, $2\frac{3}{4}$in. side. Agents within 2ft. of diagram.

7.54. "I still see the same black lines . . . like half an oval."

7 55. "It's gone altogether now."

IV.

LOCAL ANÆSTHESIA INDUCED IN THE NORMAL STATE BY MESMERIC PASSES.

The experiments which form the subject of this paper were a repetition of those described in the *Proceedings*, Vol. I., pp. 257-260, and Vol. II., pp. 201-205, and were made with the same operator, Mr. G. A. Smith, and the same subject, Mr. F. Wells. They were made in the presence and under the superintendence of Professor and Mrs. H. Sidgwick, Mr. E. Gurney, and Dr. A. T. Myers, on March 20th and 21st, and July 3rd, 1885, in a room at a hotel at Brighton, engaged for the occasion. On March 20th, Mr. Bull, F.R.C.S., and Mr. White Cooper were also present.

Mr. Wells has been frequently mesmerised by Mr. Smith, and falls very easily into the sleep-waking state under his influence. But in the present experiments he is not put into any sleep, but remains in an apparently completely normal condition. He lays his hands on the table with the fingers extended and separated. Mr. Smith holds his hand pointed downwards, and with the four fingers in a line along one of Mr. Wells' fingers, at a distance varying from say, two inches downwards. With his hand in this position, he makes passes for some minutes along the finger; after which, if the experiment is successful, the finger over which the passes are made, and that only, is found to have lost all sensitiveness and to have become rigid. The effect goes off after a time in any case, but recovery seems to be materially hastened by reverse passes.

The measures taken to test the effect will be given in detail presently. With regard to the cause, the present experiments did not take us very far; indeed, they are so little more than a mere repetition of part of what was done before, that the only excuse for publishing them is that in the case of a phenomenon so little observed or recognised the mere verification of the fact that it occurs is worth something, and so also is the testimony of fresh witnesses, which Mr. and Mrs. Sidgwick were. It was hoped that Mr. Bull and Mr. White Cooper might have been so too; but the experiments, on the only day on which they were able to be present, cannot be regarded as successful.

Of the possible explanations of the phenomenon we only endeavoured to eliminate two, namely, an influence on the nerves due (1) to expecta-

tion on Mr. Wells' part, or (2) to mere monotonous stimulation due to the passes and independent of the person making them. There remain the several possibilities of a mesmeric effluence, such as Esdaile believed water to be affected by when he mesmerised it; of some sort of what we may perhaps call nervous induction; and of suggestion conveyed through unconscious telepathy. Mr. Wells is, according to his own account, quite unconscious of any effect whatever, mental or physical; so that, for instance, if he closes his hand he is unaware that the affected finger remains extended, unless he can see it. From previous experiments (see *Proceedings*, Vol. II., pp. 203, 204) there is some reason to think that the effect is only produced if Mr. Smith knows which finger he is making passes over, which suggests that a conscious direction of his thoughts or will is necessary. It is, however, very difficult to be sure that, in making this experiment, the absence of definite direction of attention was the only change, having a bearing on the experiment, which the new conditions introduced. For instance, a want of confidence on the part of the operator may have been the real cause of failure. That mental disturbance has an important effect is at any rate suggested by part of our experience in the present series of trials. The reader will see, on turning to the table of experiments (pp. 457-9) that the success on the first day was very poor. The first experiment succeeded well enough, but the second was broken off abruptly because we thought that Mr. Smith had accidentally touched Mr. Wells' finger, which would have nullified the precautions taken to prevent his knowing which finger was being operated on. It was very important, of course, to take note of this fact; but we made a mistake in breaking off the experiment, since this was very likely to produce a disturbing effect on the minds of both operator and subject. And it seems not improbable that the failure of the subsequent experiments on that day may have been due to this cause. Further experiments to throw light on the cause of the phenomenon are much to be desired, but experimentation with Mr. Wells is attended with much difficulty. He is a busy and prosperous young man, not himself interested in the investigation; and, notwithstanding some remuneration given for loss of time, finds it difficult to make the arrangements necessary to enable him to leave his business—that of a baker and confectioner—during the time necessary for the experiment. The consequence is that we have found it difficult to obtain his services at all, have found it still more difficult to make arrangements beforehand, and when Mr. Wells has come have had to work under an inconvenient sense of limited time. We are, however, grateful to him for the opportunities he has given us of trying experiments which must be, to him, very tedious and uninteresting.

We proceed to the precautions taken to exclude, as far as possible,

the operation of expectation. Mr. Wells was, of course, aware of the nature of the experiment, and that one of his fingers was to be made insensitive; but he was effectually prevented from seeing which of the ten it was by two large sheets of thick brown paper, through holes in which his hands were passed. This screen extended in all directions far enough to prevent the possibility of his seeing round it, and the armholes fitted closely enough to prevent his seeing through them. We were unable ourselves to feel, by air currents or otherwise, passes made over our fingers; and unless Mr. Wells' perceptions are more acute, the paper screen seems to reduce the chance of his forming a correct opinion as to which finger was being operated on to 1 in 10. As a further precaution, Mr. Smith's passes were, in most of the experiments, imitated over some other finger by one of the other persons present; so that if the passes could be felt, they might be felt in two fingers. This would not guard against the possible perception of some subtle difference between Mr. Smith's passes and others which eluded our own observation, but it is difficult to see how this can be guarded against. The finger to be operated on was always selected by some person other than Mr. Smith; but the proximity of the operator and the "subject" is such as would make it hard absolutely to preclude the former from informing the latter, by auditory or other signs, which is the selected finger, did he wish to do so. We have, however, every reason to believe Mr. Smith to be as much interested in carrying out a genuine experiment as the other persons present.

The passes made simultaneously over a different finger by another person served further to exclude the second explanation we have spoken of, namely, that the anæsthesia may be due to the effect of mere passes on the nerves. Here again, however, as it seems almost impossible to prove that there is not some mechanical difference between the passes of Mr. Smith and his imitators, which cannot be discerned by the eye, the explanation is not completely excluded; and it is just conceivable that some unconscious mechanical change in Mr. Gurney's mode of making the passes may explain the fact that in one experiment (No. 9) the finger that he operated on imitatively, as well as that operated on by Mr. Smith, became insensitive. This happened again, but to a very slight extent, in experiment No. 12. The fact seems important, though the exact import of it cannot be ascertained without further investigation. It, at any rate, seems to afford an argument against the hypothesis that the effect is due to mesmeric effluence.

This may be the most convenient place to mention two other anomalies observed, and which we cannot at present interpret. In experiment No. 6 Mr. Smith operated on the middle finger of Mr. Wells' right hand, but it was the index finger, and not the

middle finger, which became insensitive and to some extent rigid. And in the next experiment (No. 7) when the fourth finger was operated on with success, the middle finger, which should have been rendered insensitive in the previous experiment, seemed to be to a slight extent affected, though this was a little doubtful. We have no note of reverse passes having been made over this finger after the previous experiment, nor of any imitative passes being made in experiment No. 7. Something of the same kind occurred in experiment No. 19. In the previous experiment the fourth finger of the left hand had been operated on, but only for two minutes and with slight success. Reverse passes were then made and sensitiveness, as we believed, completely restored. In experiment No. 19 the little finger of the right hand was operated on successfully, but the finger of the previous experiment became even more insensitive, and it was not the one over which imitative passes were made.

To test the insensitiveness, electric shocks were given by means of a medical magneto-electric machine. One terminal ending in a cylindrical brass handle, was placed under the palm of Mr. Wells' hands, and contact was made with the finger to be tested by means of the point of a wire forming the other terminal; or, in experiments 10 to 16, with the edge of a cylindrical brass handle. The machine was adjusted to give the strongest current it was capable of, and the handle turned as fast as we could, that is about 2½ times a second. Each turn of the handle represented about 8½ turns of the coils. In experiments 10, and 17 to 20 inclusive, care was taken that the palm of the hand, which rested on the electrode, should be moist; and in the last four experiments the point of the wire with which the other contact was made was previously dipped in water. In experiment 16 the palms of the hands were wetted with a sponge *after* the passes had been made, but before the insensitiveness was tested. It was then found that a prick could be felt in the finger operated on, but apparently not the electrical shock; but curiously enough this was the only experiment in which the electrical shock contracted the fingers. The partial insensitiveness quickly disappeared without reverse passes, and renewed passes did not restore it for some time, and then not completely. As we supposed that this might be due to fatigue, the experiments were discontinued for that day. Rigidity was not looked for; but no reverse passes were made, and Mr. Wells, on trying to close his hand after the screen was removed, found the finger to be rigid.

In some of the experiments the insensitiveness was tested by a severe prick (applied in experiments 1 and 15 under the nail) as well as by the electric shocks.

During the first experiment Mr. Bull noticed that Mr. Wells trembled a good deal, suggesting an exercise of self-control. But it is

not unlikely that the trembling was simply caused by the rather violent tremor in the table on which his hands rested, caused by turning the electrical machine. In experiment No. 5 Mr. Bull observed the same trembling, but did not think it coincided with the severest shocks; and his final opinion was that the trembling had had no emotional significance. Care was taken throughout the experiments to turn the machine when no contact was made, so that the exact moment of the shocks should not be known by the shaking or the sound. During the last six experiments of March 21st, Mr. Wells was reading to himself behind the screen, and as far as we could judge went on doing so calmly when the shocks were applied. During two of these experiments Dr. Myers especially noticed that the motion of his eyes travelling across the page was quite equable, which seems a good proof of unconsciousness of pain. On July 3rd Mr. Wells was engaged the whole time in conversation with Dr. Myers, and during the last experiment especially he was talking steadily and confidentially. Dr. Myers had good opportunity of observing the pupils of his eyes, and could see no change due to pain. The proof of insensitiveness is therefore, we think, pretty complete.

The following is a synopsis of the experiments. The fingers are numbered in order beginning with the thumb of each hand, and the hands are distinguished as R. and L., so that, for example, L 2 means the index finger of the left hand. All the experiments are included.

Experiments of March 20th.

No.	Finger operated on by Mr. Smith.	Finger operated on imitatively.	Apparent Result and Remarks.	Degree of Success.
1	L 2	Two other fingers	L 2 insensitive to severe pricks and electric shocks, and in some degree rigid. (When the hand was closed L 2 followed the other fingers very slowly)	Success.
2	R 3	A finger of L	Experiment broken off because Mr. Smith was thought to have touched the finger.	
3	R 2 at about 2in. distance.		No result.	Failure.
4	R 2 at about 1in. distance.		No result.	Failure.
5	L 2 *stroked.*		Insensitiveness to electric current.	

Experiments of March 21st.

No.	Finger operated on by Mr. Smith.	Finger operated on imitatively.	Apparent Result and Remarks.	Degree of Success.
6	R 3	L 3 by A.T.M.	R 2 and *not* R 3 became insensitive to severe prick and electric shock, and in some degree rigid.	Doubtful.
7	R 4	0	R 4 insensitive, and R 3 perhaps partially so.	Success.
8	L 3	R 4 by E.G.	L 3 alone insensitive.	Success.
9	R 5	L 2 by E.G.	*Both* R 5 and L 2 insensitive and rigid.	Doubtful.
10	R 1	L 5 by E.G.	R 1 alone insensitive and rigid.	Success.
11	R 4	L 4 by E.G.	R 4 alone insensitive. R 4 and R 5 both remained extended when the hand was clenched, but this was probably due to the well known muscular connection between those fingers.	Success.
12	L 2	L 5 by E.G.	L 2 insensitive. L 5 insensitive to prick, but when afterwards electricity was applied was sensitive. L 2 only rigid.	Doubtful.
13	L 5	R 2 by E.G.	L 5 alone insensitive and rigid.	Success.
14	L 1	R 2 by H.S.	L 1 alone insensitive and rigid.	Success.
15	L 5	L 1 by E.G.	L 5 insensitive (it was tested both by severe prick under nail and by electric shock) and rigid.	Success.
16	R 3	L 5 by E.G.	The hands were sponged after the passes had been made. R 3 was then sensitive to prick but not to electric shock, though contracted by it. Complete sensitiveness shortly recovered without reverse passes, and insensitiveness not renewed by further passes. R 3 rigid, however.	Doubtful.

Experiments of July 3rd.

No.	Finger operated on by Mr. Smith.	Finger operated on imitatively.	Time during which the passes were made.	Apparent Result and Remarks.	Degree of Success.
17	R 2	L 3 by H.S.		R 2 slightly insensitive to electric shock and not completely rigid. There was plenty of opportunity given to Mr. Wells in this case of knowing which finger Mr. Smith was operating on.	Doubtful.
18	L 4		2 minutes	L 4 very slightly insensitive. Reverse passes made.	Doubtful.
19	R 5	L 2 by H.S.	5 minutes	R 5 decidedly insensitive, but L 4 rather more so. Neither rigid.	Doubtful.
20	R 3	L 5 by H.S.	3 minutes	R 3 alone quite insensitive and rigid.	Success.

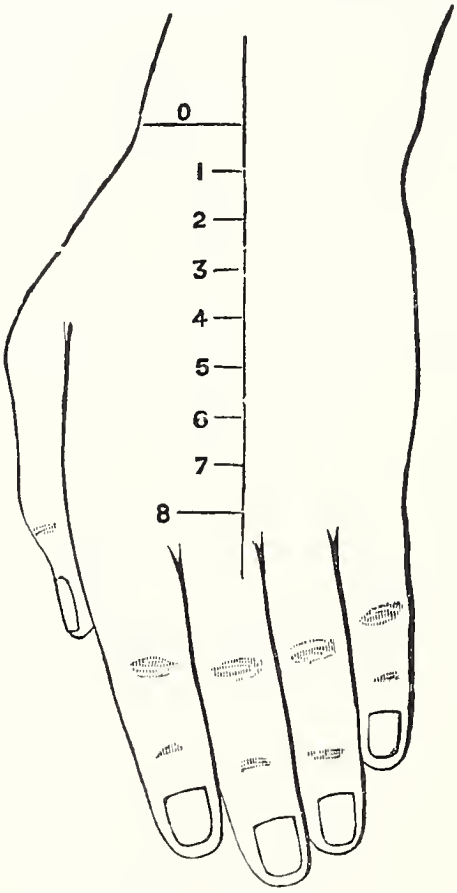
V.

REPORT ON AN ALLEGED PHYSICAL PHENOMENON.

Committee:—William Crookes, F.R.S.; Victor Horsley, F.R.C.S.; W. C. Bull, F.R.C.S.; and A. T. Myers, M.D.

On April 17th, 1885, Mr. Husk met us at 24, Clarges Street, and courteously agreed to such slight inconveniences as our examination of necessity involved.

We found a metal ring on his left forearm; and our inquiry was



limited society to the determination whether that ring could have come into the position it then held by known natural forces.

The ring was of iron, solid, formed of a continuous bar, skilfully

welded in one place, bearing marks of a file throughout, especially near the place of welding. The internal circumference (as determined by the mean of two independent measurements, differing from one another by 1mm. only) was 182·5mm.; the thickness of the iron, 4·5mm. In shape it was roughly elliptical, the length of the major and minor axes being 68mm. and 48mm. The hand was fairly normal in size and proportion, and contained no soft tissues in excess; all the joints were loosely articulated; the fingers turned slightly outwards. No scars were observed. A short transverse line was drawn on the back of the hand at the level of the lowest point of the styloid process of the radius, and at right angles to it another line down the long axis of the third metacarpal bone, to the centre of the knuckle of the middle finger (third metacarpo-phalangeal joint). The length of this was found to be 8 centimetres, as shown in the diagram. It was divided into eight parts, and used to determine some other measurements.

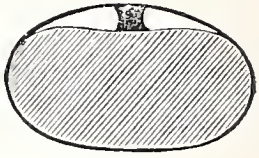
The hand was held out loosely, with the fingers in nearly complete extension, and the thumb turned inwards and lying across the palmar surfaces of the hand. In this position, under slight compression, the greatest circumference of the hand was found to be 230mm. Before other measurements were taken, the hand was reduced to a more compact shape by gentle manipulation; it was "troughed," *i.e.*, the inner and outer palmar surfaces were approximated, the back was thereby made more convex, and the thumb was drawn downwards and inwards, so as to lie almost completely in the trough so formed in the palm of the hand. Measurements of the circumference were then taken, first with metallic tape, afterwards with copper wire, at points marked in the diagram: moderate, but not painful pressure was used at the moments of measurement. The measurements showed:—

	With Metallic Tape. mm.		With Copper Wire. mm.
At 0	148	0	147
1	—	1	171
2	184	2	183
3	—	3	189
4	195	4	192
5	200		
6	198	6	194
8	200	8	193

The measurement at 5, with the metallic tape, was repeated after flexure of the wrist, but showed no appreciable difference.

The greatest circumference of the hand, measured as described before it was "troughed," exceeded the internal circumference of the

ring by 47·5mm., or about $1\frac{7}{8}$in.; after it had been "troughed," by 11·5mm., or under $\frac{1}{2}$in.



Where the ring fitted most loosely, *i.e.*, about an inch above the wrist joint, it was found easy to insert between it and the forearm a solid body of about 23mm. square, as is roughly shown in section.

It was considered that any attempt to take measurements of the smallest circumference to which Mr. Husk's hand could be reduced, would necessitate considerable pressure for the emptying of the blood-vessels as far as possible, and the decisive elimination of all voluntary or involuntary muscular contraction,* and might possibly be so painful as to be unjustifiable without the administration of an anæsthetic. As Mr. Husk was disinclined for this, no such attempt was made.

Mr. Victor Horsley subsequently took measurements, with metallic tape, of the circumference of the right hands of three men—Mr. Crookes assisting in two of the cases—(1) under the same conditions as those applied to Mr. Husk; and (2) again when they were under the full influence of ether, but no other additional means had been taken to reduce the volume of the hand, *e.g.*, by pressure, &c., &c. The points of measurement were distant 1, 2, 3, &c, centimetres from the styloid process of the radius, along the metacarpal bone of the index finger, after the plan adopted with Mr. Husk. The results were as follow:—

No. 1.

Distance from styloid process.	Circumference in mm. before etherisation.	Circumference under full etherisation.
1	182	179
2	200	193
3	210	198
4	218	204
5	220	205
6	225	210
7	224	215
8	222	215
9	214	205

No. 2.

1	184	176
2	204	196
3	213	203
4	214	207

* Such contraction of the intrinsic muscles of the hand was felt to occur during the "troughing" of the hand.

Distance from styloid process.	Circumference in mm. before etherisation.	Circumference under full etherisation.
5	212	210
6	209	204
7	209	201
8	200	190

No. 3.

1	155	149
2	175	162
3	189	180
4	195	189
5	196	188
6	191	186
7	189	188

These show a decrease in the three largest measurements of a average of 10mm.

The conclusion to which we are brought is, that under the conditions of measurement in Mr. Husk's case, the greatest circumference of the hand exceeded that of the internal circumference of the ring by 11·5mm., or rather less than half an-inch; and that, as we do not consider these conditions to be those best adapted to reduce the circumference of the hand as much as is possible, we cannot infer that it is impossible that the ring should have come into the position in which we found it by known natural forces.

VI.

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VIII.

CONSTITUTION AND RULES.

1885.

TITLE.

1.—The name of the Society is—The Society for Psychical Research.

OBJECTS.

2.—The objects for which this Society is established are :—

(*a*) To unite students and inquirers in an organised body, with the view of promoting the investigation of certain obscure phenomena, including those commonly known as Psychical, Mesmeric, or Spiritualistic; and of giving publicity to the results of such research.

(*b*) To print, sell, or otherwise distribute publications on Psychical and kindred subjects; to afford information to inquirers into these subjects by correspondence and otherwise; to collect and arrange facts respecting them; to open Libraries, Reading-rooms, and other suitable Premises and Offices; and generally to do all such other things as may be conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

NOTE.—*To prevent misconception, it is here expressly stated that Membership of the Society does not imply the acceptance of any particular explanation of the phenomena investigated, nor any belief as to the operation, in the physical world, of forces other than those recognised by Physical Science.*

GOVERNMENT.

3.—The Society shall be governed by a Council consisting of twenty-four Members. The Council shall elect from amongst the Members of the Society a President, who shall be President of the Society, and an *ex-officio* Member of the Council and of all Committees, and who shall retire from office yearly at the first Meeting of the

Council after the Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Society. He shall, however, be eligible for re-election, and shall be deemed as retaining his offices until he shall have been re-elected or his successor appointed. The Council shall also from time to time elect Vice-Presidents, who shall be *ex-officio* Honorary Members of the Society, and shall have the privilege of being present at any of the Meetings of the Council.

CONSTITUTION.

4.—The Society shall consist of—

(*a*) MEMBERS, who shall contribute not less than two guineas annually, or a single payment of twenty guineas, and who shall be eligible to any of the offices of the Society; and shall be entitled to vote in the election of the Governing Council and at all meetings of the Society; to use its Reading-rooms and Libraries; to borrow books from its Libraries; and to the free receipt of any journal, transactions, or periodical publication which may be issued by the Council.

(*b*) ASSOCIATES, who shall contribute not less than one guinea annually, or a single payment of ten guineas, and who shall be eligible to any of the offices of the Society; and shall be entitled to attend all Meetings of the Society, except such as are convened for business purposes only, and to the free receipt of the ordinary published Proceedings of the Society; and shall have free access to its Reading-rooms and Libraries.

Members and Associates shall be entitled to purchase all the publications of the Society at half their published price.

5.—All Members and Associates of the Society shall be elected by the Council. Every candidate for admission shall be required to give such references as shall be approved by the Council, unless he shall have been proposed in writing by two or more Members or Associates, who, on his behalf, and by his authority, shall assent to the Constitution and Rules of the Society, and consent to abide and be governed by them, one of whom shall have certified in writing, from personal knowledge of him, that he is a fit person for admission. Every such certificate having been read and approved at a Meeting of the Council, the election shall be proceeded with; the election to be by ballot, and one black ball in six to exclude. The Council shall cause the result to

be made known to the candidate, who, if elected, shall be furnished with a certificate of election and a copy of the "Constitution and Rules."

6.—The subscription shall become due immediately on election, and afterwards in advance on the first day of January in each year. In the case of any Member or Associate being elected on or after the 1st of October, his subscription shall be accepted as for the following year. The subscription of each year remaining unpaid on and after the 1st of July, will be considered as in arrear, and no Member or Associate so in arrear shall be entitled to enjoy any of his privileges while such subscription remains unpaid. Any Member or Associate who is more than three months in arrear, and who fails to pay after two applications in writing, shall be liable to be struck off the list.

7.—If any Member or Associate desire to resign, he shall give written notice thereof to the Secretary. He shall, however, be liable for all subscriptions which shall then remain unpaid.

Honorary Members and Honorary Associates.

8.—The Council may invite any person who

(i) is either distinguished for knowledge or experience in Psychical Research or otherwise eminent, to become an Honorary Member of the Society; or any person who

(ii) has rendered services to the Society,

to become an Honorary Associate, such person to be eligible for re-election annually.

Honorary Members and Associates shall have the privileges without the obligations attaching to Associates.

Corresponding Members.

9.—The Council shall have power to elect as Corresponding Members, who shall be on the same footing as Honorary Members, persons able and willing to forward the objects of the Society. They shall be eligible for re-election annually.

General Meetings.

10.—The Anniversary or Annual General Meeting of the Members of the Society shall be held in the month of January, on a day to be fixed by the Council, and of which not less than twenty-one days' notice

shall be given. The business of such Anniversary Meeting shall be to receive the Annual Report of the Council, and Statement of Assets and Liabilities, to elect New Members of Council, and to discuss questions on the Rules and management. A Member shall not moot any question on the Rules or management of the Society unless he shall have given at least fourteen days' notice thereof to the Secretary, but amendments to any motion may be brought forward without notice, provided they relate to the same subject. The Secretary shall give seven days' notice to every Member of all questions of which such notice shall have been given to him.

11.—Special General Meetings of the Members of the Society may be convened by the Council, or by the President, or by the Secretary on the requisition of ten Members, and notice of such Meetings, stating the objects, shall be given at least ten days previously, and no other business shall be entered upon at such Meetings than that stated in the notice.

12.—All General Meetings of the Members of the Society shall be convened by circular to the Members.

Proceedings in General Meeting

13.—The quorum necessary to constitute a General Meeting shall be ten.

14.—The President of the Society shall preside *ex-officio;* in his absence any one of the Vice-Presidents who may at the same time be a Member of the Society; or should no such Vice-President be present, a Member of Council. In their absence the Meeting shall nominate its Chairman.

15.—If within one hour from the time appointed for the Meeting a quorum is not present the Meeting shall stand adjourned for one week. At the adjourned Meeting the number present for the time being shall constitute the legal number.

16.—All questions shall, at a General Meeting, be determined by a majority of the Members present, except in the election of Members of Council at the Annual General Meeting, for which election voting papers shall be accepted. The Chairman shall have a second or casting vote at all General Meetings of the Society.

Election and Business of Council.

17.—The Council shall consist of eighteen members, elected annually at a General Meeting, and of other members co-opted from time to time by the Council, provided that the whole number shall not exceed twenty-four. The names of persons for the first time proposed to be co-opted on the Council shall be brought forward at one Meeting of the Council, and shall be sent round to all members of Council previous to its next Meeting, when the voting shall be by ballot, and a unanimous vote of those present shall be requisite to carry the election. The members co-opted from time to time by the Council shall cease to hold office at the Annual Meeting at which new members are elected, but may be co-opted afresh at the First Meeting of the Council after such Annual Meeting.

18.—Of the eighteen elected Members of the Council of the Society so appointed, six or whatever number may be required to reduce the number of elected Members to twelve shall go out of office at the time appointed for election of Council in the year 1883; one other third, at the time appointed for such election in the year 1884, and the remainder at the time appointed for such election in the year 1885, and the vacancies so made shall be filled by fresh elections. All Members of Council from time to time elected at the annual elections shall go out of office at the time appointed for the annual election in the third following year. The Secretary shall every year, at least twenty-one days before the ensuing Annual General Meeting, send to all the Members of the Society a list of the retiring Members of Council, and a statement whether all, and if not, which of them are candidates for re-election. In all cases the retiring Members shall be deemed as remaining in office until they shall have been re-elected or their successors appointed.

19.—Any Member or Associate of the Society who shall have paid up all subscriptions due from him, including that for the current year, or any Vice-President, Honorary Member, or Honorary Associate of the Society, shall be eligible for election, or re-election, as a Member of Council, provided he shall have been nominated in writing by a Member of the Society, duly qualified, and such nomination shall have been forwarded to the Secretary fourteen days before the time of holding the Annual General Meeting. A list of the persons so nominated shall be forwarded to all the Members of the Society, at least ten days prior to the

meeting. In case more persons, duly qualified, shall be nominated for election at any Annual General Meeting than are required to fill up the vacant places of those retiring by rotation, then such persons shall be preferred and declared elected as shall obtain the highest number of votes.

20.—If the number of nominations for election to the Council exceed the number of vacancies, voting papers shall be sent round to all Members of the Society, at least ten days prior to the Annual General Meeting. These papers must be in the hands of the Secretary of the Society before the commencement of the Meeting. They shall be duly signed by the Member voting, and be enclosed in envelopes securely fastened and marked on the outside "voting paper," and enclosed in a letter sent to the Secretary and signed by the Member voting, and they shall not be opened till so directed by the Chairman at the Meeting.

21.—The Council shall at their first Meeting after every Annual General Meeting, elect a President as provided for in Rule 3. At the same Meeting they shall also elect a Treasurer and Auditor, and such other officers as they may deem expedient, who shall retire from office annually, at the same time and under the same conditions as provided for in the case of the President by Rule 3. They shall from time to time elect Vice-Presidents, Members of the Society, and Honorary Members, as provided for by Rules 3, 5, and 8. They shall have power to appoint a salaried Secretary, and such other paid officers, assistants, and servants as they may deem necessary, and to determine their duties. All the appointments made by the Council, the Council may at their pleasure revoke.

22.—The Council shall elect persons duly qualified to fill up any vacancies which may, from time to time, occur in their own body; and any such persons so elected shall go out of office at the time when the term of office of the persons in whose places they were respectively appointed would have expired.

23.—The Council shall meet monthly, unless otherwise determined. An attendance book shall be kept, and signed by each Member of the Council at the time of entering the Council-room. In all Meetings of the Council four shall be a quorum; all questions shall be decided by vote, and a decision of the majority shall, except where otherwise

provided by these Rules, be the decision of the Meeting; the Chairman to have, in addition to his own, a casting vote. The Chair shall be occupied by the President; or in his absence by a Vice-President who is a subscribing Member of the Society, or should no such Vice-President be present, by a Member of Council chosen by the Meeting.

24.—The Council shall have power to appoint for special purposes Committees composed of Members of the Society or other suitable persons. Every Committee appointed by the Council shall report its proceedings to the Council through the Chairman or Secretary of such Committee, one of whom must be a Member of Council, and no report shall be published without the sanction of the Council.

25.—The Council shall have power, by a majority of three-fourths of the Members present, in a Special Meeting of their own body duly convened for the purpose, and of which, and of the objects thereof, not less than seven days' notice shall have been given to each Member of the Council, to add to, suspend, or alter any of the rules, regulations, and bye-laws of the Society; such alteration to be in force only until the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting, unless it be then confirmed by the vote of a majority of the Members of the Society there present.

26.—The Council shall have power to employ the funds of the Society, including any funds obtained by donation, bequest, or otherwise, in any manner consistent with the objects thereof, and they may invest any surplus funds in such securities and in such manner as they may deem proper; and they may sell, employ, or re-invest the said funds.

27.—The Council may establish Branches, and Local or Provincial Societies, in any part of Great Britain or elsewhere, under such regulations, and subject to such limitations as they may deem fit.

28.—The Council shall have power from time to time to co-operate with, or accept the alliance of, other Societies, having similar objects in view.

Auditors.

29.—There shall be two Auditors—one chosen by the Members of the Society, and one chosen by the Members of the Council. These shall audit the accounts of the Society, and report thereon to the Council. The auditors shall be empowered to examine into the par-

ticulars of all expenditure of the funds of the Society, where they shall see occasion; and may report their opinion upon the whole or any part of it, whether it has been expended in accordance with the constitution of the Society.

Finance.

30.—The Council shall cause true accounts to be kept of all sums of money received and paid, and shall submit the accounts of the Society, with a statement of the assets and liabilities, to the Annual General Meeting.

Property and Funds.

31.—Every paper accepted by the Society for reading or publication shall become the absolute property of the Society, unless the author's rights be specially reserved.

32.—The property of the Society shall be invested in Trustees chosen by the Council. The Trustees shall be eligible to any other office in the Society.

Notices.

33.—The posting of a notice to the registered address of a Member or Associate shall be deemed service of a notice. Members or Associates residing abroad shall name a place of address in the United Kingdom. In default of such address, the posting of a notice in a conspicuous place at the Offices of the Society shall be deemed to be a notice.

34.—A notice forwarded by post to the Secretary of a Branch or Allied Society shall be deemed a notice to the Members of the Society of which he is Secretary.

Interpretation of Rules.

35.—In the Interpretation of these Rules words importing the singular number only, include the plural, and words importing the masculine gender only, include the feminine.

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SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

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